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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1789.

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PREFACE.

IT would be taking too great a liberty with our readers, to trouble them with any detail of the cauſes which have unfortunately delayed us in the production of this Volume. Private misfortune and calamity can afford no ſatisfaction in the recital, and are too common even to gratify curioſity. We have been long in the ſervice of the Public, and have at length felt the "cankered tooth of time," and experienced ſome of thoſe viciſſitudes incident to his progreſs, which, however grievous, muſt be endured.

We truſt the peruſal of our Work will afford ſufficient conviction, that whatever deficiency

deficiency in point of time we have been unavoidably ſubject to, there has been none in the diligence and induſtry which we have exerted in the diſcharge of our duty. The great and extraordinary affairs of War, Politics, or Revolution, which have agitated almoſt every part of Europe, neceſſarily ſwelled our Hiſtory far beyond its proper and cuſtomary limits; while theſe, and other correſponding circumſtances, rendered it, by many degrees, the moſt arduous taſk we had ever undertaken. Happy, however, ſhall we always deem ourſelves, and count all labours and difficulties light, if we continue to receive from the Public that favour and kindneſs which we have ſo long experienced, and which it is our utmoſt wiſh and ambition to appear in ſome degree worthy of receiving. With reſpect to gratitude and intention we ſhall never be found deficient!

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1789.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of France from the year 1787. *Confidence of the parliament of Paris on their success in invalidating the royal edicts for the new taxes. Remonstrance on behalf of their exiled members. Answer. Resolutions, in violation of the King's injunctions. Consequences of the parliament's declaration of its own incompetence to levy, or to concur in levying taxes. Spirit of liberty general, and accompanied with a rage for innovation. Nothing but reforms heard. Admirable reform in the codes of civil and criminal justice. Edict in favour of the Protestants, happily passed. Flame already raised on the subject of Lettres de Cachet, much increased, by the seizure and committal to prison of M. de Catalan, president of the parliament of Tholouse. Long remonstrance from the parliament of Paris to the King, discussing many points relative to the constitution. Some remarks on that piece, with an account of the origin of enregistering edicts, and of the cause and manner of holding beds of justice. Answer from the King to the remonstrance. Administration deeply but secretly engaged in framing a new constitution. Some particulars of this system, and of the form, composition and nature of the new supreme court, which was to super-*

ſede parliaments in all matters relative to government. Silence, and apparent inactivity of the court, excite ſuſpicions, which are increaſed to general apprehenſion and alarm, by circumſtances obſerved at the royal preſs in Paris. M. d'Eſpremenil, by indirect means, becomes maſter of the whole ſecret, which he communicates to the parliament. Sudden meeting of that body; various reſolutions paſſed; order copies of their proceedings to be tranſmitted to all parts of the kingdom. Meet again ſuddenly on an attempt made to arreſt M. d'Eſpremenil, and M. de Monſambert. Strong proteſt, ordered to be preſented by a deputation to the King. King refuſes to receive the deputation, and the parliament are ſuddenly ſurrounded by a regiment of guards. Commanding officer enters the aſſembly, and commands, in the King's name, the two obnoxious members to be delivered up. After a long ſilence, the preſident anſwered, that they were all Monſamberts and d'Eſpremenils; upon which the officer returning for freſh orderrs, the parliament continues locked up in its chamber for near twenty-four hours. On the officer's return, charging them, under the penalty of high treaſon, to deliver up the two members, they ſtill continue ſilent, but the two gentlemen give themſelves up. Bed of juſtice ordered to be held at Verſailles on the 8th of May. Proteſts entered, and addreſs prepared by parliament. King ſeverely reprehends the conduct of parliament in his introductory ſpeech: Announces the new conſtitution: Ordinances read and regiſtered: Farther particulars of them. Strong proteſt of Parliament, dated at ſeven o'clock the following morning. Proteſt ſeconded by a letter ſigned by a number of the peers, declaring their utter diſapprobation of the reforms in government, and their determination to take no part in the functions aſſigned them by the new ordinances. Clergy no leſs diſpoſed to adhere to the parliaments than the peerage. Another proteſt and memorial from parliament, who order their proceedings to be ſent to a notary, and effectual means uſed for their publication. Governor of Paris enters the chambers of parliament at the Palais Royal, ſeizes their papers and archives, then locks and ſeals up the doors. All the parliaments in the kingdom about the ſame time ſuſpended. Chatelet iſſue a ſtrong declaration againſt all theſe proceedings that were inimical to the parliaments. Memorial of an extraordinary nature, ſigned by forty-ſeven peers and biſhops, preſented perſonally to the King. Alarming aſpect of affairs. Seditious and treaſonable papers continually poſted upon the gates and in the ſtreets of Paris. Publication of an incendiary libel of the moſt obnoxious and dangerous kind. Great diſorders and tumults in the provinces. Bretagne. Count de Perigord, governor general of Languedoc, obliged to fly from Tholouſe, and the troops to withdraw from that place. At Grenoble the exceſſes carried to the higheſt pitch of violence; much blood ſaid to be ſhed; Duke de Tonnere ſaves his life by ſurrendering the keys of the palace; his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curioſities plundered and deſtroyed. Arſenal and magazines ſeized by the rioters. Parliament of Britany meet in defiance of the King's

King's expreſs command. Paſs violent reſolutions. Are interrupted by the military. Great riots and confuſion. Nobles of the province meet, and ſend a deputation to Verſailles, who are ſent to the Baſtille. Great and viſible agitation of the King's mind. Peculiarly unfortunate in the great ſacrifices which he made for procuring felicity to his government, and to afford eaſe and content to his ſubjects. Recapitulation of ſome preceding events. Dreadful hurricane deſtroys the harveſt and vintage, in ſeveral of the fineſt parts of the kingdom. Great benevolences to the diſtreſſed people; and various meaſures purſued for their further relief. Arret relative to the meeting of the ſtates general, cauſes great joy, and occaſions the ſtocks to riſe. King obliged to relinquiſh the new conſtitution. Arret relative to payments at the treaſury, cauſes the greateſt confuſion in Paris, along with a violent run upon the bank. Miniſtry changed. Archbiſhop of Sens retires to Italy, and Mr. Neckar is placed again at the head of the finances. Great public joy; ſtocks ſuddenly riſe; and general good humour prevails. Meaſures purſued by the new miniſter to ſupport the public opinion. Parliament of Paris meet. New altercations with the crown, relative to the proſecution of the late miniſters. Great riot in Paris, and ſeveral of the populace ſlain. Parliament publicly burn the King's arrets. Convention of the notables, in order to ſettle the preliminaries neceſſary to the meeting of the ſtates general. Diſtreſſes of the people greatly increaſed by the extreme ſeverity of the winter.

WE have ſhewn in our hiſtorical article for the year 1787 *, the ſtrong remonſtrances made by the parliament of Paris to the king towards the cloſe of that year, in conſequence of the baniſhment of the Duke of Orleans, and of the impriſonment of two of their members, on account of their conduct in the courſe of the great debates which took place in the king's preſence, upon the preceding memorable 19th day of November.

Although the king ſeemed to have given way in ſome degree to their remonſtrances, by alleviating the circumſtances of ſeverity which in the firſt inſtance attended the impriſonment of the Abbe Sabatiere and M. Frenau, yet, as the baniſhment of the duke and the confinement of the two members was ſtill continued, and the principle of authority upon which both were founded ſtill maintained, the parliament ſhewed themſelves determined to perſevere in their oppoſition to and reprobation of the meaſure, until they ſhould finally ſucceed in overthrowing the principle itſelf, and thereby procuring future ſecurity to the perſons of their members, and an unlimited freedom to their deliberations and debates.

They had already ſucceeded in carrying a great point againſt the crown, and in eſtabliſhing a precedent the moſt dangerous to its authority that could be conceived: a precedent without example in the hiſtory of the French nation, or of its parliaments. This was the pro-

* Vol. xxix. pp. 196 to 200.

teſt by which they in effect annulled the two edicts for raiſing a tax upon territorial revenue (or, as we call it, a land tax) and another upon ſtamps; they having in that piece declared, that all perſons who attempted to carry thoſe edicts into execution ſhould be conſidered as guilty of treaſon, and regarded as enemies to their country. A vigorous government would have eaſily ſet aſide the effect of this proteſt; for the edicts had been enregiſtered according to the uſual forms in a bed of juſtice, which, from the undiſputed ſanction of ages, conferred on them all the efficacy and force of laws; but the enfeebled ſtate of the court, the want of vigour in its councils, along, probably, with an ill-founded hope, and ill-timed deſire of accommodation, ſerved all together to induce the king to ſubmit to this dangerous inroad upon his authority, and to relinquiſh theſe decrees, which could alone have enabled him to conduct the buſineſs of government with ſecurity and effect.

After ſuch a triumph over weakneſs and fear in ſo recent an inſtance, the parliament could not be much apprehenſive of a failure of ſucceſs in other matters, which, though of conſequence to themſelves, were of infinitely leſs importance to the crown. The laſt anſwer received from the king, viz. "That they ſhould not demand "from his juſtice what ſolely de"pended upon his will," was taken into conſideration by that body ſoon after the opening of the new year, when they paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, ſtrongly enforcing and enlarging the principles laid down in their former remonſtrances. They charge the king with departing from the profeſſions held out in ſome of his former declarations or anſwers. Their reprobation of *lettres de cachet*, places them in every point of view that could render them odious or terrible. They deſcribe them as being the common inſtruments of concealed views and private revenge; and they ſcruple not to charge the monarchy with degenerating into actual deſpotiſm, through the nefarious abuſe of the king's authority by miniſters, in applying theſe letters, without any form of law, or colour of juſtice, to deprive individuals of their liberty. They argued upon ſtrong ground, that the ſame power which arbitrarily deprives the firſt prince of the blood and the two magiſtrates of their liberty, might, undoubtedly, with greater eaſe, attack that of all other citizens; and if the repeal of ſuch arbitrary orders depends only on the monarch's goodneſs and pleaſure, it muſt follow that no Frenchman has any ſecurity for his liberty, that *lettres de cachet* are to have the effect of laws, and are to be conſidered as neceſſary and eſſential parts of government.

Jan. 4th, 1788.

This principle they totally condemn, as ſubverting the moſt ſacred foundations of the conſtitution. They declare, that they therefore cannot, and indeed that they ought not, to recur to the king's goodneſs in order to obtain the liberty of the duke and of the two magiſtrates: ſuch a ſtep would be no leſs derogatory from the eſſential principles of the conſtitution, and of public order, than from the generous ſentiments of the ſufferers themſelves. That, all his majeſty's ſubjects are equally intereſted in preventing the ſad effects of ſo dangerous

dangerous a principle; and that they neither could themſelves, nor ever would, make any difference between the cauſe of the prince and the magiſtrates, and that of any other citizen whatever. They ſum up the whole, with repeating their declaration, that parliament, therefore, will never ceaſe to demand the liberty or the impeachment of the prince and the magiſtrates; and that, thinking themſelves equally bound to employ the ſame zeal and the ſame perſeverance for the welfare of all their fellow citizens, they will not ceaſe to intreat his majeſty to grant and to inſure to every Frenchman, that perſonal ſecurity, which is ſolemnly promiſed by the laws, and due to them by the principles of the conſtitution.

17th. The parliament was ſent for to Verſailles, to receive the king's anſwer to this remonſtrance, which afforded as little ſatisfaction to that body as any of the preceding. They were informed, that although he had condeſcended to receive their repreſentations in behalf of the two magiſtrates whom he had puniſhed, he did not think proper to recall them. That, beſides, the manner in which their repreſentations were expreſſed, was by no means ſuch as to deſerve his indulgence. On the ſubject of *lettres de cachet*, he aſſured them, that the lawful liberty of his ſubjects was as dear to him as to themſelves; but he at the ſame time declared, that he would not ſuffer his parliament to oppoſe the exerciſe of an authority, which the tranquillity of families ſo much and ſo often required; which magiſtrates themſelves ſo frequently ſolicited and implored; and of which he had the ſatisfaction to know, that he had made a more moderate uſe than his predeceſſors. He then informed them, that the expreſſions made uſe of in their reſolutions of the 4th inſtant, were as indiſcreet and improper, as thoſe which they had uſed on the 27th of Auguſt in the former year. That he therefore ſuppreſſed the reſolutions of both thoſe days, as being contrary to that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which his parliament owed, and was bound to ſet an example of to all his ſubjects. He concluded by forbidding them to purſue ſuch a conduct, or to form any ſuch reſolutions in future.

So little effect did this charge produce, that the parliament, on the ſucceeding day, paſſed a new ſet of reſolutions, which beſides reiterating the principal arguments and poſitions of the former pieces, held out ſuch new matter, as, if it could not add much to their force, was, however, well calculated to operate upon the minds of the people, which were already exceedingly inflamed in every part of the kingdom.

In this manner was the conteſt continued for ſome time longer, the apparent firmneſs on one ſide being met by an equal degree of perſeverance on the other: nor in the mean time was it at all clear, whatever conceſſions had been made, or even if all the claims of the parliament had been granted, that the latter had left it in their power to relieve the crown from its diſtreſſes, or conſequently to enable it to carry on the buſineſs of government. This proceeded from their unexpected declaration, that it was neither in their power, nor in that of the crown, nor of both united,

to grant or to raiſe any money by the levy of new taxes upon the people; a declaration evidently deſigned to lay the king under a neceſſity of convoking the ſtates general of the kingdom.

Whatever were the particular motives of the party by whoſe influence that body was induced to make this voluntary ſurrender of its authority, the new doctrine ran like wild-fire through the nation. In proportion to the general odiouſneſs of taxes, was the joy at this emancipation from all actual authority to raiſe new ones; whilſt the patriotiſm of that body, which had thus teſtified its own incompetence, in order thereby to eſtabliſh the diſqualification of the crown, was ſcarcely leſs than idolized. Thus circumſtanced, it would not have been eaſy for the parliament, however inclined, to retract its own meaſure, and to reſume a competence which it formally declared it did not poſſeſs; as little could it renew that ancient authority in the crown, which it had juſt endeavoured to cancel.

In the mean time that ſpirit of liberty which we have heretofore had occaſion to take notice of, and for the growth and progreſs of which we then aſſigned different cauſes, was not only now every where ſpread, but ſeemed already, in ſome inſtances and places, diſpoſed to over-leap all reſtraints, and to trample upon that diſtinction of ranks, and thoſe lines of ſubordination, which had hitherto not only been deemed neceſſary to the well-being of government, but even to the preſervation of ſociety.

This was accompanied by its uſual concomitant, a ſpirit of innovation, which attempted to reach and to embrace every thing. The French ſeemed transformed to a nation of projectors; and every projector wiſhed to be a reformer. Nothing almoſt could be heard or liſtened to but reforms; and the language and diſpoſition ſeemed to become as prevalent at court as with the people or parliaments. Two inſtances, however, occurred, in which this ſpirit was landably and advantageouſly exerted. The firſt was a general reform in the codes both of civil and criminal juſtice, a reform long wiſhed, and than which nothing could be more wanted; but its difficulty and magnitude had hitherto deterred any miniſter from venturing upon ſo arduous an undertaking. M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, had not only the courage to encounter theſe difficulties, but the happineſs and honour to form ſo excellent a plan for compleating the deſign, as to leave but little to be done by thoſe who were deſtined to be his ſucceſſors in carrying it into execution. And, for the relief of thoſe perſons who might be liable to trial in the interim, before the great work could be perfected, he introduced ſeveral moſt humane and eſſential regulations into the immediate proceedings of the criminal courts; particularly with reſpect to evidence, and the mode of obtaining it (in which the ſyſtem was extremely faulty): and ſtill more particularly in thoſe caſes where the life of the accuſed was affected.

The ſecond was the edict in favour of the proteſtants, which was introduced by the king on the memorable 19th of November, and was regiſtered by the parliament on the 29th of January 1788. This edict contained 37 articles, the greater number as well as the moſt eſſential of which, were thoſe relating

lating to marriages, births, baptisms, and burials, subjects which had frequently been the cause of great trouble, difficulty, and grievance to the protestants, with respect to the legitimacy of their issue, and the legal descent of their inheritances.

While all France was waiting with the utmost attention and solicitude, the issue of the contest between the king and the parliament of Paris, relative to *lettres de cachet*, an incident took place in Languedoc which threw the whole kingdom into a ferment upon that subject. M. de Catalan, the president of the parliament of Tholouse, having, in conjunction with that body, refused to register the late edict for levying a tax of two twentieths on the nation, the king immediately ordered a lettre de cachet to be issued against the president, the execution of which was committed to the count de Perigord, governor general of the province. M. de Catalan was accordingly arrested, and sent prisoner to an old castle at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

The month of April brought on an argumentative written discussion between the parliament of Paris and the king, which afforded not only a more full explanation of the respective claims of the parties than had yet appeared, but likewise some view of their separate opinions with respect to sundry great questions of law, upon which the French constitution was either supposed to be founded, or its preservation appendant.

April 11th. The parliament presented a remonstrance, in which, representing the 19th of November as the epoch of a direct attempt to subvert the public rights, and to establish despotism, and stating all the subsequent proceedings as a continuation of the same system, they inform the king that his parliament can never allow, that one act of arbitrary power should destroy the essential rights by which his subjects had been governed for 1300 years past. They then enumerate several loose indefinite charges against government, as the grounds or justification of the present remonstrance,—that public liberty is attacked in its very principles; that despotism is substituted for the law of the land; that the privileges of magistracy are trampled upon, and parliament made the mere instrument of arbitrary power.

They declare that their privileges are not their own; that they are the property of the people at large, and that they, as trustees or conservators, are bounden to preserve them from violation. That the will of the king, alone, does not make a law complete, nor does the simple expression of that will constitute the formal act of the nation. It is necessary that the king's will, in order to be effective, should be published under legal authority; and that in order to make the publication of it legal, it must have been first freely discussed. "Such, sire! are the principles of the French constitution."

In support of this doctrine they go back to the early stages of the French monarchy, and endeavour to shew from history, the ancient as well as the more recent circumstances which attended the passing of laws, and which they represent as having been held indispensably necessary to give them validity. Under the first race of kings, the sovereign being surrounded by his court, either presented a new law

to the people, or they demanded one. In the firſt inſtance, the acceptance of the people, whoſe ſuffrages were entirely free, eſtabliſhed the law: in the ſecond, the propoſed law was conſidered and debated by the court, (which was the royal council) according to whoſe ſuffrages, which were equally and inviolably free as thoſe of the people, it was confirmed by the king's aſſent, or rejected. The ſame order was obſerved under the ſecond race. The court was compoſed of noblemen, biſhops, and ſenators. They were ſtyled the *adjutants*, *co-operators*, and *adminiſtrators* of the public weal. In all caſes, laws were enacted with the conſent of the people, and the confirmation of the king through his court.

Under the third race of kings, they ſay, that the form of government did not change, although the court went under different names. It was at different times called the *king's court*, the *court of France*, the *royal court*, the *common council*, and the *parliament*.

Upon the whole it does not ſeem that the information obtained by theſe reſearches into the ancient hiſtory of the French monarchy, was much to the purpoſe, or ſerved to throw any additional light upon the ſubjects of the preſent diſputes. The conſent of the people to the paſſing of laws would have been equally curious and important, if it had been ſhewn in what manner it was given or obtained; whether the whole nation aſſembled in one vaſt plain, to afford the ſanction of its confuſed voice; or whether the ſuffrages were communicated by delegation. It might perhaps be found no leſs difficult to eſtabliſh the fact in one caſe than in the other.

It is always to be remembered in conſidering theſe conteſts, (and though we have heretofore mentioned it, it is of ſo much conſequence to the ſubject that we ſhall venture to repeat the obſervation) that the French parliaments are properly courts of juſtice. That theſe bodies are merely adminiſtrators of the laws, without any power to make, or even, in the ſmalleſt degree, to alter or amend them. And that they are not farther removed from the powers of legiſlation, than from the moſt diſtant pretence of being conſidered in any degree as the repreſentatives of the people. The powers of legiſlation have reſided ſolely in the crown, ever ſince the convocation of the ſtates has fallen into diſuſe; and it poſſeſſed them equally before, in the intervals between the meetings of thoſe aſſemblies.

We have formerly ſhewn, that the practice of calling upon the parliaments, or courts of juſtice, to enregiſter the king's edicts, did not originate in an idea of their communicating any authority or force to thoſe laws, nor even with a view of receiving their approbation, but merely as notaries to record and authenticate their exiſtence, and thereby, as well to promulgate them, as to prevent any doubts being entertained by the public of their reality. The parliaments, however, as their popularity and power increaſed, and times and circumſtances proved favourable to the deſign, aſſumed a right of judging whether theſe edicts were injurious to the public; and if this was determined in the affirmative, they, under the colour of a ſort

of

of legal fiction, refuſed to regiſter them. For they pretended, that being injurious to the people, and contrary to the king's wiſdom, juſtice, or clemency, they did not believe them to be the king's real acts, but conſidered them as an impoſition practiſed by his miniſters; and on this ground they preſented memorials or remonſtrances to the king, placing, in the ſtrongeſt colours they could, all the evil conſequences which they preſumed would attend their being paſſed into laws.

In troubleſome times, or under weak adminiſtrations, this oppoſition was frequently ſucceſsful, and the conteſted point was given up by the king. But if the governing power was firm and determined, the king had recourſe to what was called a bed of juſtice; that is, he went in perſon, attended by ſeveral of the great officers of ſtate, to authenticate and confirm his own deed, in the preſence of the parliament, all the members of which had previous notice to attend; and as all debate was precluded by his preſence, he had nothing farther to do, than to order the edict to be regiſtered, a command which he ſaw executed upon the ſpot.—The circumſtance of the French courts of juſtice holding the ſame name with the Engliſh parliament, we preſumed might render this illuſtration not entirely unneceſſary, although it be in part a repetition.

We now return from this digreſſion to the remonſtrance. After the quotations from hiſtory, and precedents which they had adduced, the parliament tell the king bluntly, that he could not ſuppoſe himſelf able, in defiance of all theſe teſtimonies, to deſtroy the conſtitution at a ſingle blow, by concentrating parliament in his own perſon. They put the following queſtion, "Since then "there exiſts reciprocal duties be"tween kings and ſubjects, what "would become of this principle in "practice, if kings by a ſingle word "had the power of reſtraining ſome, "and of extending others, as they "pleaſed?"—And they conclude thus, "It remains therefore for us "to ſupplicate your majeſty, to pay "an attentive regard to the ſtate of "your kingdom. We are igno"rant how long the enemies of ma"giſtracy and the public tranquil"lity, may have the ignominious "glory of triumphing over the "laws; but we will venture to an"ſwer to your majeſty, for the cou"rage and fidelity of thoſe who "have the execution of them."

The king, in his anſwer, after obſerving that he had peruſed their remonſtrances very attentively, profeſſes to anſwer them with ſuch preciſion, that they ſhould no longer doubt of his intentions, nor again attempt to oppoſe them. He tells them it was quite unneceſſary to talk to him of the nature or preſcription of enregiſtering, or of the manner which they adopted in giving their ſuffrages. When he went to his parliament upon the ſubject of a new edict, it was in order to benefit by their diſcuſſion of it, and from the light which he thus received, to determine in his own mind, after hearing their arguments and opinions, upon the propriety of paſſing the law, and of having it accordingly regiſtered. This was exactly what he had done on the 19th of November. Every thing had been conducted preciſely according to law, and to the ancient and eſtabliſhed forms, at that ſitting. He had heard all their opinions, and therefore their deliberations

deliberations were complete; they had done their part; he then decided according to his own judgment, and thereby fulfilled his. Their voices were not collected, becauſe his preſence rendered it unneceſſary; his deciſion did not reſt upon the number of votes: of what avail could it be then to know the exact majority, when their number afforded them no power?

For he inſiſted, that the collecting of ſuffrages was only neceſſary in his abſence, as the moſt perfect means of affording him a preciſe knowledge of the ſentiments of his parliament; but his preſence rendered it not only unneceſſary, but idle. He farther argued, that if the plurality of voices, in his courts, could forcibly direct his will, the monarchy would be changed to an ariſtocracy of magiſtrates; an event, as contrary to the rights and intereſts of the nation, as to thoſe of the ſovereign power. That would be, indeed (he continues) a ſtrange conſtitution of government, which ſhould reduce the will of the king to ſubmit to that of his miniſters; and ſubject the ſovereign power to as many different determinations, as there were deliberations in the various courts of juſtice throughout the kingdom. But it behoved him to guaranty the nation from ſuch a misfortune.

He likewiſe lays it down as a poſition or rule not to be departed from, that parliament had no authority to paſs any arrets (or decrees) either upon ſubjects of legiſlation or adminiſtration, which did not come to them from him. That he therefore reproves them for ſuch arrets as they had thus paſſed, and prohibits them from a repetition of the practice. And ſtates, that to deſtroy, and leave no trace of an error, which he is diſpoſed to attribute to a momentary ſurprize or illuſion, is to purify, and not to alter their regiſters.

He then ſeems to advert to their quotations and precedents, by putting the following queſtion: For how many ſalutary laws, which now daily form the rules for guiding your judgments, is France indebted to the authority of her former monarchs? who not only ordered them to be regiſtered without any regard to the plurality of ſuffrages, but in direct oppoſition to them, and in defiance of reluctant or reſiſting parliaments.—The king concludes abruptly, "Theſe are the principles "which ought to regulate your con-"duct; and I ſhall never ſuffer the "ſmalleſt deviation from them."

With opinions ſo directly oppoſite in regard to the prerogatives and authority of the crown, the privileges of parliaments, and the rights of the ſubject, as were now avowed by the contending parties, little hope of any compromiſe or amicable concluſion could remain; and it became every day more apparent, that things were drawing to a criſis, the management of which would be attended with greater difficulties than were yet foreſeen; but which could ſcarcely fail in its effect of proving deciſive, and of either eſtabliſhing on a firmer baſis the authority of the crown, or of modelling, altering, and perhaps greatly reducing its power. All civil public buſineſs was at a ſtand; for the provincial parliaments, as well as that of Paris, either refuſed to act under the preſent circumſtances, or were diſabled from acting; ſo that it was morally impoſſible things could continue long in their preſent ſtate.

In the mean time, the miniſters were

were deeply, but moſt ſecretly engaged in forming an extenſive plan for a new order of government, which, if it could be carried into execution, would have freed the king entirely from that continual vexation and trouble which he had ſo long endured through the refractorineſs of the parliament. This ſyſtem, which was attributed to M. de Lamoignon, was ſo extenſive, that it ſeemed rather to carry the appearance of a new conſtitution, than to look like the repair of an old one. But its prominent and leading feature, was the eſtabliſhment of a grand council of ſtate and government, under the appellation of *La Cour Pleniere*, which was to be endued with ſuch powers, and placed in the exerciſe of ſuch functions, as would ſerve to carry the parliaments back to the original principles of their inſtitution, and reduce them to the condition of mere courts of juſtice. This, however, was not all; it may be ſafely concluded that the court looked farther. It was intended that this court, by enabling government to carry on the public buſineſs without any other intervention, would thereby preclude the dreaded neceſſity of aſſembling, according to the king's promiſe, the ſtates general.

As it was neceſſary, in order to render this ſupreme tribunal effective, that it ſhould acquire, at the firſt view of its compoſition, the good opinion and confidence of the public, and thereby be enabled to ſurmount the ſtrong prejudices which ſo new and important an inſtitution muſt inevitably encounter, ſo it became a matter of indiſpenſable neceſſity, that it ſhould poſſeſs every poſſible degree of reſpectability, which could be derived from the rank, integrity, or talents of its members. It ſeemed likewiſe to be part of the view of the framers, that by their being drawn from almoſt every order and claſs of men in the nation, they ſhould carry the appearance, in a conſiderable degree, of being a repreſentation of the whole.

In conformity with theſe purpoſes, the ſupreme court was to be compoſed of princes of the blood; peers of the realm; great officers of ſtate; clergy; marſhals of France; governors of provinces; knights of different orders; members of council; a deputation of one member from each parliament in the kingdom, and of two from the chamber of accounts and ſupply.

The number of which this court was to conſiſt, was not yet determined; the king only declaring, that the members ſhould not be ſo numerous as to create delay or diſorder, nor ſo confined as to occaſion incompetence, through accidental or unavoidable abſences. The times of their meeting, and the length of their ſittings, were to be regulated by the king's will, and by the preſſure of public affairs.

Upon the whole, this plan, without any reference to its ſucceſs, ſhewed greater marks of deſign and ability, than had been diſplayed in any other inſtance by the preſent adminiſtration.

Notwithſtanding the means of ſecrecy adopted by the court, in the conduct of this weighty buſineſs, it was impoſſible, with ſuch multitudes of eyes and ears eternally on the watch, not to afford room for apprehenſion and ſuſpicion. The mere circumſtances of ſilence and apparent inactivity, would have been ſufficient for this purpoſe. But the unuſual buſtle, precaution,

precaution, and ſecrecy, which were apparent at the royal preſs at Paris, not only excited general ſuſpicion, but ſpread an univerſal alarm. Above an hundred additional workmen were taken into that department; the place was ſurrounded, night and day, with armed guards; nothing could eſcape the vigilance of the centinels; and no perſon whatever was admitted without certain credentials which could ſcarcely be counterfeited. Every body foreboded, and ſeemed to believe, that ſome deſigns fatal to the parliament were in agitation; and while rumour continually magnified or created imaginary dangers, the apprehenſion, diſmay and terror ſpread among the Pariſians was inexpreſſible. Nor was that body itſelf in a much more tranquil ſtate; ſome imminent danger was expected, and a total ignorance of its nature, and of the intended mode of attack, could not ſerve in any degree to leſſen the apprehenſion.

It is not to be expected, that a ſecret poſſeſſed by a number of perſons can long be preſerved, if the vigilance of ſuſpicion be thoroughly rouſed on the ſide intereſted in the diſcovery. It is ſaid, that M. d'Eſpremenil, an active and eminent member of the parliament, by means not publicly known, had the fortune to penetrate this arcanum, without the trouble or danger of forcing the guards. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed that he ſucceeded by corrupting ſome of the printers; that he became thereby thoroughly maſter of the whole project and deſign of the court; and, it is even ſaid that he obtained a copy of the new code ſo far as it was yet printed off or known.

The diſcovery of a deſign, in civil matters or politics, as well as in war, is generally equivalent to a defeat. Nothing could be more deſtructive to the views of the court, than the preſent proved. The information thus obtained, occaſioned a ſudden meeting of the parliament on the 3d of May; and as they could not avow the ſource from whence it was derived, they declared, as the grounds of their meeting, and intended proceedings, that they had been apprized by public report, as well as by a variety of concurring circumſtances, that ſome fatal ſtroke was in meditation; and they proceeded to ſtate, under the following heads, the cauſes which drew upon them the enmity, and the preſent evil intentions of the miniſters;—the reſiſtance which they had made to the two ruinous taxes on eſtates and on ſtamps;—their refuſal to acknowledge their own competence to the granting of ſubſidies, and to admit the validity of the king's edicts for that purpoſe;—their ſoliciting a convocation of the general ſtates;—and their laying claim to liberty for every individual ſubject.

They then declare it to be their duty, to withſtand firmly all plans and attempts of miniſters contrary to law, and to the good of the nation. That the ſyſtem of compliance with the king's abſolute will, as expreſſed in his different anſwers, was a proof of the miniſter's deſtructive project of annulling the national government, which parliament is bound to maintain, and a duty from which it will never depart. That France is a kingdom governed by a king according to the laws.—And, that the right of raiſing ſubſidies is in the nation, repreſented by the ſtates general duly convened.

They

They farther declare, that the court of parliament, alone, has a right to confirm the king's orders in every province, and to order them to be enregiſtered, in caſe they are conformable to the conſtitutional rights of the province, and to the fundamental laws of the kingdom.—That they have likewiſe the privilege of not being arreſted by any order whatever, without being immediately put into the hands of thoſe judges with whom they are connected by their ſituation.—That the court proteſts againſt all acts of force attempted in violation of the principles here laid down, and unanimouſly declare that they are bound by oath not to deviate from thoſe principles.—That each member is reſolved to oppoſe all innovations, nor will he adminiſter juſtice in any place but the court itſelf, compoſed of the ſame perſons, and poſſeſſing the ſame privileges.—And, that in caſe they ſhould be compelled by force to diſperſe themſelves, and rendered unable to act in their proper capacities, they each declare, that they will return their privileges and rights undiminiſhed into the hands of the king, his family, the peers of the realm, or the ſtates general. To guard againſt any ſuppreſſion of their acts at this ſitting, they ordered copies of theſe proceedings and reſolutious to be immediately tranſmitted to all the courts of the kingdom.

It is eaſily ſeen, that the three laſt clauſes were the reſult of the late unavowed diſcovery.

The king having ordered M. d'Eſpremenil, and M. de Monſambert, two of the moſt active members of the parliament, to be arreſted in their houſes, theſe gentlemen, in conſequence of private intelligence, evaded the immediate danger by keeping out of the way, but did not on that account refrain from attending in their places at a meeting of parliament which was haſtily convened on that account the enſuing morning. The ſuddenneſs of the meeting did not prevent the attendance of twelve peers, who, it might be thought, were waiting in readineſs to anſwer any emergency that ſhould occur. The aſſembly having taken into conſideration the meaſures purſued on the preceding night for arreſting the two members in their houſes, unanimouſly concurred in a ſtrong remonſtrance upon the ſubject, which they ordered to be preſented to the king by a deputation of their body. May 5th.

In this piece, beſides reiterating former arguments with reſpect to perſonal liberty in general, and their own claims to peculiar privileges and exemptions, they charge the royal adviſers with departing from all the principles of monarchy, and availing themſelves of every reſource which deſpotiſm could ſuggeſt to overturn the fundamental laws of the kingdom. And they conclude, by repreſenting the evils and dangers which muſt enſue from ſuch proceedings, and by beſeeching him to diſcharge thoſe who adviſed them; as the farther proſecution of them would involve the public liberty and the lawful authority of the king in ſuch difficulties as to render it impoſſible for the magiſtrates to extricate them, or to purſue their duty.

But they were now to experience difficulties which perhaps they did not expect. The king refuſed to receive the deputation, and a regiment of guards ſuddenly ſurrounding

rounding the palais, prohibited the departure of any of the members. In this ſtate of conſternation and apprehenſion, M. Degout, who commanded the troops, entered the aſſembly, and demanded, in the king's name, that the two magiſtrates, whom he had ordered to be arreſted, but who had made their eſcape, ſhould be delivered up to him. A profound ſilence enſued for ſome time, and not a man would point them out. At length the preſident put an end to this ſolemn ſilence, by riſing up and declaring, (accompanied with the acclamations of the whole court) that he, and every other perſon preſent, was a d'Eſpremenil and a Monſambert, for that they all coincided entirely with theſe members in their opinions. On this anſwer, M. Degout returned to the king for freſh inſtructions; and ſo infirm and indeciſive was his council, ſo deſtitute of reſource were his miniſters, that this ſmall, and eaſily to be foreſeen difficulty, occaſioned a pauſe of full twenty hours before an anſwer, or the meaſures to be purſued, could be determined.

During all this time, the parliament continued locked up in its chamber, and ſurrounded on all ſides by guards. On M. Degout's return, he ſummoned all the members to their reſpective places, and charged them, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treaſon, to point out M. d'Eſpremenil and M. de Monſambert. Not a word of anſwer was returned, nor a look tending to ſupply its place, until the ſilence was broken by the riſing of the two members in queſtion, who requeſted the permiſſion of the court to deliver themſelves up. The former was conducted to the ſtate priſon of St. Marguerite, in one of the iſlands near Toulon; and Monſambert to the Pierre Enciſe.

Neither this example, nor the impreſſion made by ſo many hours confinement under an armed force, were at all ſufficient to change the conduct, much leſs to break the ſpirit of the parliament. They were aſſured of the ſupport of a powerful political faction, under whoſe influence they were believed to act; and ſtill farther fortified by the general ſpirit and diſpoſition of the nation, from thoſe new ideas of liberty, and of the principles of government, which were ſo ſuddenly and ſo univerſally ſpread throughout all ranks and orders of the people.

The 8th of May being appointed by the king for holding a bed of juſtice at Verſailles, and it being expected by themſelves, as well as every body elſe, that the apprehended tempeſt would on that day fall upon the parliament, that body ſpent the intervening time in preparing a long and argumentative addreſs, to be preſented to him by the preſident, before the final denunciation took place. Repreſentations of this ſort were now ſo frequent, that the entering particularly into them would be equally tireſome and uſeleſs. The principal new heads of grievance were, the late violence committed by inveſting the ſeat of ſovereign juſtice with armed men during the ſitting of parliament, including all its attending circumſtances;—the arbitrary power exerciſed in the ſeizure of the two members;—and the refuſal of the king to receive their deputation.

In expatiating on theſe ſubjects, ſome ſtrong expreſſions are uſed. They partly charge, and partly inſinuate, a fixed ſyſtem for the overthrow

throw of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution or government, by changing the monarchy into a deſpotiſm, to have been in train ever ſince the year 1771.—They tell the king in unqualified terms, that the French nation will never adopt the deſpotic meaſures which he is adviſed to.—That the fundamental laws of the kingdom muſt not be trampled on, and that his authority can only be eſteemed ſo long as it is tempered with juſtice.—They declare for themſelves, that the intereſts of the nation have determined each and every member not to take any part, either as a body, or individuals, in any functions which may be the conſequence of new regulations; nor will they aſſiſt in any meaſures which are not founded on the unanimous reſolutions of parliament, endued with all its privileges. Such, they ſay, is the nature of the French monarchy, and a departure from it may produce the moſt unhappy conſequences.

The parliament had previouſly entered formal proteſts againſt the ſeizure and impriſonment of the magiſtrates.

May 8. On opening the bed of juſtice, the king, preparatory to the introduction of his reforms, pronounced a ſpeech of extraordinary length, and loaded with ſeverities againſt the conduct of the parliament. He charges them with perſevering in a continual deviation from their duty, on every point, for a year paſt. That not ſatisfied with placing the opinions of individual members on a level with the ſovereign authority, they had preſumed to aſſert, that no edict could be valid without their regiſtry, while they declared, that they could not be forced to the performance of that duty, even though the nation ſuffered by the refuſal: that the provincial parliaments had followed their example both in their pretenſions and acts: that the conſequences have been, that laws equally neceſſary and deſirable have not been carried into execution: that the moſt uſeful operations of government have been interrupted or ſtopped, and public credit greatly injured: that juſtice has been ſuſpended, and the national tranquillity ſhaken.

The king declared, that he owed to his ſubjects, to himſelf, and to his ſucceſſors, the ſuppreſſion of theſe exceſſes. That he might have inflicted puniſhment; but he rather chooſes to remedy the evil, and prevent its effects. That he had, indeed, been obliged to puniſh a few of the magiſtrates; but acts of rigour were contrary to his nature, even when they were indiſpenſable. That he did not intend to deſtroy his parliaments, but to bring them back to their duty, and within the limits of their original inſtitutions; to convert the moment of a criſis into a ſalutary epocha for his ſubjects; to begin a reform in the judicial order, by that of the tribunals, which are the baſe of it; to procure juſtice to be adminiſtered in a more expeditious and leſs expenſive manner; and to entruſt the nation again with the exerciſe of its lawful rights, which muſt always be united with his. That he would moreover eſtabliſh, in every part of his kingdom, that unity of deſign and ſyſtem, that correſpondence of the parts with the whole, without which a great ſtate is only weakened by the number and extent of its territories. That the order he intended to eſtabliſh was not new; for there was but one parliament in the kingdom when Philip the Fair fixed his reſidence at Paris.

That

That a large ſtate ſhould have but one king, one law, and one power to enregiſter its acts. That tribunals, with a juriſdiction confined to preſcribed limits, ſhould have the future ſuperintendence of the majority of law-ſuits; and the parliaments thoſe of greater importance and conſequence. That there ſhould be a ſingle court of judicature, in which the laws common to the whole kingdom ſhould be enregiſtered and preſerved; and that to complete the whole reform, a general aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be convened, not only once, but every time the ſtate of affairs ſhould require it. "Such," ſays the king, "is the re-eſtabliſh-"ment which my love for my peo-"ple has prepared; and I conſecrate "this day for the commencement "of their happineſs, which is my "only deſire."

M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, followed the king in a ſpeech preliminary to the introduction of the new code, which was ſo voluminous as to fill a quarto volume of more than 400 pages. The ordinances, though printed, were each ſigned by the king, and counterſigned by the Baron de Breteuil.

The firſt of theſe, with reſpect to importance, though not the firſt in place, and that which excited ſo much oppoſition and alarm, was the eſtabliſhment of the cour pleniere; the ſupreme authority of which was conſidered by the parliaments as violently invaſive of their privileges and rights, and as totally ſubverſive of their power. The ordinance (we know not upon what ground) calls this inſtitution a *re-eſtabliſhment*; and the members were to hold their places for life, which tended much to free their proceedings from the influence of the crown, notwithſtanding their original appointment by it.

Another ordinance affected the parliament of Paris ſo deeply, that it could not be leſs odious to that body than the former. It went to the reduction of the number of its members, from 120 to 67. This meaſure was founded on or ſupported by a precedent, derived indeed from bad times and an arbitrary reign. This was the celebrated edict of Louis the XIth, dated the 21ſt of October, 1467, which peremptorily ordains that the parliament of Paris ſhall be compoſed of a preſident, nine ſub-preſidents, twelve counſellors choſen from among the clergy, with a preſcribed number of commoners and honorary members, which was not in the whole by any means to exceed that we have ſtated. So that this was in fact, rather the revival of an old law, than a new regulation with reſpect to that body.

The firſt ordinance, with reſpect to place, went to the eſtabliſhment of a new order in the adminiſtration of civil juſtice in the provinces. Two new courts were to be inſtituted in each of the ſeveral diſtricts therein ſpecified; the one to decide all litigations not exceeding in value 4,000 livres; the other, all ſuch above that amount, as ſhall not exceed 20,000 livres; reſerving to the parliaments in their reſpective provinces, when they reſume their functions, the right of determining all ſuits of greater importance.

The ſecond went to the abolition of thoſe inferior courts, which in France were numerous, and whoſe degrees of authority being ill defined, and in different places variouſly extended in the exerciſe, not only occaſioned much perplexity and confuſion in the courts of juſtice, but

tended likewiſe to nouriſh a ſpirit of endleſs litigation among the people. The functions of theſe petty courts were (and ſeemingly with great propriety) transferred to the ſuperior tribunals.

Another ordinance went to that excellent reform in the courſe of criminal juſtice, of which we have before taken notice: the laſt of all went to the vacation of the parliament of Paris, as well as of all the others throughout the kingdom. They were to remain ſuſpended in all their functions until the king's pleaſure was farther known; and during that period were ſtrictly prohibited, both generally and individually, to aſſemble or deliberate upon any affair public or private; the king declaring that he would, in the mean time, purſue the proper meaſures for carrying the new ordinances into execution.

The ordinances being read and regiſtered, the king concluded the buſineſs by a ſhort ſpeech, in which, after obſerving that they had juſt heard his will, and that the more moderate it was, the more ſtrictly he would have it fulfilled and enforced; he ſtated, that all his regulations and intentions were directed in every thing to the good and happineſs of his ſubjects. That he depended upon the zeal and fidelity of thoſe who were immediately called to compoſe his *cour pleniere*; and that he had no doubt but others of the magiſtracy would, by their good conduct, merit his favour, and to be accordingly ſucceſſively called to that ſupreme aſſembly.

During theſe whole proceedings, the moſt profound ſilence was obſerved by the parliament, and the meeting was immediately broken up at the king's departure. But on the following day, what is called the grand aſſembly of parliament was ſummoned, and held at ſo early an hour, that their proteſt was dated at ſeven o'clock in the morning. In that piece they repreſent to the king, that their ſilence in his preſence on the preceding day, was not to be conſidered as any conſent on their ſide to his majeſty's edicts;—that, on the contrary, they totally diſclaim taking any part in what paſſed at that ſitting, or giving their ſanction to it;—that they further decline accepting any ſeat in that new court his majeſty wiſhes to eſtabliſh, called *La Cour Pleniere*;—and that they cannot accept of it, from its being contrary to their duty, their oath, and their fidelity to his majeſty. 9th.

The proteſt of the parliament was ſeconded by a letter ſigned by ſeveral of the peers, and addreſſed to the king. In this they declare themſelves penetrated with the deepeſt ſorrow at the attempt now made to ſubvert the fundamental principles of the government ſo long eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. That they ſhall at all times conſider it their duty to give to all his ſubjects examples of reſpect and ſubmiſſion; but that their conſciences, and the fidelity which they owe to his majeſty, will not ſuffer them to take any part in the functions which theſe new edicts impoſe on the peerage. That they therefore take the liberty of laying at the foot of the throne this declaration, dictated by the pureſt ſentiments of honour, and of zeal for the true intereſts of his majeſty, which are ever inſeparable from thoſe of the nation.

This extraordinary adherence of a great body of the peerage to the parliament could not, in the preſent

circumſtances, but be extremely embarraſſing to the court; and not the leſs ſo for its being entirely unexpected, although it would ſeem to require no great ſkill in divination to have foreboded the event. Nor does it appear that the clergy were leſs diſpoſed to ſupport the parliament than the peers: ſo ſudden and wonderful a revolution had taken place in the ſentiments of a nation, whoſe leading characteriſtic for ages had been a fulſome adulation of, and blind attachment to their monarchs, and to whoſe glory they ſeemed to have dedicated the exertion of all their faculties, whether in peace or in war.

As if the 9th of May had been deſtined for a day of continual agitation, the king ſuddenly convoked the parliament, after the morning buſineſs of the proteſt was over. It is not eaſy to ſurmiſe upon what principle he adopted this meaſure; for the ſhort ſpeech which he pronounced upon the occaſion, was little more than a repetition or confirmation of what he had declared the the day before, as to the determined firmneſs of his reſolution to purſue the ſyſtem then announced, and without regard to any impediments or obſtacles, to carry the new ordinances into execution. Some conciliatory expreſſions were, indeed, thrown out towards the cloſe of the ſpeech, where the king, after obſerving that the objects of the new plan were the general tranquillity of the kingdom, and the welfare of the people, declares his reliance on the zeal and fidelity of the parliament for the good of his ſervice, when he ſhould have fixed on proper perſons to compoſe his ſupreme aſſembly; and he concludes with an aſſurance that he ſhould call them together before the ordinary time of their ſitting, if the ſituation of public affairs, and the neceſſities of the ſtate, ſhould ſo require.

This produced, as might have been expected, another memorial on the ſame evening from the parliament, in which they peremptorily perſiſt in all their paſt reſolutions; and further proteſt, and again declare, that they will not aſſiſt at any deliberation in the ſupreme aſſembly which his majeſty was about to inſtitute. They then reſolve, that as it is not in their power to deliver that proteſt to the perſon whoſe former province it was to receive it, and fearing that it would not be preſented to the king, they had charged one of their members to carry it to a notary, in order that it might be formally depoſited: and they have likewiſe given him orders to print off as many copies of it as might be neceſſary to make it publicly and authentically known.

This care of publication, under the inflamed and very dangerous appearances which prevailed throughout the nation, was not conſiſtent either with the wiſdom or patriotiſm of parliament; and ſeemed rather to indicate the violence of a party, determined to carry their point at all events, and without regard to conſequences, than the reſult of thoſe cool and cautious deliberations which, looking equally to the rights of the crown and the people, regarded the preſervation of the public tranquillity as their firſt object, and the higheſt of all duties.

But while the parliament were thus engaged at Verſailles, their head quarters, and what might be conſidered as their citadel, was ſuddenly carried by a *coup de main* at Paris. For the governor of that city,

city, properly attended, proceeded to the palais royal, where, entering the different chambers, and opening the preſſes and bureaus, he took poſſeſſion of all the papers and archives of every kind appertaining to the parliament; and this buſineſs being finiſhed, after ſocking, and clapping the king's ſeal upon the doors, he carried away the keys. All the other parliaments in the kingdom were about the ſame time ſuſpended from their functions, and forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, from re-aſſembling, from holding any private meetings, or from iſſuing any reſolutions or opinions whatever upon public affairs.

The Chatelet, a court next in reputation, authority, and dignity to the great chamber of parliament, was ſo far from being diſmayed at theſe proceedings, that after a ſitting of 36 hours, they iſſued an inſtrument under the name of an arret (but which ſeems more properly a declaration or proteſt) in which, after declaring how deeply they are affected by ſeeing the various acts of authority exerciſed againſt the different ſeats of magiſtracy throughout the kingdom, they particularize the following inſtances: The ſeat of juſtice inveſted by armed troops; the liberty of ſuffrages wantonly violated, by arreſting and confining magiſtrates, who could not be perſonally anſwerable for deliberations which were diſtinct and peculiarly appropriate to themſelves; that magiſtracy was thus debaſed, and all order overthrown, under a monarch who had declared "that he "never would reign but according to "the tenor of the laws;" and that, as the edicts and declarations reported by his majeſty's attornies, had not been deliberated upon by parliament, who has a certain and undiſputed right, acknowledged by the monarch himſelf, to addreſs their remonſtrances to him (a right which they cannot poſſibly exerciſe at preſent, on account of the forced ſuſpenſion of their functions) that court declare unanimouſly, that they cannot, and ought not, to proceed to the reading, publiſhing, or regiſtering the ſaid edicts, declarations, and orders. 16th.

In the intermediate time, a duke, three other peers, and two archbiſhops, preſented themſelves in perſon to the king at Verſailles, and delivered into his own hands a paper of ſo extraordinary a nature, that neither the names of the preſenters or ſubſcribers were ever given. It was entitled, the humble and dutiful addreſs of the ſubſcribers, in behalf of themſelves and the publick; and was ſigned by 47 peers and biſhops, "for themſelves and the nation."

They declare the grief with which they find themſelves obliged to approach his majeſty in the line of their duty; but it is a duty, they ſay, which they cannot reſiſt, conſidering the preſent very alarming ſtate of public affairs, the diſcontents which prevail among people of all ranks, the tumults that have already occurred, the accounts that are daily arriving of freſh inſurrections of the moſt alarming kind, and ſtill more than any, the cauſes to which all theſe evils are openly and generally attributed.

They farther declare, upon the ſame ground of ſhewing their motives and duty, that, as princes pledged in the name of the whole nobility for the preſervation of the laws, as peers born for the ſecurity of the throne, and as citizens bound

for the public welfare, they cannot, conſiſtently with their loyalty to his majeſty, their duty to themſelves, to the nation, and to poſterity, let the preſent period paſs unnoticed. That, whatever be their ſorrow for the occaſion, duty preſſes them forward, juſtice requires, and zeal for the conſtitutional law of the land impels them to remonſtrate at his throne.

That from theſe motives and cauſes, they were bound to proteſt againſt the diſſolution of the national parliament; againſt all the late edicts, as well thoſe relative to the *cour pleniere*, as others, and in general againſt every act which militated againſt thoſe eſtabliſhed laws whoſe foundations had been laid on wiſdom, moderation, and juſtice.

That with the pureſt loyalty they lay their ſentiments before the king, hoping that God may incline their ſovereign to re-conſider theſe meaſures, and to permit in future things to go on in that channel to which for ages they had been accuſtomed; and thereby prevent an alteration which could not but entail the moſt ruinous conſequences; conſequences too eaſily to be foreſeen, both on the ſovereign and on the people.

This remonſtrance, independently of its language or ſpirit, afforded a moſt alarming and ſorrowful demonſtration to the king, how totally he had loſt all weight and influence with the two great bodies of the nobles and clergy (who, with few exceptions, had at all times been the zealous and powerful ſupporters of the crown) at a period when he was already ſo deeply involved in a conteſt with the parliaments, and conſequently with the people at large, who ever adhered to them, and conſidered whatever cauſe they were engaged in as common to both.

It was at the time reported, and we can give it only as a report, that a council having been held on the evening after this remonſtrance was delivered, *lettres de cachet* were there abſolutely ſigned and iſſued againſt all the ſubſcribers; but that at midnight, Monſieur (the king's next brother, and the favourite of the people) went to the royal bedchamber, and prevailed on the king to have them recalled.

In the mean time, nothing could be more alarming than the temper which now became prevalent among all orders and claſſes of the people, and the aſpect which almoſt every part of the kingdom exhibited. Paris preſented every morning the new ſpectacle, of ſeditious, inflammatory, or treaſonable written or printed papers, poſted upon the gates and corners of the ſtreets. An incendiary libel of the moſt atrocious nature and dangerous tendency was detected at a private printing-houſe, where the preſs was deſtroyed, and the printed copies, to the amount of ſeveral hundreds, ſeized; but a number of others, it ſeems, had been already diſtributed, and ſeveral were moſt daringly put up on the city gates, and other public places: although the king was openly branded in them with the appellation of tyrant; charged with having trampled with impunity upon the deareſt rights of the people; and, that he, who ſhould be their father, was become their bittereſt enemy, and moſt implacable oppreſſor. In a ſimilar ſtrain of ſeditious invective, the people are reproached with want of ſpirit, for not having already puniſhed their oppreſſors; and every other inſtigation

to immediate violence and rebellion is closed by that emphatic scripture phrase which had been used so many ages ago in similar combustions, of "To your tents, O Israel!"

In several of the provinces things seemed to wear a worse appearance even than in Paris. Bretagne had been for some time in a strange state of disorder. Some local disputes between the nobles and the peasants had induced both sides to take up arms in several places, in support of their real or supposed rights; and as they could not accommodate their own differences, they seemed disposed to let a fruitless task lie dormant for a time, until they had improved their faculties, by a careful investigation of public grievances. Through the agitation produced by these joint operating causes of public and domestic grievance (though we have received but little information of the particulars) it appears upon the whole, that the flame became so violent, and the commotions so alarming, that the bishop of Rennes found it necessary to set out himself express to Paris, and to use such expedition as to spend but 36 hours on a journey of 200 miles, in order to lay before the King a clear statement of the dangerous situation of affairs in that province.

In the provinces farther south things were little better. The parliaments of Tholouse and Grenoble were both in exile, and some of the most refractory members had been committed to state prisons. This procedure irritated the inhabitants of these provincial capitals so highly, that they were guilty of the greatest excesses and violences, in all which they were supported by their country neighbours, and encouraged, or confirmed in their conduct, by the people at large. The parliament of Tholouse having, before their dispersion, passed the strongest resolutions against the admission of the new ordinances, and the establishment of the new court, the people determined, in their absence, effectually to support their design. This led them to such excesses, that the count de Perigord, governor of Languedoc, and hitherto one of the best beloved noblemen in France, was, notwithstanding his popularity, and great natural influence in the country, obliged to fly precipitately from that city. Two regiments, who were quartered there under his command, were likewise obliged to withdraw, whilst the inhabitants not only took possession of the gates, but are said to have taken up the pavements, as providing for a siege or bombardment.

This was the first instance in which the attachment of the army to the crown had ever been called in question; but it was now strongly reported, notwithstanding the greatest endeavours to keep it secret, that the governor general of Languedoc actually put the fidelity of the troops to the test, and that the two regiments peremptorily refused to fire upon their countrymen. From this circumstance, and some others corresponding with it, which took place about the same time, it came to be generally whispered, that in case of matters being carried to the last degree of extremity, the army would not support the court in its oppressive designs against the people; a new,

and ſeemingly a ſtrange opinion, in ſo long eſtabliſhed an arbitrary and military ſyſtem of government; but which ſerved to inſpire great confidence and ſpirit in the numerous diſcontented part of the nation.

At Grenoble, in Dauphiny, the exceſſes were carried to the higheſt point of exorbitance; and much blood was even reported to have been ſhed in the conflicts between the military and the inhabitants, who were joined by ſome thouſands of the neighbouring mountaineers. All means of communication, whether by poſt or otherwiſe, between Paris and the provinces, were at this time ſo much interrupted, by the caution of the court in the examination of letters, and the extreme violence of party gave beſides ſo deep a tincture to every thing that paſſed through that medium, that little faith can be placed on any accounts given under ſuch circumſtances.

It ſeems, however, tolerably aſcertained, that the life of the duke de Tonnere, who governed that province, was in imminent danger; that he was obliged to ſurrender the keys of the palace to the inſurgents for its preſervation; that among other outrages they plundered his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curioſities; and that they had threatened, during the oppoſition of the troops, to ſet the four corners of the town on fire at the ſame inſtant. They likewiſe took poſſeſſion of the arſenal, from which they furniſhed themſelves with artillery, arms and ammunition. Several lives muſt undoubtedly have been loſt in the courſe of theſe diſorders, but it is evident that none of the bloody maſſacres which were reported at the time took place. It is ſaid, that although the troops did not, like their fellows at Tholouſe, abſolutely refuſe to obey their officers, yet that they acted with ſuch ſlackneſs and apparent reluctance, as contributed more than the number or force of the malcontents, to defeat the effect; and ſufficiently convinced their commanders that they were no longer to be truſted.

The parliament of Britany, which, as well as the province at large, had long been in a ſtate of great and continual variance with the court, in defiance of the king's poſitive orders, aſſembled at Rennes (their capital) in the beginning of June, and after ſitting from four o'clock in the morning until ſix in the evening, among other violent reſolutions paſſed one in which they declared all perſons, who ſhould in any degree attempt to carry the new ordinances into execution to be guilty of high treaſon, and to be proſecuted and puniſhed as ſuch. They were afterwards ſurrounded and their proceedings interrupted by a ſtrong detachment of the troops in garriſon; but the inhabitants flying in crouds to the reſcue of the parliament, and being joined by a vaſt concourſe of people from the adjacent country, the troops found themſelves compelled, after a great riot and ſome miſchief had taken place, to give way to the immenſe multitude of their antagoniſts, and relinquiſh their deſign; while no perſon would venture to ſerve the lettres de cachet, which had been ſent down for the exile or impriſonment of the members.

It

It does not appear that the troops upon this occaſion ſhewed any reluctance to the diſcharge of their duty. We hear no more of the parliament, who perhaps did not think it ſafe to proceed to greater lengths. A great provincial meeting was however convened, in order to determine upon the moſt effectual meaſures for oppoſing the execution of the new ordinances. At this aſſembly a grand deputation, compoſed of ſeveral eminent perſons, was appointed to proceed to Verſailles, and to remonſtrate ſtrongly with the king, in the name of the province, againſt the cour pleniere in particular, as being deemed the greateſt innovation, and the moſt dangerous to the parliaments, and in general againſt all the other new tribunals and ordinances. The confidence and ardour with which the deputation ſet out on their commiſſion, was ſuddenly checked upon their arrival at Verſailles, for they were not only refuſed an audience, but committed cloſe priſoners to the Baſtile.

During this ſeaſon of fruitleſs hope, continual diſappointment, conſtant turmoil, vexation and alarm, the agitation of the king's mind was frequently ſo great and apparent, as to excite the compaſſion of all who had an opportunity of being near his perſon; who were convinced that there could not be many men in his large dominions farther removed from happineſs than he evidently was. It was univerſally acknowledged on all ſides, and by all parties, that no man could mean better, or more fervently wiſh and fully intend the happineſs of his ſubjects; ſo that the epithet of *well-beloved* ſeemed a tribute flowing involuntarily from the hearts of the people; and foreigners as well as natives held but one opinion as to the juſtneſs of the application. For the king's wiſh to promote the eaſe, content, and happineſs of the people, was not a paſſive or inert diſpoſition, indulged only in ſpeculation; it was embodied and brought fully into act; he had done more in a few years for the gratification and benefit of his ſubjects, than had been done by all his predeceſſors, put together, from the foundation of the monarchy.

Unfortunately the ſtate was too deeply involved in debt and embarraſſment to be extricated or relieved by any thing within the immediate powers of the crown: the ſame benevolent diſpoſition which made him ready upon every occaſion to relinquiſh his perſonal intereſts, rendered him averſe to the execution of ſuch vigorous and deciſive meaſures as the exigencies of his affairs abſolutely required. To which is to be added, that in conſequence of the late reforms, dictated by the ſame love for his people, the monarchy had been diſmantled of what formed an eſſential part of its ſtrength and ſecurity.

It is well known that a conſiderable proportion of the numerous nobility of France have always been dependent on the crown for the means of ſupporting their rank, and preſerving the dignity of their families. All theſe ſaw themſelves now for ever cut off from that reſource, the king having equally put it out of his power to beſtow bounty, and to reward merit or ſervice. Above four hun-

dred perſons had already loſt their offices in the royal houſehold, and were turned adrift upon the world without means or reſource; a much greater number were affected in the ſame manner by the reductions in the military departments. It would not have been in human nature, that ſuch a change of condition, and ſuch a blite upon hope, did not produce a correſpondent change of ſentiments in the ſufferers, who, if they did not think themſelves actually injured, felt themſelves at leaſt ruined, and received little comfort in reflecting upon the cauſe or neceſſity of the meaſure; while that great number who were not yet in a ſtate to be loſers, but who might be ſaid to live in a great meaſure upon the hope and credit of future favour and proviſion, ſeeing now all the pleaſing proſpects in life which they had been uſed to flatter themſelves with at once cut off, thought themſelves no leſs unfortunate than the former; they all naturally directed their views to other proſpects and to other reſources; and thus the king loſt the attachment of that brave and powerful order of men, who had hitherto been the conſtant ſupporters and defenders of the monarchy.

Upon the ſame principle of relieving the people, the crown was farther weakened by reducing the gens d'armes, and other corps of houſhold troops, who beſides their inviolable attachment to the royal perſon and family, had, by their extraordinary courage, and peculiar ſenſe of honour, powerfully contributed to raiſe the military renown and glory of France, to that high pitch at which they arrived under Louis XIV. and his ſucceſſor.

The inſtitution of provincial aſſemblies afforded a notable inſtance of the king's wiſhes to render government as eaſy as poſſible to the people, and even to admit them to ſomething approaching to a republican ſhare in the internal adminiſtration of their affairs. Theſe aſſemblies were to be compoſed of a preſcribed number of each of the three eſtates, the nobles, clergy and commons, the members being freely elected by their reſpective orders; ſo that each aſſembly ſeemed in itſelf a circumſcribed meeting of the ſtates general; who were, however, paramount over all. They were to communicate to the crown information and advice on all matters relative to the province, including the ſentiments and particular grievances of the people, and had authority in many caſes to redreſs the latter; one of their principal objects was to attend to the collection of the revenue, and to remedy all abuſes in that department; and though they were not endued with powers to lay on taxes, they were to point out thoſe that were oppreſſive or vexatious, and to recommend others upon a better principle. They poſſeſſed other powers, which we have not ſeen fully explained; nor was there time to experience the benefits which the eſtabliſhment of the provincial aſſemblies was capable of producing. This meaſure, however, if not allowed to be a great advance towards a new conſtitution, was, at leaſt, a wonderful and little expected improvement of the old.

The

The assembly of the notables, whatever were its defects, had done great things towards meliorating the government, and bettering the condition of the lower orders of the people. In the performance of these beneficial acts they were much indebted, not only to the prompt operation of the court and ministers, but to their incessantly pointing out abuses, and proposing reforms; so that it would not be easy to determine on which side many of the measures of improvement originated. The enormities which prevailed in the mode of levying the taxes, and the boundless peculation which attended the collection, besides being ruinous to the state, had, from the days of Sully, been a constant source of the most intolerable grievance and oppression to the people. This subject the notables entered deeply into, traced various evils to their source, and recommended judicious remedies, which were immediately adopted.

The abolition of the corvee, in kind, which had for ages been a source of constant oppression to the country people, through the partial and unjustifiable manner in which the compulsion to labour upon the roads had been frequently exercised, was an act scarcely of greater utility than of mercy with respect to that most useful class of mankind. The commutation of money for personal service, at the option of the farmer, and thereby freeing him from the tyranny of petty officers, along with other regulations which went to guard against oppression in any shape or case, rendered the duty so comparatively light, that it seemed scarcely to be any longer considered as a burthen.

Other regulations, though lower in degree, were still of great public utility. Of these was the removal of the barriers between the different provinces, and the abolition of all internal taxes, duties and restrictions upon the transit of commodities from one to another, which had ever been so pernicious a check to the internal commerce of the country. The decree for laying open and free the commerce of grain throughout the kingdom, may perhaps be considered of still greater importance. Though we have already mentioned the relief afforded to the protestants, yet a measure which afforded security and happiness to so considerable a portion of the people, should not be overlooked in this enumeration of public benefits.

To those benefits actually conferred, may be fairly and without violence added, that greatest of all which was yet only in contemplation, it being at the present impossible to be carried into execution. This was no less than the total abolition of the gabelles throughout the kingdom, which had ever been the opprobrium of the French government, and the most odious and intolerable of all schemes of taxation to the people. This sublime idea, as it was deservedly termed in the assembly, was communicated to the notables on the day of their rising, by Monsieur, the king's brother, who declared, that it was his majesty's first wish and most earnest intention, and that he should ever consider the moment of its accomplishment as the happiest of his life,

life. This declaration undoubtedly contributed to the extraordinary adulation which marked the ſpeeches of that day, when the mayor, or chief magiſtrate of Paris, ſeeking not to be outdone in that figure of ſpeech called the hyperbole, made uſe of the following expreſſions:—"That Louis XVI. "would have been the exemplar "and model upon which Henry "the Great would have formed "himſelf, if the partial deſtiny of "the preſent generation of French-"men had not reſerved him to "complete their happineſs."—It was at no very diſtant period that the king was to be taught experimentally the true value of adulation and compliments.

It may, however, with truth and juſtice be affirmed, that few long reigns in any country, even among thoſe conſidered as the beſt and moſt glorious, have through their whole courſe been adorned with ſo many patriotic and beneficent acts, as had within a ſhort ſpace of time been communicated to the public in the preſent. And it is evident, that if Louis XVI. had lived at any other period ſince the foundation of the French monarchy, his name would have been now idolized, and that he would have been univerſally conſidered as the father of his people. So much may a man's fortune and fame depend upon the period as well as the country in which he is born.

To render the great improvements which, in conformity with the advice of the notables, had been made in the management and collection of the public revenue thoroughly effective, a new, efficient, and reſponſible council of finance, compoſed of ſeveral of the great officers of ſtate, was inſtituted, immediately after the riſing of that body; a meaſure which they had indeed recommended, but was not at the time abſolutely agreed to. This council was bound to publiſh annually a clear ſtatement of the receipts and expenditure of the preceding year, ſo that the balance, which had long been, and for the preſent muſt be the deficiency of the former, might be ſeen at a ſingle view, and all the particulars on both ſides of the account were open to public inſpection and examination. No meaſure could have afforded greater ſatisfaction, or have been more generally popular, than the inſtitution of this council, if time had been afforded for its effect to operate. For the whole buſineſs of finance being before lodged (with ſcarcely any check upon him) in the hands of a comptroller general, theſe miniſters were univerſally ſuſpected and charged with the moſt unbounded and profligate waſte of the public treaſure: and theſe accuſations having been in many inſtances ſtrongly ſupported by concurrent circumſtances, much of the public diſtreſs had, at various times, and probably with too much reaſon, been attributed to this cauſe.

But theſe reforms and improvements, however excellent in their deſign, and however beneficial they might hereafter prove in their effect, could afford no preſent relief to government. The notables, therefore, recommended to the king, after all the retrenchments which he had already made, a ſtill farther reduction in the royal and public

public expences, to the extraordinary amount of 40 millions of livres annually. Though this propoſal was complied with, that aſſembly were ſtill ſenſible, that this ſaving, great as it was, could in no degree ſupply the immediate exigencies of the ſtate, by enabling government to fulfil the public engagements to its creditors, and at the ſame time to provide for the unavoidable civil and military eſtabliſhments. For theſe purpoſes, a tax or taxes were indiſpenſably neceſſary, upon the ſecurity of which ſuch a loan could be raiſed, as would be ſufficient to extricate the ſtate from its preſent difficulties, and thereby afford time for the ſyſtem of reform and œconomy now adopted, as well as the unexampled preſents made by the ſovereign to the public, to operate in producing their proper effects.

Though the notables had diſclaimed all authority in themſelves to grant ſupplies, and only aſſumed to adviſe or recommend, yet their ſanction, firſt in ſhewing the abſolute neceſſity of laying on new taxes to carry on the public buſineſs, and then in recommending or approving thoſe which were intended, was reaſonably deemed by government a matter of great importance, conſidering the difficulties which the parliament threw in the way of all its operations. The firſt was completely afforded by that aſſembly, who examining carefully the whole ſyſtem of finance, ſhewed the exact amount of the revenue, and exceſs of the expenditure, rendering it ſo clear as not to admit of a queſtion, that it was impoſſible to conduct government without additional ſupplies.

They in general approved, though with ſome difference of degree in reſpect to its parts, of that ſcheme of taxation propoſed by the miniſters for ſupplying the preſent emergencies, by which the burthen was to be laid upon thoſe parts of the nation, which were the beſt able to ſupport its weight, upon the great commercial and landed intereſts. The intended tax upon ſtamps, which was afterwards deſcribed in ſuch odious colours, not only received the moſt unqualified approbation from the notables, but they ſeemed to ſtep beyond the lines which they had preſcribed to themſelves, by recommending its extenſion with reſpect both to objects and duty, farther than either the original deſign or the adopted ſcheme reached; declaring that it would be little burthenſome to the people, and particularly ſo to the laborious countryman, to whoſe condition they, upon every occaſion, paid the greateſt attention.

But with reſpect to the act for the territorial revenue, or land-tax, which would have fallen upon the nobility and clergy, and thereby removed, ſo far as it went, thoſe exemptions which had been ſo long conſidered as an intolerable grievance, here it would ſeem that the patriotiſm of the aſſembly began to fail, or that they were awed by the potent bodies whoſe intereſts were concerned. Upon this ſubject, the notables were guarded, cautious, and indeciſive; and though they could not conſiſtently with their own avowed ſentiment but approve the principle of the tax, they did it heſitatingly, and to get entirely quit of the queſtion, flew off ſuddenly to the old plea of total incompetency with reſpect to taxation, a buſineſs, they ſaid, which reſted ſolely

ſolely with the ſovereign, and to whoſe prudence and diſcretion it muſt be entirely referred. It was rather a curious circumſtance of obſervation, that a little before this diſplay of extreme delicacy, they had ſtrongly recommended a tax upon the city of Paris, whoſe vaſt increaſe of population, they repreſented as extremely injurious to the kingdom at large, and whoſe inhabitants ſhould therefore be more heavily taxed than the laborious countrymen.

The territorial revenue act, upon the whole, received their tacit approbation; they owned the juſtneſs of the principle, made no objection to any of the parts, and only recommended, or hinted at, ſome doubtful improvement in the mode of regulation.

Theſe two taxes would have been ſufficient to remove all the diſtreſſes, and to afford energy and eaſe to all the operations of government. The king had ſolemnly engaged, that if their produce exceeded the neceſſary public demands, or without that, as the neceſſities of the ſtate were diminiſhed by ſavings and the diſcharge of debts, he would, in either caſe, remit the overplus, and continually leſſen as much as poſſible the burthen to the people. Nor could he recede from this engagement, if he was even ſo inclined, (which was, however, little to be ſuppoſed) as the ſtate of the public accounts, which was to be publiſhed every year by the new council of finance, muſt have effectually bound him to the performance.

The people being now relieved from a number of their moſt crying grievances, and having full room to hope, and rational grounds for expectation, that what was already done was only introductory to a progreſſive courſe of meaſures for the melioration of the conſtitution, and the improvement of all the departments of government, it might ſeem that little more was wanting than an accommodating and conciliatory diſpoſition in the parliament of Paris, by filling up the line already traced by the notables, to have eſtabliſhed the proſperity of the preſent reign upon the firmeſt baſis, that of the happineſs and conſequent affection of the people.

But the public diſorders were too deep and too firmly fixed to be eradicated, and too vigorous and rapid in their growth to be checked by any common reſtraints or impediments. The nation was ſplit into violent factions; and theſe, however various and diſtinct their views might be in other things, were all agreed in one point, which was, to reduce the king to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs for want of money, that finding it impoſſible to conduct the buſineſs of government otherwiſe, he ſhould be compelled by neceſſity to adopt their favourite meaſure of convoking the ſtates general. None of the parliaments, any more than that of Paris, could eſcape being influenced by theſe powerful parties, and of courſe adopted their political opinions and principles.

In the mean time the cabals of the innovators began about this time to be regularly formed and embodied, and to ſpread through every part of France, who, inſtead of looking with other parties to changes of men, or to an alteration of meaſures in the adminiſtration of public affairs, directed their views to the utter ſubverſion of

government;

government. If the parliament was not immediately under the influence of these cabals, they at least prepared the way for the confusion that followed, by their conduct and proceedings in the violent contests with the king since the rejection of the two money bills. For the paper war, as it may justly be termed, which they incessantly carried on, and took so much care to publish, and which was in a great measure directly and personally pointed against the king, could not but tend in a great degree to render the sovereign odious, as well as contemptible. Indeed, many of their published documents, exclusive of their reproach and invective, bore rather the character of manifestos, than of resolutions and remonstrances, as they were called.

Their effect went far beyond the original design. For, while they were intended only to render certain modes or forms of authority odious or ridiculous, they equally affected all; and loosening all those bonds of opinion, which are the great cement of mankind, made way for that general contempt of all orders, establishments, and authorities, which the parliaments themselves have since so bitterly experienced. Disorder, confusion, and anarchy spread through the kingdom; and they found too late, that they had raised a spirit which they could never be able to lay.

On Sunday the 13th of July, 1788, about nine in the morning, without any eclipse, a dreadful and almost total darkness suddenly overspread the face of the earth, in several parts of France, and this awful gloom was the prelude to a tempest or hurricane, supposed to be without example in the temperate climates of Europe. During this violent concussion of the elements, wind, rain, hail, thunder, and lightening seemed to contend in impetuosity; but the hail was the great instrument of ruin and destruction. The whole face of nature was so totally changed in about an hour, that no person who had slept during the tempest could have believed himself in the same part of the world when he awoke. Instead of the smiling bloom of summer, and the rich prospects of forward autumn, which were just before spread over the face of that fertile and beautiful country, it now presented the dreary aspect of universal winter, in the most sterile and gloomy of the arctic regions. The soil was changed into a morass, the standing corn beaten into the quagmire, the vines broken to pieces, and their branches buried in the same manner, the fruit-trees of every kind demolished, and the hail lying unmelted in heaps, like rocks of solid ice.

The country people, on their way to church, beaten down in the fields by the fury of the tempest, and nearly suffocated as they lay by the water and mud, concluding it to be the last day, and expecting the immediate dissolution of all things, scarcely attempted to extricate themselves. The hail was said to be composed of enormous solid and angular pieces of ice, some of them weighing from eight to ten ounces, and were reported to be as hard as diamonds. Even the robust forest trees were incapable of withstanding the fury of the tempest; and a large wood of chesnut-trees, in particular, was so dilapidated, that it presented little

little more after than the bare and naked trunks, the boughs being either entirely broken off, or hacked and mangled in a manner that heightened the deplorable effect of the appearance.

The disordered state of public affairs prevented both the course and extent of this hurricane from being defined as it would in a happier season. The thoughts of those who were qualified to observe and record so extraordinary a phenomenon, were otherwise occupied; and the sufferers could only describe what they immediately felt, with little curiosity as to the fate of others. The tempest seems to have been very irregular in its operation, and while several large districts were entirely desolated, other intermediate portions of country received much less, or comparatively little damage. One of sixty square leagues, was so totally ruined, as not to have a single ear of corn, nor a fruit of any kind left; and the trees and vines were so miserably hacked and battered, that four years was the shortest period estimated for their being again in any degree productive. Of the 66 parishes included in the district of Pontoise, 43 were entirely desolated, while of the remaining 23 some lost two thirds, and others not above half their harvest.

The isle of France, and the Orleanois, seem to have been the principal scenes of devastation; and the magnitude of the damage may perhaps afford some clue to calculators, whereby to estimate the extent of the calamity. The loss or damage was said to be moderately estimated at fourscore millions of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. This was confined to the losses sustained by the farmers, or more generally the damage done to the growths of the earth; the devastation of churches, steeples, and houses, not being included in the calculation.

The king, in the first instance, granted an immediate benevolence of 1,200,000 livres to the sufferers, and, as a farther relief, established a lottery of 40,000 tickets in their favour; he likewise remitted all taxes to them for a year to come. All possible measures were immediately pursued for procuring such an importation of corn, from those countries that could at all spare any, as might supply the domestic loss; but unfortunately, the harvests in most parts of Europe had of late been so indifferent, and the devouring war in the north occasioned so incessant a demand for all kinds of provision, that the wished-for supply to be obtained by these means fell far short of expectation: even England could not afford any aid in the present exigence, and America was too distant for present or near relief. The duke of Orleans was eminently distinguished by the extent of his benevolences upon this occasion, which his immense fortune, as the richest subject in Europe, rendered a matter of no difficulty. Several of the nobility and dignified clergy merited great praise upon the same account. In general, the great land-holders, and owners of estates in the ruined countries, besides the remission of a year's rent, and procuring seed corn from distant parts for their tenants, do not seem to have spared any pains in their endeavours to preserve the multitude from perishing in the interim, by procuring them such sustenance

as

as came within their reach and ability. But notwithstanding every thing that was and perhaps could be done, the distresses of the people throughout France were great, severe, and lasting.

This unforeseen and irresistible stroke of calamity, coming on at a season, already so strongly and unhappily marked, by the violence of faction, by public discontent, and by political dissention, when all men were looking to, or apprehending some great convulsion in the state, produced such an effect upon the people in general, that the nation seemed to have changed its character, and instead of that levity and gaiety by which it had ever been distinguished, and which was ill concealed even in the most serious affairs, a settled and melancholy gloom now seemed fixed in every countenance.

An arret, which had been issued by the council of state, a few days previous to this misfortune, although only remotely preparatory to the future assembling of the states general, yet as it shewed that the court had not abandoned the design, and that measures were in train for the execution of that purpose, was so exceedingly popular, that the funds rose three per cent. upon it, and a gleam of hope, satisfaction, and good humour, was spread through the country for the short intervening time.

The king found himself at length under a necessity of abandoning the new constitution, which he held so much at heart, and from which he had formed the most sanguine hopes. The opposition to it was so great, so general, and so determined, that it was impossible to be surmounted. The dukes de Rochefoucault, De Noailles, Luxemburgh, and several others, who stood among the highest of the kingdom in point of rank, weight, and public opinion, rejected the king's nomination, and absolutely refused to sit in the cour pleniere. There was no alternative. The king was condemned to submit to this public insult, and to retract all he had done. Thus was the court sunk to the lowest ebb of degradation, while the parliaments were exalted to the pinnacle of triumph and power.

In the mean time the poverty of government was now so extreme, that it became incapable of discharging its functions, or answering the public demands, through the mere want of money, or of credit to raise it, so that a public bankruptcy seemed fast approaching. In this state, the king issued an arret, in which, after declaring the deplorable situation of the finances, his own inability to raise taxes, and the total want of confidence in the public, with respect to loans, he gives notice that in these circumstances, only a certain proportion of the demands on the treasury could be paid in cash, and the remainder to be taken in bills payable in a year, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, the bills likewise to be received as money in the subscription to the first loan that was raised.

Though publicity was the first object of such a notice, and could alone give it any effect, yet such was the consciousness of shame or apprehension that operated on the court, that the copies of the arret seemed to be distributed by stealth on Monday evening, the 18th of August. But neither this precaution, the fairness of the propofals, nor the goodness

goodneſs of the ſecurity, which (if government was capable at all of ſubſiſting in any form) muſt have been conſidered as undeniable, could prevent ſuch a general alarm, as was nearly without example, from being ſpread through the city of Paris on the following morning. The immediate conſequences were a great fall of the ſtocks, and a violent run upon the caiſſe d'eſcomptes; or, as it was conſidered, the national bank. For two days, the crowd who came to change their notes, were ſo great and preſſing, that the guards were obliged to marſhal and keep them in order, to prevent confuſion, and that each might be brought forward in turn to the bank. By procuring all the caſh that was poſſible, and uſing much addreſs to make each payment take up as much time as it was capable of admitting with decency, the bank was enabled to weather the tempeſt, until an edict from the king relieved them on the third day, commanding all bankers and others to receive their bills in payment as caſh; a meaſure which afforded little ſatisfaction to the public, although it ſaved the caiſſe d'eſcomptes.

In the mean time, public diſcontents were heightened by private diſtreſs. Want and miſery began to be felt in different parts of the kingdom, and the capital itſelf to grow apprehenſive of a famine. Bread, which is more properly the ſtaff of life in that country than any other, and where the conſumption of it is ſo prodigious as to appear incredible to ſtrangers, had already riſen in Paris from two and a half to four ſous per pound: and worſe being ſtill expected, prudent families began to diſcharge their ſervants, and contract their mode of living, which neceſſarily increaſed the number of idlers, who through the general ſtagnation of buſineſs being unable to procure any kind of employment, already crowded the ſtreets and open parts of the metropolis, and were in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs.

Under this alarming aſpect of affairs, the prime miniſter, the archbiſhop of Sens, looking more to his own ſafety than to the duty or gratitude which he owed to his royal maſter, Aug. 25th, 1788. made no ſcruple of leaving him alone to weather the approaching tempeſt as he could; and as his predeceſſor had found it neceſſary to ſeek an aſylum in England upon his own coming into power, ſo he now, taking a contrary direction for the ſame purpoſe, departed with the utmoſt expedition for Italy. We have heretofore ſhewn that this prelate, then archbiſhop of Tholouſe, ſucceeded M. de Calonne in the adminiſtration of the finances. His riſe from thence to the ſummit of power and greatneſs, was rapid. He was appointed prime miniſter, an office which conveys ſo much authority in France as not be frequently filled. He was promoted to the archbiſhopric of Sens, which conveys along with it the primacy of the Gauls, the greateſt and moſt honourable eccleſiaſtical dignity in the kingdom, and which beſides ſecures the reverſion of a cardinal's hat.

The archbiſhop came into government under very favourable auſpices. He poſſeſſed a very conſiderable

ſiderable ſhare of popularity; and the nation was generally diſpoſed to hold a favourable opinion both of his ability and diſpoſition. To this may be added, that the odium and averſion which purſued his predeceſſor, was convertible to a fund of public credit and ſupport in favour of an immediate ſucceſſor.

Thus far things ſtood well on the ſide of the miniſter. But, having uſed indirect methods to facilitate his aſcent to power, theſe in their effect proved his ruin. For having aſſumed an appearance of patriotiſm, he had long embarked deeply with the popular party in their oppoſition to the crown, and was initiated in all their ſecrets and cabals. When this maſk was of neceſſity laid by, he was conſidered and treated as a renegado, devoid of all honour and principle, and oppoſed and purſued with all the uſual virulence and inveteracy of party; at the ſame time that his new friends were, from the ſame cauſe, at all times doubtful of his ſincerity and honeſty. From hence his deſigns were continually defeated in the execution, his ſchemes, without any regard to their utility, overthrown, and he ſoon became the moſt unpopular man in France.

Moderate men, who did not look through the medium of party, conſidered a total want of ſyſtem, as the great defect of his adminiſtration; they likewiſe charged him with a haſty adoption of raſh and violent meaſures, with a ſudden and weak dereliction of them, and with a total want of that firmneſs and fortitude which could enable him to ſupport any meaſure or any line of conduct, in the face of oppoſition, or under the remoteſt appearance of danger. To this defect they aſcribe the circumſtance, of his adminiſtration's becoming contemptible as well as odious.

The king's ſituation was ſufficiently difficult and embarraſſing; compelled lately to diſmiſs a favourite miniſter, forſaken now by his ſucceſſor, who left him involved in all the troubles which the raſhneſs or failure of his meaſures had occaſioned, and deſtitute in himſelf of thoſe great and commanding perſonal qualities, which have often wrought ſuch wonders in critical affairs, and which were never more neceſſary than in the preſent inſtance, to enable him to ſtem that torrent of diſcontent and diſorder, which was ſpreading with ſuch violence through his dominions.

Thus circumſtanced, he perceived no other reſource, than that of throwing himſelf into the arms of the popular party, and, by coinciding with their propoſals, to endeavour to reſtore concord and harmony in the kingdom, and to obtain that perſonal quiet which he ſought beyond all things. Little diſpoſed himſelf to any exertions of arbitrary power, and as little calculated by nature for their ſupport, conceſſions offered no great violence to his feelings. He ſaw that the ſpirit which had been ſhewn upon different occaſions, by perſons the moſt nearly related to him, in their endeavours to ſupport the prerogative, or to inſpire vigour into the general meaſures of adminiſtration, had rendered them univerſally odious, and that their party was become too weak to admit any further attempts with a probability of ſucceſs.

The firſt ſtep to be taken, upon this change of ſyſtem, was in a great meaſure declaratory and deciſive

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with respect to those that were to follow. This was the recal of the celebrated Mr. Neckar, and the placing him again at the head of the finances. This gentleman was become the idol of the people, in a degree, perhaps without example, with respect to any man, in any country, under similar circumstances. Several causes concurred in procuring him this extraordinary popularity. His famous "*Compte rendu au Roi,*" in which he laid open to all the world the expenditure, revenue, and resources of France, and disclosed all those arcana of the state and monarchy which had hitherto been deemed most sacred and unrevealable, although a measure, perhaps, not very justifiable, and certainly without precedent in that country, was, however, highly captivating to the people. His subsequent contests with, and frequent publications against, M. de Calonne, considering the popular hatred under which that minister laboured, could not but greatly increase these effects; nor could the very able defences of his antagonist be of any avail, with judges whose opinions were predetermined. The circumstance of his being, by birth at least, a republican, was so fortunately adapted to the spirit and disposition of the times, that it was not only sufficient to remove all prejudices with respect to his being a foreigner and a protestant, but would have rendered him popular if he had not been so otherwise.

Such was the state of things when Mr. Neckar was again placed at the head of public affairs. The joy of the people was undescribable, and their expectations and hopes passed all bounds of reason and possibility. It seemed as if they conceived that he possessed a magical wand; that by waving it he could pay off an immense public debt without money; and that by another movement he could, with the same ease, supply 25 millions of people with corn and bread. Circumstances seemed for a moment to give a sanction to the delusion; the funds suddenly rose, and the general good-humour seemed to dispel all those black clouds, which hung so heavily over the political horizon.

The new minister neglected nothing which could tend to the support of that public opinion so essential to his fame and greatness. Fortune favoured him with an opportunity of signalizing his entrance into office by a grand stroke, excellently calculated to justify the most sanguine hopes that had been formed of his administration. This was no less than the restoration of public credit, which had been deeply affected by the late arret relative to payments at the treasury. Mr. Neckar soon discovered, and perhaps previously knew, that there were large sums of money lying in several of the public departments, destined to assigned purposes which were not yet in being. Secure of this support, he immediately issued public notice, that all demands on the treasury should in future be immediately paid in ready money. Nothing could ever produce greater eclat. He was called the Saviour of the country; the preservation of France from the ruin and disgrace of public bankruptcy universally ascribed to him; and all the evils in which the country was plunged, were looked upon as already cured. He likewise used all possible means to draw corn from different parts to the relief of the metropolis, where the natural turbulence of the inhabitants

bitants was liable, upon any accidental occaſion, to be ſtimulated to acts of outrage and violence.

The coming in of Mr. Neckar was attended with the diſmiſſion of all the principals of the archbiſhop's party, of whom, his brother, the count de Brienne, miniſter of the war department, and M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, could not but lead the way. Every body ſuppoſed that the reſtoration of the parliament of Paris to its functions would have been one of the firſt effects of the change in the miniſtry; and the ſhort delay which intervened, was attributed to ſome explanations which were required from the leaders of that body, as to the courſe which they intended to purſue, with reſpect to the meaſures adopted by the late adminiſtration, particularly with regard to the ſuſpenſion.

However that was, the parliament met about the middle of September, and, after ſome diſplay of moderation in their firſt ſittings, ſoon began a new ſquabble with the crown, on the ground of proſecuting thoſe members of the late miniſtry who were forthcoming, particularly Meſſ. de Lamoignon and de Brienne, for the evil advice they had given, and the miſchiefs which they had thereby drawn upon the nation. But the king peremptorily refuſed to admit this proſecution; declaring that he alone was reſponſible for all the late meaſures; and that if any miſchiefs took place, they proceeded entirely from the refractory conduct and obſtinacy of the parliament.

In the mean time the populace of Paris began to make a diſplay of that ungoverned and riotous diſpoſition, which has ſince rendered them ſo conſpicuous. It ſeems probable that the king's refuſal to admit the proſecution againſt M. de Lamoignon, the late keeper of the ſeals, directed their fury againſt that gentleman, as the riot commenced immediately after. A multitude of people, ſeemingly for ſport, aſſembled about the Pont Neuf, where they amuſed themſelves for ſome time with throwing ſquibs and crackers, and obliging the paſſers-by to take off their hats, and bow to the ſtatue of Henry the Fourth. But ſeeming to grow tired of that ſport, they ſuddenly provided themſelves with lighted torches, and proceeded in a body to burn and deſtroy the houſe of M. de Lamoignon. The timely interference of the guards ſaved the houſe, and probably the life of that gentleman, to whom his country owed ſo much for his admirable reform of the code of criminal juſtice, and in whoſe humane regulations in the mode of proſecution, the order of men who now fought his deſtruction were ſo nearly and particularly concerned. The crowd diſperſed upon the interference of the military, but re-aſſembled in another part, and were proceeding to burn the late keeper in effigy, when finding themſelves purſued, and again interrupted by the guards, their indignation was raiſed ſo high, that they ſtood a battle with them; but were ſoon routed, above thirty of their number being killed, and a much greater number undoubtedly wounded.

The parliament ſoon afforded an inſtance of the degree of moderation with which they were diſpoſed to exerciſe power or to enjoy triumph, as well as of the terms upon which they intended to ſtand with the court. That body cauſed all the king's decrees, which related to their ſuſpen-

ſion, or which they conſidered as encroaching upon their privileges, to be publicly burnt in Paris. In this act, the heinouſneſs of the example to a turbulent and inflamed populace, kept pace with the wantonneſs of the inſult.

Oct. 11th.

The only public buſineſs of any conſequence which was tranſacted during the remainder of the year 1788, was the ſummoning a new convention of the Notables, who met in the beginning of November. The object of aſſembling them was to receive their opinion and advice, in anſwer to a number of written queſtions propoſed to them, relative to the organization of the ſtates general, the mode of election to be purſued, the qualifications of the electors, and of the elected, the numbers to be returned by the reſpective diſtricts, whether with reſpect to their wealth or population, the general number of which the ſtates were to be compoſed, the proportionate number of the three orders with reſpect to each other, and other matters upon the ſame ſubject. The meeting of the ſtates was fixed for the 1ſt of May 1789.

The unequalled ſeverity of the winter could not but produce the moſt deplorable effects, in a country where the people were already ſo much diſtreſſed for want of ſubſiſtence. It was in vain that bounties were offered for the importation of wheat, rye, and other grain. The countries of Europe were in no condition, in any degree, to ſupply the wants of ſo prodigious a number of people; the relief, however, thus furniſhed, although far from ſufficient, undoubtedly preſerved multitudes from periſhing. Paris probably ſuffered more than the provinces; but the want in all was extreme. The turbulence and extraordinary ill temper of the people, induced them, inſtead of looking to the general effect of bad harveſts, or to the particular ruin occaſioned by the late hurricane, to attribute the ſcarcity and dearneſs of bread to the nefarious ſchemes of the court, which they charged with the impoſſible crime of exporting the corn by ſtealth to foreign countries. Next to the court, their rage was directed againſt ſuppoſed monopolizers, ſo that in proceſs of time, the property of thoſe merchants and corn-dealers, who endeavoured to feed the markets regularly with ſuch a proportion of grain, as the ſtock in the country could afford for a continuance, was not only ſubjected to the rapine and deſtruction of the lawleſs rabble, but their perſons to the moſt ignominious and cruel deaths. Thus every thing concurred to foſter and promote that lawleſs ungovernable ſpirit which now prevailed; and the common people proceeding ſucceſsfully from one act of atrocity to the commiſſion of another, became at length thoroughly hardened, and capable, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, of unheard-of cruelties and barbarity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Retroſpect continued. Emperor's conduct in the Low Countries, renews thoſe diſcontents and apprehenſions, which ſeemed happily removed by the late accommodation. Count Trautmanſdorff and General Dalton appointed to the conduct of civil and military affairs. Diſpute about the new ſeminary at Louvain unexpectedly renewed. Count Trautmanſdorff ſends a peremptory order to the heads of the univerſity, to carry the emperor's propoſed reform into immediate execution. They, pleading the laws and the conſtitution, refuſe to comply. Council of Brabant, refuſing to give their ſanction to the violent meaſures intended againſt the univerſity of Louvain, are threatened with compulſion. Military drawn up, and artillery brought forward to intimidate the council. Populace fired on by the troops, and ſeveral killed or wounded. Refractory heads of the univerſity of Louvain expelled by force of arms. Kind declaration of the emperor reſpecting his ſubjects in the Netherlands, ſucceeded by a cruel ſlaughter of the people by the troops at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp. General horror ſpread throughout the provinces. People of condition emigrate to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring countries.—Germany.—Country of Lippe Schaumbourg ſeized, on the death of the prince, by the landgrave of Heſſe. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the family. Interpoſition of the king of Pruſſia, procures the reſtoration of their poſſeſſions to the infant prince and his mother. Diſpute between the elector of Cologn and the pope's nuncio. Spirited conduct of the elector. Liberal grant of the magiſtracy of Cologn to the proteſtant inhabitants, allowing them to build a place of worſhip, a ſchool, and a houſe for their miniſter. Wiſe political conduct of the king of Pruſſia. Leagues with England and Holland, to counteract the combination of the Eaſtern powers. Plays a high game in Poland. Diet comes thoroughly into his views. Augmentation of the army to 60,000 men decreed. New commiſſion for the diſpoſition and government of the military force of the republic. King of Pruſſia propoſes a cloſe alliance, and to guarantee all her dominions. Great debates in the diet. Philippic againſt the emperor. Ruſſian party totally defeated. Growing importance of the republic already apparent. Turkey and Sweden ſeek alliances with her. Declaration by the Grand Signior. Miniſters appointed by the republic to different European powers. Influence of Pruſſia ſeems thoroughly eſtabliſhed in that country.

WE make no doubt but the public in general participated in the ſatisfaction with which we announced, at the cloſe of the year 1787, the apparently happy accommodation, which had then recently taken place, between the emperor and our ancient neighbours, his ſubjects, the ſtates and inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The joy in the Low Countries was extreme upon this occaſion, and the public rejoicings highly ſplendid; for, notwithſtanding the ſturdineſs with which the people reſiſted oppreſſion, and their determined reſolution to expoſe themſelves to all the dangers and

calamities of war in defence of their ancient rights, yet it was impoſſible to conſider, without terror, the inequality of the conteſt into which they were entering with ſo mighty a power; ſo that their reſiſtance muſt be attributed rather to the violence of deſpair, than to a courage founded on any rational hope of ſucceſs,

This joy was, however, damped with the more ſerious and reflecting by the ſore conſideration, founded on repeated experience, that they could place no reliance on the faith of the ſovereign, and were deſtitute of all other ſecurity. Some room for hope, however, ſtill remained. It became now known that the emperor was ſo deeply involved in ſchemes of war and conqueſt with Ruſſia on the ſide of Turkey, that it ſeemed probable his other neighbours, and the more remote of his own ſubjects, might, at leaſt for a time, eſcape the effects of that reſtleſs ambition and incurable ſpirit of innovation, which had been ſo continual a ſource of alarm and trouble to both. Yet even this conſideration could not remove the apprehenſions of thoſe who knew the high reſentment and laſting animoſity which he bore againſt all oppoſers of his authority; which he held paramount to all laws, conſtitutions, and covenants; and who, regarding all reſiſtance to his will as a deep wound to his dignity, muſt accordingly conſider it as a crime of the firſt magnitude. Theſe could not but ſuſpect the preſent calm; nor were they eaſily induced to believe, that all the late violence was already buried in oblivion. They accordingly dreaded, that however deeply his generals were engaged on the Danube, he would find leiſure himſelf to renew his deſigns on the Netherlands, and means to puniſh the ſuppoſed affront he had received.

They ſaw too well that notwithſtanding all the joy excited by the late accommodation, it had been too haſtily concluded to afford any well-founded hopes of its permanence; that ſome of the moſt critical ſubjects in diſpute, particularly with reſpect to the new ſeminary at Louvain, were ſtill undecided; and the conſequence of leaving any point of diſcuſſion open with ſuch a controvertiſt, was too much to be apprehended. Too much, they thought, had been truſted on their ſide to promiſed and implied gracious and good intentions; and they imagined they knew from experience at what rate to eſtimate the value of theſe. Even the emperor's declaration (which had with ſuch difficulty been drawn forth, after every guard had been ſurrendered on truſt to it) was too looſely framed and worded not to be eaſily ſet aſide by the forced conſtruction which it might receive. To increaſe their apprehenſions they had the mortification to obſerve, that while no ſecurity, that could properly be conſidered as ſuch, was afforded on the other ſide, they had themſelves given up the only one they poſſeſſed. They had diſbanded their young, bold and ſpirited militia; annihilated all their badges and bands of military diſtinction and union; and taken the arms out of their hands, to place them in thoſe which might poſſibly uſe them to their deſtruction. So that, with reſpect to defence,

fence, they were in an infinitely worſe ſtate than they had been before the accommodation.

The event too ſoon ſhewed how well theſe apprehenſions were founded. The ſpirit diſplayed by the people in the tumult of the 20th of September, and particularly the ſignal courage ſhewn by the militia in braving the regular forces, although theſe very circumſtances, through the excellent temper and conduct of count Murray, led the way to the enſuing happy reconciliation, yet could not but be conſidered as unforgiveable inſults to his authority, by ſo haughty and arbitrary a ſpirit as the emperor's. He accordingly, who never conſidered the multiplicity of troubleſome affairs as any embarraſſment in his proceedings, or any bar to his engaging in new adventures, now determined, without regard to the approaching Ottoman war, by no means to deſiſt from the execution of his deſigns on the Low Countries; but while he exterminated the Turks with one hand on his eaſtern frontier, to aſtoniſh the world by the immeaſurable extent of that power, which could with the other break and ſubjugate the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Netherlanders at the extremity of his weſtern borders. This would nearly if not entirely complete the deſign, which many conſidered as his great favourite, of eſtabliſhing one ſimple, uniform, military ſyſtem of government, through all the parts of his vaſt dominions; whereby all diſtinctions in government, religion, laws, and rights being annihilated, and the people formed into one common maſs, the whole empire might be governed with the ſame regular facility as a ſingle garriſon town.

For this purpoſe new men were neceſſarily employed, as well as new meaſures purſued in the Netherlands. The lenient conciliating diſpoſition of the count de Murray, notwithſtanding the happy effects which it had ſo recently produced, and that degree of apparent approbation, which it would not have been prudent to withhold, and which it had accordingly ſince received, was not at all ſuited to the objects now in proſpect. He was of courſe laid by, and General Dalton, a veteran of great experience, and ſtanding high in military reputation, was appointed commander in chief of the forces in the Low Countries. This officer being a ſoldier of fortune and a foreigner, deſtitute of all local connections in the countries where he ſerved, and weaned by long abſence from all ties with his own *, naturally looked up to the ſovereign, from whom he received employment and promotion, as the only object of his attachment. Thus circumſtanced and ſituated, holding the ſword as the only arbiter of laws and rights, and owning himſelf accountable to no ſuperior but his ſovereign, it could ſcarcely be expected that he ſhould heſitate at the execution of his commands, or enter into any ſcrupulous enquiries as to their legality, juſtice, or humanity.

* General Dalton, or D'Alton, as the emperor conſtantly calls him in his correſpondence, was a native of Ireland. He was raiſed to the dignity of a count by the emperor. Another general of the ſame name, but ſaid to be of a different family, and totally different in character, is now living in the Auſtrian ſervice.

But exclusive of these circumstances, he was a man of a harsh, severe, and perhaps by nature cruel temper; dispositions not likely to be softened by a life not only spent in camps and armies, but, as it happened to be, for several years in the constant fellowship of some of the roughest and fiercest nations in the world, which inhabit the Austrian eastern frontiers, and of course compose a principal part of their armies in that quarter. In that service Dalton had been highly distinguished by his activity and conduct in the suppression of the rebellion which broke out in the mountainous borders of Transylvania and Walachia; where he, however, rendered himself more conspicuous by the ample execution which he made of these unfortunate and barbarous people, and the unrelenting severity, if not cruelty, which he was said to have exercised on the prisoners. Such a man was ill calculated for a military command in such a government as the Netherlands, and in such a state of jealousy and suspicion as now prevailed among the people; but these particularities in his character were possibly what rendered him at this time an object of choice, and soon placed him in the most enviable point of view, as a first-rate favourite.

Count Trautmansdorff was at the same time appointed to the civil government of the country, in the character of minister plenipotentiary; the governors general upon their arrival, which was promised to be speedily, being only, on the new system, to enjoy the splendour, and toil through the pageantries of the court, without their holding any share in the public business; for their former lenience was so far from being pleasing, that it is said to have been a standing subject of comment and reproof, at least to one of them, during her continuance at Vienna. Trautmansdorff's appointment afforded great satisfaction to the people, as he was reckoned a humane reasonable man, of excellent character and dispositions: but it was soon discovered that good dispositions were of no avail, under the direction of a superintending power which forbade their operation.

Both the civil and military ministers, full fraught with instructions, and the principal lines of the system which they were to pursue fairly traced out, arrived at Brussels some time before the close of the year 1787. They were not, however, immediately to disturb the present peaceable and happy order of things. The states of Brabant were suffered to proceed quietly, previously to their breaking up as usual at Christmas, in voting the customary subsidies, and in making all those condescensions to the sovereign, which were either required by the late settlement, or which spontaneously flowed from their own disposition, in that interval of joy and good-humour.

The affair of the new seminary at Louvain was still unfortunately left open; although if it had not existed, some other apt subject would have been undoubtedly found out for lighting up the flames of contention. But though the emperor did not in terms give up that point, it seemed in some sort included in his declaration of restoring the people to all their civil and ecclesiastical rights; and still more fully by his repeated assurances

assurances and professions, that there was nothing he wished more than their ease, content and happiness, and that he would consult the states on all matters relative to those subjects.

The states of Brabant had not, however, time to enjoy the festivity or repose of that convivial season, when they were roused into astonishment by the suddenness and violence of the attack which count Trautmansdorff had already commenced against the university of Louvain. This was scarcely more alarming, or at least not more surprising, than the strange and sudden change which had taken place in the language and tone of government; so that those who had been of late used to its softest and most pleasing sounds, could hardly believe they heard the same voice. Every proposition was now a command, and announced in the most decisive and peremptory terms. The will of the sovereign was the sole authority now held out upon every occasion, and as a sanction to every measure; and to that all things were to give way, under the terrors of military execution. Laws, rights, and constitutions were no more to be heard of. It was in vain to repine; and as fruitless to complain of circumvention and fraud. There was no superior to appeal to; and the people had parted with their arms.

It appears that Trautmansdorff, a little before the end of the year, had sent peremptory orders in the emperor's name to the rector, heads and doctors of the university of Louvain, commanding them without deliberation or delay, without any attempt at remonstrance or representation, immediately to enregister in their archives, and submit to, that system of reform prescribed by the sovereign, and which went to the direct subversion of the university, and of themselves from their former state and condition. To these commands they as peremptorily refused to submit: not only pleading their long-established rights, repeatedly confirmed by the most solemn sanctions; but farther insisting that the university was an integral part of the constitution of Brabant, which could no longer properly subsist if deprived of any of its members; and they boldly appealed to that constitution, and to the laws and justice of their country, for protection against injustice, oppression, and violence.

The minister in his subsequent declarations and orders, besides denying the university to be any part or member of the constitution, and insisting on the supreme right of the sovereign to modify it as he pleased, expressed the utmost indignation at the idea of an appeal, or that the ordinary course of law should be supposed to controul, interfere, or be placed in any degree of competition with the will of the sovereign. And to expiate an offence so nearly inexpiable, they were ordered so thoroughly to cancel and annul that resolution, that no trace of it should remain on their records; and they were commanded, in general and individually, to submit and conform to the emperor's decisions, and enjoined not to maintain, either by *word of mouth* or in *writing*, the pretended right set up by the university, which his majesty had fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled. And, that whoever should *dare* in the smallest degree

degree to infringe this injunction, ſhould be proſecuted as *refractory* and *diſobedient* to the emperor's orders.—They were farther warned, to ſend no more repreſentations, deputations, or proteſts whatever on the ſubject, as, if they ſhould preſume to ſend any ſuch, the miniſters were bound by their orders to conſider them as formal acts of diſobedience, and proceed upon them as ſuch.—The rector was enjoined to cauſe this declaration to be read in full convocation of the univerſity; to have it entered in its regiſter, as well as in the regiſters of the different faculties; and to certify the execution of all theſe orders within 24 hours to the miniſter.

Superior as military power is capable of being to all laws, courts, and forms of juſtice, yet they muſt be wretched politicians, and miſerable bunglers in the knowledge of its application, who do not at all times endeavour to leſſen its odium, by every degree of legal ſanction which can poſſibly be procured or deviſed. The emperor, relying almoſt entirely upon authority and force, ſeems never to have paid much attention to this maxim; or if he did, the impatience of his temper would not let him bring it into practice. His miniſter in the Netherlands, however, thought it neceſſary, finding the obſtinacy at Louvain invincible to his threats, to obtain, if poſſible, ſome legal ſanction for the extremities to which he ſaw he muſt proceed; and perhaps he thought that it would be conſidered as a maſter ſtroke of policy, if he could bend the grand council of Brabant to become the inſtrument of carrying his deſign into execution; or poſſibly it was part of the plan formed at Vienna for urging matters to the laſt point of diſorder and confuſion.

We have heretofore ſhewn that the council of Brabant was the ſupreme judicature of the country, and the final reſource in all caſes of appeal; that it likewiſe poſſeſſed privileges, prerogatives, and powers, far ſuperior to our Engliſh courts of juſtice, by which it was rendered a ſubſtantial mound to the conſtitution, of which it was an eſſential member; and that it had frequently baffled the covert, inſidious deſigns of different governments, as well as reſiſted, with firmneſs and ſucceſs, their more open encroachments and attacks. Their preſident, who was lord chancellor of Brabant, was an officer of great dignity, authority, and power. We have likewiſe ſeen that the ſubverſion of this council was a principal object in the emperor's late ſcheme, for overthrowing the conſtitution of the country, and eſtabliſhing in its place a German military government; and that, in purſuance of this deſign, he had ſucceeded in debauching the chancellor to degrade his office, and betray the truſt repoſed in him, by accepting a place in one of the new tribunals, and thereby giving all the ſanction in his power to thoſe innovations, which the people conſidered as their peſt and final ruin. The univerſal deteſtation in which he was held, induced this man to fly the country during the troubles; but his reſtoration to office being made a ſpecific article of the late accommodation, was one of thoſe condeſcenſions on the ſide of the people which was the moſt unwillingly complied with.

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We have not seen the first letter which the Count Trautmansdorff sent to the council of Brabant, relative to their issuing and publishing a declaration in support and confirmation of the emperor's decree against the university of Louvain; but the effect it produced shewed that it had been written in the new style of absolute and peremptory command; for it gave so much offence as to draw out a very spirited remonstrance from that body, in which they complain strongly of the violence offered by it to the free constitution of Brabant, and insist upon the revocation of the letter, as being founded on ignorance of the laws, and aiming at despotism. Though the minister was highly incensed at receiving this remonstrance, yet he seems to have been more affected by the apprehension of its being published than by any other consideration. He accordingly threatened the council with instant banishment if they permitted its publication; and, doubting their obedience, took measures besides to secure the press. But his threats and endeavours were equally fruitless, for the remonstrance was printed and in every body's possession the following day.

We have no particulars of the farther bickerings between the parties for about three weeks; but the day was fast approaching when power was to display all its terrors in Brussels, in order, that if it failed in the great object of immediately subverting the constitution, it might, however, appal its supporters in such a degree, as would render them hereafter very cautious how they ventured to stand forth in its defence.

On the morning of a day fixed and prepared for, the minister sent a letter, in the style and manner of the most absolute sovereign, to the council of Brabant, reminding them of his former *orders* relative to the declaration, that the time was on the point of expiring which he had granted for their being carried into execution, and commanding them to lose no farther time, nor, under the pain of being punished for disobedience, to separate or break up the council, until they had taken the proper steps for issuing and publishing the said declaration, and given him due notice of their proceedings. He informs them further, *in terrorem*, that he had acquainted the deputies or committee of the states (who sat in their absence) with the whole of the consequences which must immediately ensue, upon the smallest delay on the part of the council. Jan. 22, 1788.

This short letter to the supreme council, was inclosed in a long dispatch to the chancellor, filled with threats, and the most violent and despotic language. He informs him that he is *irrevocably* determined to enforce the execution of what he had already mentioned to him, even though he should be obliged to proceed to those *extremities* which he had the good fortune hitherto to avoid; but the *explosion* of which would this day be *infallible*, as well to the whole body, as to many individuals. It being his majesty's absolute determination, and which his dignity requires, that nothing upon which he has signified his will shall be made a subject of doubt, or altered in consequence of any representation

or remonſtrance. He refers the chancellor to the laſt diſpatches from the ſovereign, which he had already ſeen, to ſhew the deciſiveneſs of his orders, and that he could not avoid acting up to them.—That he had the day before given them 24 hours to determine, but that now, if the publication was not made within two hours, he ſhould compel the council to do it by *force*, even though he ſhould be obliged to inveſt the council-houſe with troops, and have recourſe to the dire expedient of *cannon* and *bayonets*, *which his majeſty had moſt expreſsly preſcribed*. He concluded by declaring, that all the conceſſions made by the emperor in his late declaration ſhould be revoked, if their obſtinacy was continued.

The council received theſe diſpatches, and heard the threats which they announced, without the ſmalleſt apparent emotion; and without taking any farther notice of them, than to order the preciſe time of their delivery to be entered, while they continued ſitting in their places to wait the event.

General Dalton had drawn up a regiment of infantry, and a ſquadron of cavalry, with ſome cannon, not far from the council-houſe, in order to quicken their poce edings, while the junior enſign of the regiment of Ligne, with a party of ſoldiers, patroled the ſtreets, partly to obſerve the countenance of the people, and partly to keep them in awe. For the general anxiety for the fate of the council, whoſe extermination was conſidered as certain, had drawn almoſt all the inhabitants of Bruſſels, both male and female, into the ſtreets and open places.

The young enſign of Ligne, ſeems not only to have been a forward youth, but to poſſeſs ſuch a portion of ſagacity as enabled him to penetrate into the character and ſecret diſpoſition both of his general and of his ſovereign, and to build ſo much upon this diſcovery, as to venture to trace out by it that line of conduct which he deemed would lead the ſhorteſt way to promotion. He now had a ſeparate command, he might not ſoon have ſuch another opportunity; if he was miſtaken in his opinion, youth, inexperience, and good-will would apologize for his raſhneſs; and, having no ſcruples about the means, he determined not to heſitate in the purſuit of his object. It is ſaid that ſome ſtones were thrown by boys, and that he, pretending that one of them ſkimmed by his hat, immediately formed his men, and threw in a platoon fire upon the naked multitude by which he was ſurrounded. Aſtoniſhed and frightened at the miſchief they had done, and dreading the immediate vengeance of the people, both officer and ſoldiers, without waiting to reload, run away inſtantly, in the moſt unmilitary manner, to ſeek protection from the main body.

The ſlaughter was much leſs than could have been imagined, the nearneſs and cloſeneſs of the crowd conſidered. Only about half a dozen people were killed downright; but a much more conſiderable number were wounded. This melancholy affair, however, along with the horror and reſentment expreſſed in every countenance, occaſioned a pauſe in the conduct of the miniſ-

ters, and probably prevented their proceeding for the present to other extremities. In a letter written by Trautmansdorff in the evening to the chancellor, after an exclamation that the obstinacy of the council was incredible, he endeavours to impute the guilt of this affair to them, by observing, that the death of some wretches, of which their obstinacy had been the cause, ought to make it a subject of repentance to the members all the days of their lives.

The young ensign had the satisfaction and happiness to find, that his sagacity was proved by the event, and that his theory of promotion was perfectly right. The emperor highly applauded him for this exploit, and desired Dalton to inform the officer "who commanded "the patrole which fired, that he "was very well pleased with his "presence of mind, and the manner "in which he conducted himself, "and that he might expect promo-"tion on the first vacancy."—Nor was his gratitude slow or dilatory in displaying itself, for in less than a fortnight, the aspiring junior ensign *Wuchetigh*, was in his sovereign's name (which was expressly ordered) promoted to the first lieutenancy of his regiment. The emperor was likewise unbounded in his approbation and applause of general Dalton, and in the gratitude which he expressed to him for his firmness in thus supporting the dignity of the military character, and impressing the people with a due dread of the soldiers; and though he considered this petty massacre as a very trifle, yet he seemed to console himself with the reflection, that moderate though it was, it might produce a proper effect. But he seldom omitted in his letters to urge Dalton to a perseverance in the same firmness.

The interception and publication of these letters would have been a most unfortunate circumstance with respect to the memory of this prince, if he had otherwise any character to preserve, or in reality possessed any claim upon the present or future good opinion of mankind. For though comparatively a young man, he had the fortune to outlive every species of reputation. But what must ever appear inexplicable is, that, setting up as he did for a politician of the first form, and evidently possessing a very considerable share of parts of one sort or other, and having likewise acquired, through the multiplicity of his projects, and never-ending contests with his subjects, as well as frequent disputes with his neighbours, greater experience than several long lives have an opportunity of attaining in the ordinary course of things, he should, notwithstanding, at this eventful period, engaged in a momentous war with a potent enemy, and his mind occupied with schemes of ambition of such a magnitude, as to include the overthrow, spoil, and partition of a vast empire, give up his time and attention to the nursing of petty but teazing, vexatious, and cruel squabbles, in the remotest corner of his dominions; with a people too whose obstinacy he had so lately experienced, and who were at so great a distance as to be in no small degree without his grasp. This will appear still more incomprehensible, when we reflect that the condescensions which he so lately made to the Netherlanders were extorted from him entirely, through the desire of having no interruption in the

the purſuit of the Ottoman war, and yet he was not near ſo deeply involved in it at that time as at preſent. The perplexity will ſtill be farther increaſed when we remember, that he was at this very time endeavouring to negociate a large loan with his ſubjects in the Low Countries, and that their reſentment was ſo great at what they openly called his treachery and perfidy, that no man would lend him a ſhilling upon any terms. To thoſe who knew his love of money, which none who were at all acquainted with his character could avoid knowing, his conduct in this reſpect muſt appear totally unaccountable.

The army being thus let looſe upon the people, and ſuch an eaſy road to promotion opened to raſh and adventurous ſpirits, the conſequences may be eaſily ſurmiſed. In the populous manufacturing towns, as is uſual in ſuch places, every new act of oppreſſion, or indeed every novelty whatever, was liable to draw the people in crowds into the ſtreets. Their aſſembling in this manner placed it in the diſcretion of whatever officer commanded, whether to conſider this as a tumult, or at leaſt as an inſult to the dignity of the military, and to puniſh it accordingly by firing upon an unarmed multitude, and thereby to gain the favour both of his general and of his ſovereign; or, by giving way to the dictates of humanity, to ſacrifice thereto his future fortune, and to ſuppreſs that almoſt irreſiſtible ambition ſo predominant with military men, of riſing high in his profeſſion without being obliged to undergo the tedious forms of ſervice.

It may be eaſily judged on which ſide the deciſion uſually lay. A major who commanded in the city of Mons was, however, a noble exception to the prevalent conduct: fortune ſeemed to place herſelf peculiarly in his hands, by affording him ſuch an opportunity of ſervice and conſequent diſtinction, as others in vain ſought. The people ſeem to have been, in fact, tumultuous and violent, in a high degree, and the commander poſſeſſed the means fully in his hands of making a terrible example, without danger, and with a better colour of apparent cauſe than was uſually afforded. He miſſed the occaſion! and quelled the tumult without firing a ſhot, or a man being killed or wounded. The manner in which the ſovereign treated this circumſtance in one of his letters, ſufficiently ſhewed how little he was gratified by ſuch moderation. He ſeemed upon every occaſion to conſider it as a maxim of policy not to be departed from, that frequent blood and maſſacre were the only means of impreſſing theſe people with a proper dread of the troops, and of bending them to that form of government which he had it ſo much at heart to eſtabliſh. We are ſorry the name of the humane major has not reached us; it deſerves to be remembered.

The more effectually to terrify all orders of men, the moſt alarming threats were thrown out publicly, not only by the military but the civil miniſter, Trautmanſdorff declared at his levee, that if the forces in the Netherlands were not ſufficiently numerous to accompliſh the purpoſes to which they were deſtined, he was impowered to draw an army of 40,000 men thither on the ſhorteſt notice; while Dalton, who had rendered himſelf particularly remarkable by the unexampled height

height of a gallows which he had erected for hanging the insurgents in Transylvania, is said to have threatened that he would erect such another in the great square of the city of Brussels. The first of these threats was purely a gasconade; for the emperor was so fully occupied upon the Danube, that he grievously regretted, upon a subsequent occasion, that he could not spare a single regiment of cavalry from any part of his dominions which he might send to the support of Dalton.

The arch-duchess and her husband, the nominal governors general, had arrived in the Low Countries before the middle of the spring. Although these princes, as we have heretofore observed, had constantly shewn great dispositions of kindness and good-will to the people, and were so gracious and condescending in their conduct, as to attract the regards of all orders, yet the sour leaven, so continually administered by their brother, fermented in such a manner in the minds of the states, that the usual subsidy for their maintenance, and supporting the dignity of the court, upon its being first proposed in the committee to whom the department of finance was assigned, received there a direct negative. This unexampled affront was not only highly resented by the princes, who quitted Brussels upon it, but was much condemned by the people in general, who considered it as no less injudicious than illiberal. The states themselves were ashamed of it, and, having first unanimously granted the subsidy, sent a deputation to the princes at their country seat to apologize for what had happened, and to intreat their return to Brussels; a request with which they complied.

It was not long after, that the emperor thought fitting to surprize the world in general, and particularly to puzzle politicians, by one of those instances of a singular versatility of temper, or of an unequalled duplicity of mind, which few but himself could exhibit. He rendered his brother and sister, the governors general, his organs, through whom he declared, "That, from "the emotions of his heart, and "the sentiments of affection in "which he held his faithful sub- "jects, he seized on the first expres- "sion made by a part of their re- "presentatives to accelerate, in or- "der to promote their happiness "and the public good, the moment "of a full and perfect restitution "of his good favour; that in con- "sequence, yielding to all the emo- "tions of tenderness and a feeling "heart, he meant to give the na- "tion proofs of the return of his "benevolence, and of his confi- "dence." May 27th, 1788.

It was about the very time that this declaration was announced to the states, with great satisfaction, by the governors general, that he blamed the major who commanded at Mons, for not seizing the fair opportunity which was offered to him of massacring the inhabitants. And it was within the course of a few weeks after that the cruel executions took place at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp, where women, children, passengers, and travellers, became victims to the promiscuous firings of the soldiery, who, as they became inured to blood, grew more cruel at every execution. Among many deplorable instances of this sort, it may be sufficient to mention the fate of a mother at Malines, who,

who, ſerving cuſtomers in her ſhop, with her infant in her arms, they were ſhot dead at the ſame inſtant.

Dalton had gained great applauſe from his maſter for having early in the year, without any ſpecific orders for the purpoſe, ſent a ſtrong garriſon to coerce the untractable town of Louvain, as he called it. The univerſity, notwithſtanding, ſtill perſevered in its refuſal to ſubmit to the decrees of the ſovereign. All other means having hitherto failed of ſucceſs, the bayonet was at length conſidered as the moſt effectual inſtrument for determining theological diſputes, ſolving the knotty ſubtleties of the ſchools, and purging a vaſt body, grown ſtiff and diſordered by age, from all thoſe vices and habitual errors which it had been liable to contract during the long courſe of many centuries. This potent inſtrument was accordingly applied, with its uſual effect, in the month of June. The univerſity was thoroughly purged of all thoſe refractory heads or members who had ventured to oppoſe its conſtitution, or the laws of their country, to the will of a great monarch; or vainly thought that the wordy logick of the ſchools could for a moment reſiſt the ultimate logick of kings. The rector was baniſhed for ten years, under the ſevereſt penalties of venturing to appear in any part of the emperor's wide dominions. To render the affair memorable, it was ſignalized, according to the reigning faſhion of the time, with a conſiderable ſlaughter of the inhabitants, who could not refrain from aſſembling to pay the laſt tribute of grief at the overthrow of an inſtitution which had for ſo many ages been the pride and ſupport of their city, and had in fact been its creator.

But though the bayonet had thus far been effectual in its ſervice, it was, however, deficient, at leaſt for the preſent, in another reſpect. The theological ſtudents had univerſally abandoned the univerſity and the new profeſſors and teachers made but a ſorry figure in vaſt depopulated halls, without hearers or pupils. The only remedy for this would have been to perſuade or compel the biſhops and abbots to ſend the youth deſtined for the miniſtry to fill up the empty colleges. But this was a meaſure much more eaſily to be talked about than carried into execution. Perſuaſion was out of the queſtion; for both the biſhops and abbots had already held ſeparate meetings, at which it was determined, that it would be more eligible to meet and endure the greateſt violence and the utmoſt extremities of power, than to become the voluntary inſtruments of poiſoning the minds of the future, and perhaps ſucceeding generations, by permitting the young clergy, who were to be their ſucceſſors in all paſtoral and religious duties, to have their moral and religious opinions and principles contaminated by erroneous and ſchiſmatical notions and doctrines. On the other hand, the ſcheme of abſolute, undiſguiſed compulſion would have been ſcarcely more ungracious and odious, than difficult and probably ineffective in the execution; for if it were carried even to its laſt extreme of perſecution (that extremity which has ſo ſeldom ever ſucceeded in the attainment of its object) ſtill the biſhops and abbots could ſcreen themſelves under a greater authority than

than their own, that of the parents, whose right of decision, with respect both to the education and the final disposal of their children, would scarcely be called in question.

The attention of the emperor was, however, soon drawn away from the Louvain chace, which now flagged and grew cold upon the scent, to another pursuit of the same kind and nature. This was the college at Antwerp, which was likewise a noted seminary for the education of youth; but more particularly destined to the training up of young men to the episcopal duties and functions. It seems that among these students were several spirited young men of an observing and critical disposition, who ventured to throw into the most ridiculous points of view several of the contradictions and absurdities which were most conspicuous in the sovereign's conduct and projects; while others, of a more serious cast, entered coolly and argumentatively into an examination and exposure of the arbitrary measures, by which they said he was aiming directly at the subversion of the religion, government, and constitution of their country.

It was not to be supposed that any of these things could be preserved from the knowledge of a monarch possessed of unbounded power, consequently of unbounded means of gratifying spies and emissaries, and whose peculiarity it besides was, to wish to be acquainted with all the most private and trifling affairs of a great empire. It is true that he had repeatedly borne at Vienna, and seemed to treat with the utmost indifference and contempt, such severity of censure, charge, and abuse, as had never before, perhaps, been offered to any sovereign during life, and within the scene of his own government; and that these pasquinades, libels, or charges, were not handed about privately in manuscript, but printed, advertised, and sold like other publications, without fear or concern. Yet notwithstanding this continence and temper displayed at Vienna, he determined upon exterminating that nest of hornets who seem to have given him so much offence at Antwerp.

A day being accordingly fixed for clearing that seminary of all its members, professors as well as students, and for shutting it entirely up, the necessary military preparations were made in the morning for supporting and enforcing the execution of the decree. Several pieces of cannon were drawn out in the open and public places, and loaded in the view of the people, while a body of 400 foot were drawn up with muskets charged and bayonets fixed, to cover the artillery. The populace, both men and women, assembled in vast crowds upon the quays, and in the great square, to behold this new and extraordinary spectacle. A people nursed up under the protection of laws, are disposed to be sturdy in those matters which they know to be within their sanction; we need make no observation on the natural sullen obstinacy of the people. It is said that they were warned more than once to disperse, and that they replied, that they were unarmed, that they neither possessed the means, nor had the smallest intention of offering any offence, and that they had an undoubted right, while they acted thus peaceably, to walk or stand in the streets as they liked. August 4th.

The only appearance of any oppoſition to the meaſure in hand was a legal one, the reading of a proteſt againſt it, under the ſanction of law, by a notary.

A captain of grenadiers, emulous of the example ſet by enſign Wuchetigh, and hoping to benefit equally by the repetition of it, to avoid racking his invention, in finding a new cauſe, pretended to have received exactly the ſame inſult which the former had done, and inſtantly threw in a cloſe, regular, and much more effectual fire upon the promiſcuous multitude. Above forty men and women were ſaid to have been killed upon the ſpot, and double that number ſent wounded to the hoſpital.

No words could deſcribe the general horror which this cruel, cold-blooded ſlaughter diffuſed through every order of the people, and in every part of the provinces. It is but juſtice to mankind likewiſe to obſerve, that theſe cruel executions, committed upon a defenceleſs people, by their rulers, in a ſeaſon of peace and the moſt profound tranquillity, ſcarcely operated leſs in exciting the deteſtation and abhorrence of the neighbouring nations, than in producing theſe effects upon the immediate ſufferers. In the mean time perſonal ſecurity was now conſidered as being ſo precarious in the Netherlands, that ſeveral of the nobility, and a great number of other inhabitants of diſtinction and property, thought it neceſſary to provide in time for their ſafety, by retiring to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring governments for protection.

While the emperor could not bring himſelf to look his fierce enemy in the face, either on the Danube, or even in defence of the Banat, he ſeemed in ſome degree to receive conſolation for the ruin and diſgrace which fell upon his vaſt armies, from the cheap triumphs which were obtained by his favourite general in the Low Countries. His ſervices never failed to draw forth approbation and acknowledgment. In one of his letters, dated at Semlin, and another at Weiſkirchen, a few days before the ſhameful rout, and the havock made of his army in the valley of Caranſebes by the grand vizir, are the following paſſages. "I "perfectly approve of the vigorous "manner in which the troops repel- "led inſolence at Louvain, and yet "more at Antwerp; they muſt per- "ſevere in the ſame conduct to com- "pel reſpect."—And again, from Weiſkirchen, "I altogether approve "the meaſures you have taken to "cruſh thoſe diſorders, and enforce "reſpect to the ſoldiery. I hope, "by theſe acts of vigour, and the "flight of the principal maleconten- "tents, we ſhall be able finally to "re-eſtabliſh order."—Is it then any wonder, that with ſuch encouragement and applauſe from a great monarch, and accompanied with profeſſions of the greateſt friendſhip, couched in the moſt endearing terms, a ſoldier of fortune, without other connection or hope to look to, ſhould eagerly wiſh, and aſſiduouſly endeavour, not only to preſerve, but to increaſe that favour and confidence? or will it be any ſurprize to thoſe acquainted with the world, that ſuch a man, ſo circumſtanced, ſhould be little ſcrupulous about the means of attaining or preſerving, objects to him of greater importance, than the acquiſition of a large kingdom would have been to his maſter?

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Though this was the laſt military execution of any great notice which took place in the courſe of the year, yet the raſhneſs and violence of government was every day, and in every thing apparent. Laws were repeatedly declared to be of no avail, except in ordinary caſes between man and man; but to place them in any degree of oppoſition to, or competition with, the ſupreme will of the ſovereign, was conſidered and treated as a crime of the firſt magnitude. The ſame principle was extended to all capitulations and compacts, whether ancient or modern, however ſtrongly confirmed, or ſolemnly ſworn to and ratified, between the ſovereigns and the people. The breath of the preſent emperor was to do or to undo all things. While he ſeemed diſpoſed to wreak all the vexation and vengeance excited by the unexpected valour of the Turks, and the diſgrace which he ſo continually and ſeverely experienced, upon his unarmed ſubjects in the Low Countries, the biſhops and abbots, who bore ſo great a ſway in theſe provinces, were conſtantly labouring under the apprehenſion of being ſtripped of all their temporalities, according to the threats continually thrown out by the miniſters, for their ſteadineſs in refuſing to ſend their youth to the ſeminary at Louvain; an object which the ſovereign ſeemed nearly to have as much at heart, as even the ſubverſion of the laws and civil rights of the people. The revenues of ſome of the abbots were already under ſequeſtration, for the ſpirit and firmneſs which they had lately ſo eminently diſplayed, as members of the aſſemblies of Brabant and Hainault, in oppoſing the arbitrary decrees and meaſures of the ſovereign; the celebrity and popularity which they had thus acquired by no means tending to procure any mitigation of the rigour of the ſentence. Both theſe and the other abbacies, which gave their poſſeſſors ſeats in the provincial aſſemblies, although they were thereby integral parts of the conſtitution, legiſlature, and government of the country, were notwithſtanding all threatened with ſpeedy and final ſuppreſſion and confiſcation. The largeneſs of their eſtates could leave little room to doubt of the ſerious intention which accompanied this denunciation.

In the mean time, theſe ſo lately flouriſhing and ſmiling provinces preſented a ſullen, ſilent, ſettled gloom; melancholy and deſpair appearing in every countenance. A people of an equable temper and ſlow paſſions, are always deeply affected when at all ſo. The beſt and moſt valuable inhabitants were daily quitting the country; thoſe whoſe affairs would not permit, though their ability might, to adopt that mode of ſecurity, under continual apprehenſion of their perſons being ſeized by ſome arbitrary and irreſiſtible mandate, while the priſons were already filled with ſuppoſed delinquents, under the looſe general charge, of being inimical to the preſent government of ſovereign will. Foreign commerce, internal trade, and the various branches of manufacture, ſeemed ſo totally annihilated, as ſcarcely to leave a veſtige behind that they had ever exiſted; and the only trades that could procure employment, were thoſe that adminiſtered to the immediate neceſſities of life. To complete the climax of misfortune, this miſerable people could not enter-

tain even a hope that their condition would be bettered; but, on the contrary, expected every day to produce some greater evil or calamity than they had yet experienced.

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The important events of the war between the great powers on the borders in Europe and Asia, as well as those connected with the revolution in Holland, necessarily occasioned our postponing other matters, which, though of consideration, were not so immediately interesting, and which would not suffer any diminution of their value or character by a later discussion. The internal affairs of Germany come within this description, where an extraordinary act of violence committed by one prince, afforded a happy opportunity to a neighbouring great sovereign, of dignifying his reign, and unfolding his own character with great advantage to the world, by an act of signal justice.

The circumstances were as follow. The death of the count of Lippe Schaumbourg (a sovereign prince of the empire) having taken place on the 15th of February 1787, a too potent neighbour, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, could not resist the temptation of seizing the possessions of the infant son and successor of the late count. The latter had appointed his widow to the guardianship of his children, and likewise to the regency and government of the country, during the minority of the young count. But in two days after his death, three Hessian regiments of infantry, as many of cavalry, with a strong body of artillery, suddenly entered the defenceless country, seized the city and castle of Buckebourg, and possessed themselves of the whole county of Lippe Schaumbourg. This small principality contains two cities, three towns, and seventy-two villages.

Notwithstanding the suddenness of this unexpected invasion, the vigilance and celerity of the faithful minister and privy counsellor of the late count, preserved not only his son, but the archives of the country, from the hands and designs of his enemies. With these treasures he arrived safe at Minden, where the dominion and protection of the king of Prussia afforded them abundant security; but the countess was laid and kept under arrest in her own castle; while the people were obliged to do homage and swear allegiance to their new master, and all public business was conducted in the name of the landgrave.

It will not be supposed, in such a commonwealth as that of Germany, where the possessions of the numerous states, however small many of them may be, are, however, all secured and guaranteed by many general laws and sanctions, which bind the whole to the preservation of each individual, that so flagrant an outrage would be ventured upon, without some colour of right, or pretence of claim. It appears accordingly, that the ancestor of the late count, by marrying a woman of inferior rank, (a circumstance which is placed in a degree of consideration by the Germans, perhaps without example among any other people excepting the Gentoo casts) afforded some occasion, or at least pretence, for this exertion of violence: the landgrave insisting that the descendants of this marriage being illegitimate, the fief was become vacant, and likewise, that it reverted, in that case, to the house of Hesse; a question which, perhaps, would

would have admitted of as tedious a litigation as that of illegitimacy.

It happened, however, unluckily for the claim of the landgrave, that the queſtion relative to the validity of this marriage had formerly, and near the time, been much conteſted, and that it had been fully confirmed, and the legitimacy of the iſſue accordingly eſtabliſhed by the ſeparate decrees of two of the ſuperior tribunals of the empire, which were each competent to the purpoſe. But though this procedure might not well bear the teſt of examination with reſpect to its morality and juſtice, the deſign was certainly not ill laid, when tried by the rules of that policy which looks only to advantage. For if no ſuperior power had interpoſed to ſave them by an act of ſummary juſtice, it may be eaſily ſeen what the ſituation of a poor exiled family would have been, rendered more helpleſs by a long minority, involved in an endleſs litigation, with a very powerful, and at leaſt, one of the richeſt princes of the empire; while the very means which ſhould have ſupported them in the defence of their rights, were in the hands of their enemy, and applied to their ſubverſion. For it is to be obſerved that the great tribunals of the empire are ſo ſlow in their forms, and dilatory in their proceedings, that a law-ſuit is at this time depending, upon a queſtion of territorial right, between a great and a ſmaller family, which commenced above two hundred years ago; the former having been the whole time in poſſeſſion of the litigated object, which it gained in the firſt inſtance by force.

The violence and apparent injuſtice of the preſent affair, cauſed a very general ſenſation of pity for the orphan and his diſtreſſed family, and of diſlike to the oppreſſor, throughout Germany. The Aulic council took up the buſineſs with ſpirit, and iſſued a decree, ſtrongly condemning the wrong, and ordaining reſtitution to be forthwith made to the injured family. But as the efficacy of their decrees depended upon the ſupport they received from the emperor, and every body knew he was too deeply involved in ſchemes of foreign ambition, to think it at all convenient to embroil himſelf at home, eſpecially with ſo powerful a prince as the landgrave, rendered ſtill more formidable from his being a principal member of the German confederacy, and united ſo cloſely as he was with the two king-electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover, the hope of any near effect to be produced by their interference was weak indeed.

If the king of Pruſſia had not conſulted juſtice more than the dictates of intereſt and a narrow policy, he not only would have had a diſagreeable card to play, but his ſanction to the wrong would, in all human probability, the preſent poſture of public affairs in Germany conſidered, have rendered it irrevocable, or at leaſt have occaſioned the affair to be left open for the deciſion of a future age, while the poor family were expoſed to every degree of ruin and diſtreſs. The landgrave was his kinſman, cloſe friend and ally; and his alliance, in the preſent ſtate of things, and according to the political views which directed the conduct of the court of Berlin, appeared to be of great importance; while the protection of a weak family, and the preſervation of a ſmall principality, could an-

ſwer no immediate political purpoſe whatever.

The king of Pruſſia, however, took a nobler part. He ſacrificed all intereſted views to the principles of juſtice, and to the generous deſire of ſuccouring the oppreſſed. The elector of Hanover, who, both as king and elector, was ſtill more intimately united with the landgrave, took likewiſe the ſame diſintereſted part. The firſt had a legal ſanction for his interference to prevent wrong and injury, both as chief of the circle of Weſtphalia, and as one of the directors of the circle of the lower Rhine; and he was called upon in theſe capacities, but only in general terms, by the decree of the Aulic council and the emperor. The landgrave, finding himſelf thus oppoſed by his cloſeſt friends and moſt powerful allies, found it neceſſary to abandon his ſcheme. He accordingly withdrew his troops out of the country in the beginning of April, reſtoring every thing to the ſtate they had found it; while in a letter, at the ſame time, to Berlin, he attributed this condeſcenſion entirely to his friendſhip for the king, and the regard he paid to his mediation; but reſerving his own rights for future legal diſcuſſion. Great delicacy was obſerved with reſpect to the landgrave's feelings, in the account of this tranſaction, publiſhed by authority at Berlin; the king's mediation being attributed rather more to his friendſhip for the houſe of Heſſe, than to an attention to the diſcharge of his official duties; and the family whom he had ſo effectually protected not being at all mentioned.

A great conteſt took place in the commencement of the year 1787, between the elector of Cologne and the pope's nuncio. The latter, it appears, had iſſued an extraordinary ill-timed and imprudent mandate, (to ſay nothing of any right, real or pretended, by which it might be ſupported) declaring all diſpenſations for marriages granted by the elector to be null, and the marriages void. This inſult and injury excited in a high degree the indignation and reſentment of the prince elector, who accordingly iſſued a decree, ſtrictly forbidding his clergy, and particularly the pariſh rectors, from paying the ſmalleſt regard to the mandates or letters of the Roman prelate, whom he deſcribes as *a foreign biſhop, aſſuming the title of nuncio from the holy ſee to Cologne*; and farther, not to obey any brief, bull, or diſpenſation whatever, unleſs coming directly from himſelf.—The meaſure that brought forth this decree ſeemed the leſs defenſible in the nuncio, as, beſides the other peculiar circumſtances of the times, which rendered ſuch a ſtep not only imprudent but dangerous, the German archbiſhops, as a body, were already involved in a violent conteſt with the ſovereign pontiff, relative to ſeveral real or ſuppoſed invaſions of their archiepiſcopal rights: they had appealed from his deciſions to the Aulic council, which would have been once deemed a moſt unpardonable offence; were eager in their demands for the holding of a national eccleſiaſtical council, in order to reclaim and confirm the rights of the Germanic church; and ſhewed many unequivocal ſigns of their diſpoſition to ſhake off entirely all dependance on the court of Rome. The nuncio, in his conduct, ſeemed totally inattentive to theſe alarming circumſtances; but it has been an old obſervation, confirmed by the experience

ence of many centuries, that as ſoon as the Italian prelates have croſſed the Alps, armed with any powers from that court, they ſeem metamorphoſed into a new order of men, and have been more frequently diſtinguiſhed by pride, aſſumption, and arrogance, than by any diſpoſition to condeſcenſion or conciliation.

The diſpoſition or example of the elector could have no great effect in producing the liberal meaſure in favour of the proteſtants, which was adopted by the free and imperial city of Cologne, towards the cloſe of the year 1787. For that city is ſo nearly a republic, that the authority of the electors is, in effect, more nominal than real; while an extreme jealouſy of privileges on the one ſide, and ſome diſpoſition to ſupport or renew old claims on the other, has rather generally tended to nouriſh diſlike than to eſtabliſh any great degree of cordiality between the parties; a ſtronger teſtimony of which needs not to be given, than that though the electors poſſeſs two palaces in that city, they ſcarcely ever reſide there.

This city has, from the days of the reformation, been generally held among the foremoſt in Germany, with reſpect to religious prejudice and bigotry; the ſpirit of intolerance being ſo ſtrong among the people, that it produced a ſerious and alarming diſpute between them and the firſt king of Pruſſia, from their refuſing to his ambaſſador the exerciſe of the proteſtant rites in his own houſe. The proteſtants in Cologne were, notwithſtanding, more numerous than might have been expected, and much more conſiderable than numerous; for, being compoſed of merchants and men of buſineſs, and theſe infinitely more active and induſtrious than the natives, almoſt the whole commerce of that great trading city was conducted by them. But they had ever experienced great inconveniencies and difficulties with reſpect to the performance of their religious duties; they being obliged to croſs the Rhine, and go to Mulheim in the palatinate, at about half a dozen miles diſtance, for that purpoſe. Nor were they leſs perplexed with reſpect to their children, whom they were obliged to ſend ſtill farther from home for their education.

Some conſiderable change in the temper of the people muſt undoubtedly have now taken place, and ſome unuſually favourable diſpoſition been obſerved in the magiſtrates and rulers, which induced the proteſtants to ſolicit a redreſs, the acquiſition of which had ever been deemed hopeleſs. A memorial ſigned by about 70 of the principal proteſtants, was preſented to the magiſtracy, requeſting permiſſion to build a houſe of prayer for the practice of their worſhip, with leave to erect an adjoining building for their ſchools, and a houſe for the miniſter. The petition was not only moſt graciouſly received, but this long wiſhed and little hoped for favour was, without delay, and with the beſt grace poſſible, granted in its full extent. The obligation was rendered ſtill more grateful, by the principal Roman Catholics of the city coming in a body to congratulate the proteſtants, and expreſſing the utmoſt ſatisfaction at their ſucceſs.

The high reputation which the new king of Pruſſia acquired, by the vigour and wiſdom which he diſplayed in ſettling and reſtoring the affairs of Holland, was in no degree

impaired by his ſubſequent political conduct through the courſe of the year 1788. The general affairs of Europe, as well as his own particular ſituation, required every exertion of ſkill and dexterity, along with the greateſt reſolution, ability, and judgment, which the moſt conſummate politician, and even his great predeceſſor could have diſplayed. For the combination, now carrying into act, of two of the moſt ambitious, as well as moſt potent powers of the univerſe, though immediately directed to the ſubverſion of a remote, and what is called infidel empire, in which the chriſtian world did not ſeem much intereſted, yet was pregnant with conſequences, which might be capable of holding out alarm and danger, in a leſs or greater degree, to every ſtate in Europe.

It was a ſingular circumſtance attending this extraordinary ſtate of things, that the embarraſſment and conſequent ſtate of weakneſs of France, which, at almoſt any other period within two centuries, would have been conſidered as equivalent to holding out the olive branch to the reſt of Europe, was, at the preſent day, highly unfavourable to the proſpect of preſerving the public tranquillity, of maintaining ſome reaſonable degree of equilibrium between the ſeveral parts, and conſequently of affording ſecurity to the weaker ſtates. For, the dreams of univerſal dominion being long ſince vaniſhed in France, the ſtrength and reſources of that powerful kingdom, in its better and uſual ſtate, would have formed an inſuperable barrier to the weſt of Europe, againſt the unaccountable alliance, and headlong ambition, of the two imperial courts; and ſhe would, beſides, have communicated ſuch a degree of ſupport to the centre, as would have reſtrained their hoſtile views to thoſe countries which had the misfortune of being more immediately within their graſp, as Poland, and perhaps the northern kingdoms. But as things ſtood at preſent, the great point of political danger ſeemed to be, that the eaſtern empires would overwhelm and cruſh the central and weſtern parts of Europe.

The debilitated ſtate of France conſequently rendered the ſituation of the king of Pruſſia much more arduous than it otherwiſe would have been. As Poland was in no degree to be conſidered as a barrier, but rather as an open road, furniſhed with excellent accommodations of every ſort for the ſupport of an advancing enemy, ſo it might be ſaid, that he was environed on every ſide by the dominions of theſe two vaſt empires, from whoſe joint ambition, and the particular animoſity of one, he had ſo much to apprehend. Their ſucceſs in the ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire, beſides the addition it made to their power, he well knew would operate as a freſh ſtimulus to their ambition, and excite them to farther ſchemes of conqueſt and partition. Poland muſt fall of courſe, and his dominions, along with thoſe of the other members of the Germanic body, would be encloſed within a narrow circle, and open on every ſide to attack.

Yet, notwithſtanding this perilous ſtate of things, it ſeemed too hazardous a meaſure to enter into a direct war in ſupport of the Turk, without any other alliance than that afforded by ſo weak and unſtable a government as the Porte has long been. It was firſt neceſ-

ſary to endeavour, if poſſible, to form ſuch a weſtern alliance, as might be ſome counterpoiſe to the eaſtern confederacy. The maritime powers, though farther removed from and leſs expoſed to the conſequences, of the ambitious deſigns of the combined empires, were, however, very far from being indifferent to their progreſs. The mutual concert between Great Britain and Pruſſia, in adjuſting the affairs of Holland, opened the way to a farther communion of ſentiments and intereſts. That king, as elector of Hanover, and a member of the Germanic league, was already, ſo far, united with Pruſſia; while the cloſe connection between the latter and the ſtadtholder, along with the general influence which he had acquired in Holland, facilitated greatly the deſign of forming a junction between the three powers.

It was undoubtedly upon theſe grounds that the king of Pruſſia viſited Holland in the ſummer of 1788, where that triple alliance was formed, which bound Great Britain, Pruſſia, and the republic together, in the cloſeſt bands of amity, as well as to reciprocal ſuccour and defence. Though theſe treaties were purely defenſive in the letter, it was not difficult to ſee, that in their ſpirit, they were convertible to ſuch purpoſes as the mutual political intereſts of the contracting parties might dictate. Strongly fortified by this league, the king of Pruſſia did not heſitate to adopt every means, ſhort of actual war, to impede the deſigns and progreſs of the combined empires againſt the Ottomans. The firſt effect of the new alliance (which we have already fully ſhewn) was a great one, and ſufficiently vexatious to Ruſſia. It was that vigorous meaſure, in which Great Britain bore ſo eminent a part, by which the invaſion of Sweden by the Danes was reſtrained, their further co-operation with Ruſſia prevented, and Denmark unwillingly obliged to adopt a ſtrict neutrality for the remainder of the war. It has ſince been univerſally believed, if not certainly known, that the court of Berlin had no ſmall ſhare in the war undertaken by the king of Sweden againſt Ruſſia; whoſe attack on the ſide of Finland would have embarraſſed her more, and probably have produced more immediately dangerous conſequences, than any other foreign affair in which ſhe has for a long period of years been involved, if it had not been for thoſe inſidious intrigues, by which ſhe had already ſo effectually debauched the Swediſh army and nobility, as to render the very exiſtence of that king a matter of the utmoſt hazard.

The king of Pruſſia, upon the ſame principle of policy which guided his conduct in theſe matters, was likewiſe playing a great game on the ſide of Poland. We have heretofore ſhewn, that the emperor's application to the actual governing powers of that republic, to permit his troops to march as occaſion might require through its territories, was civilly refuſed upon two diſtinct grounds; one, that no authority leſs than that of the diet, could grant the paſſage of the troops; and, in the next place, that the condition of the country did not admit of its ſparing either proviſions or forage.

Though this refuſal was effective

tive with reſpect to the emperor, ſuch, if it had been given, could have no operation on the conduct of the Ruſſians. Their troops had been too long uſed to ravage the country at diſcretion, and their loweſt ſubalterns for too many years in the habit of exerciſing the moſt arbitrary and cruel ſway, to have it now expected that they ſhould pay any regard to diplomatic forms, or to claims of territorial right. They had accordingly formed vaſt magazines in different parts of the country, without the trouble of enquiring whether the wants of the people were real or fictitious, and their troops traverſed it in all directions, with as little ceremony as their own provinces.

In the mean time, the leſſer factions in which the Poles were uſually divided, ſeemed now to be abſorbed in two great ones; the Ruſſian, to which the court adhered, and the country party. The latter was the more numerous, and their avowed objects were to recover the ancient independence of the republic, conſequently to ſhake off all foreign influence and interference whatever in their councils and proceedings, to give effect to this deſign by the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a military force as ſhould command reſpect with their neighbours, and finally, ſo far as it could yet be done, to uſe all poſſible means for recovering the ancient ſplendour and glory of their country. This a proud people naturally ſighed for; and it is eaſily ſeen, that the views of this party were directly inimical to the intereſt and views of Ruſſia.

The Pruſſian ſovereign did not neglect to ſend a number of able emiſſaries (moſtly officers) into Poland, to ſupport and confirm this ſpirit. Writings were now every day publiſhed, of an unuſually bold tendency, calling upon the Poles, by every thing that could affect their paſſions, to ſhake off that ignominious foreign yoke, which had ſo long been the diſgrace and ruin of the country; to remember the glorious deeds of their anceſtors, and the ſplendid ſtation which they held among the greateſt nations of the earth; and either to recover their independency, or to periſh with their ſwords in their hands like brave men, in the generous endeavour. Theſe publications operating upon the recollection and immediate feelings of the people, occaſioned a violent ferment in the nation; and it was evident, that the want of means, and of ſome conſpicuous leader, were the only reſtraints upon a great majority, from having immediate recourſe to arms.

In this ſtate of temper and things, which could not but produce a great effect upon the elections, the diet was opened in the beginning of October 1788. The oppoſite parties had each its favourite object in view, the ſucceſs or failure of which muſt in a great meaſure, if not entirely, govern the future proceedings of the diet. The court party wanted to draw the bands of alliance and guaranty with Ruſſia (which ſcarcely ſeemed poſſible) ſtreighter than they had been before, by a new treaty of alliance, accompanied with a new guaranty. This was regarded with abhorrence by the independent party, who attributed all the calamities of the country, all the cruel ravage and devaſtation which it had undergone for ſo many years,

years, to that fatal connection. To that, they ſaid, Poland owed the ſlaughter of her principal nobility, not only in the field, but by private execution under the vileſt hands; while others periſhed ſtill more miſerably, in diſmal dungeons under the moſt inhuman treatment, and many were ſtill probably lingering out their lives in thoſe horrible arctic deſarts, where, ſhut out for ever from the habitable world, and loſt to all knowledge of their friends and country, exiſtence is the moſt cruel of all puniſhments. All theſe calamities, they ſaid, the recollection of which chilled the blood in their veins, proceeded entirely from the inſidious friendſhip of Ruſſia, and her interference, under that pretence, in their government and internal concerns. This party therefore wiſhed a cloſe alliance with Pruſſia, as the only power which could enable them to ſhake off the Ruſſian deſpotiſm, and to reſume their ancient independency. But in the worſt that could happen, and ſuppoſing the views of the court of Berlin to be as intereſted as thoſe of Peterſburgh, ſtill a connection with a humane and civilized people, and with a ſovereign who, being more nearly connected with the great European republic, muſt, even from political motives, pay ſome regard, at leaſt to the appearances of right and juſtice, would be preferable to the unſufferable inſolence, and the lawleſs deſpotiſm which they had ſo long endured.

The ſcheme for the new treaty being announced, though not abſolutely laid before the diet, by the king, Stackelberg, the Ruſſian miniſter, and the leading members of that party, it was eaſily ſeen, from the reception the propoſal received, that it would meet with a violent oppoſition. The court of Peterſburgh had already communicated the deſign to the king of Pruſſia, who totally diſapproved of it, among other reaſons, for its apparent futility, Ruſſia having long ſince aſſumed the office of guarantee to the ſecurity of the preſent dominions of Poland, in as full a manner as ſhe could do by any new treaty; but that if, notwithſtanding, ſhe ſhould ſtill continue to think a new alliance neceſſary to Poland, he ſhould at the ſame time propoſe a renewal of the old treaties which had long ſubſiſted between Pruſſia and the republic, as he did not take a leſs part than any other power in the preſervation of that neighbouring ſtate.

The firſt buſineſs of conſequence in the diet was, that great augmentation of the army, from 20,000 to 60,000 men, which was brought forward by the country party. This was violently oppoſed by the Ruſſian miniſter, who inſiſted that it was a direct infraction of the treaties and alliance between the republic and that power; for that Ruſſia was not only guarantee to the dominions of Poland, but that ſhe was likewiſe guarantee to the preſervation of the form of government which was ſettled at that period, in the year 1775; ſo that no alteration could take place, nor innovation be admitted in it, without her conſent. This repreſentation, however, met with no ſmall degree of ridicule, if not of contempt, as if all ſtates were not competent to the reform or improvement of their own government,

ment, without consulting the opinion or asking the leave of foreigners for so doing.

Oct. 12th. The speedy arrival of a memorial from the king of Prussia, soon afforded new matter of deliberation and discussion to the diet. In this piece the king observes, that if the proposed new alliance has not for its object the preservation of the states of Poland, he cannot see its necessity or utility; but this cannot be the object, as the safety of Poland is already as fully guaranties by the former treaties as it can be by any new ones; and, as it cannot be supposed that the empress of Russia finds it necessary farther to restrain herself, or her ally the emperor, against any infraction of them, it plainly follows that such a design is imputed to himself, and that this alliance is directed against him.

That he cannot therefore but object to, and protest in the strongest terms against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

But if, on the other hand, it should be said, that the term *common enemy*, held out in the proposal for this alliance, was intended to signify the Ottoman Porte, and it was accordingly directed against that power, the king could not avoid, out of friendship for the republic, to represent, that the Porte having, ever since the conclusion of the peace of Carlowits, inviolably observed and religiously fulfilled all the terms of that treaty, and having not, even in all the violence of the present war, once infringed her territorial rights, it would not only be an act of the highest injustice, but attended with the most dangerous consequences, both to the estates of the republic, and to those of the king himself, which were so closely involved with them, if she were to contract alliances which must oblige the Porte to consider Poland as an enemy; for that no enlightened citizen of Poland could avoid seeing at once, how difficult and impossible it would be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so unruly.

The king seemed to approve of the augmentation of the army, and to acknowledge the propriety of the republic's placing its forces upon a respectable footing; but he expressed strong apprehensions that this measure might be converted into an instrument for forwarding that alliance and war which he had deprecated, and of involving the republic in those grievous consequences which he had foreboded.

He scarcely applies himself less to the patriotic citizens at large, than to the king, or even the diet, in different parts of the memorial; and in the conclusion, calls specifically upon all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, and to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent dangers with which their country was menaced. The king concludes with an assurance, that he will grant them every necessary assistance, and the most powerful succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

If Russia had not been involved as she was at present, this memorial would have been considered, and would have immediately operated, as a declaration of war. Every politician who knew and considered the affairs of that empire, must have

have seen, that she was now sustaining a more essential loss on the side of Poland, than any benefits she was likely to derive from her Ottoman conquests could in any degree supply.

In the mean time, the decree for the augmentation of the army to 60,000 men, and if practicable to 100,000, was carried with an unanimity unequalled in the annals of Poland; and so high was the public spirit, that all the orders of the state, not excepting the clergy, gave up their peculiar exemptions, and agreed to a general cess on their lands, to support the expence of that measure. In the same spirit a public subscription was opened and liberally supported, but the contributions were more in kind than in money, though equally useful; the people giving those helps which best suited their circumstances, as corn, other provisions, horses, oxen, carriages, military stores, and men. In the mean time, the disposition now so apparently prevalent in the diet, prevented the project for the new alliance with Russia from being at all brought forward.

The answer to the Prussian memorial, though fully expressive of a due sense of the kind, neighbourly, and generous offers made by the king, and of his friendly dispositions to the republic, was, however, conceived and supported with dignity; nor did it seem that some of the implications contained in the memorial, as if they had any disposition to adopt the measures therein objected to, were entirely relished by the diet. They shewed that the project for the new alliance had not been brought before them; that the augmentation of their military force neither had, nor could have, any connection with that design, if it had; and that the augmentation, and the imposts allotted for its support, were founded upon principles purely defensive. They observed that their proceedings were fair and open; and that their measures were, and should be in every thing conformable to the public will. That if any alliance should be proposed to them, the republic would never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its sovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of the king. The states conclude with an unanimous wish and intention of conducting their deliberations in such a manner, as should fix in the opinion of his Prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their *understandings*, and their patriotism.

The strong predilection which the king shewed for the Russian party and interest, besides several severe speeches in his presence, which could scarcely be considered short of reproaches, gave occasion likewise for bringing forward a measure in the diet, by which he was deeply and immediately affected. This was no less than taking the direction of the army out of his hands, the disposal of which till now had ever been virtually lodged in the crown, through the medium of the war department and of the permanent council, which were to be considered only as its agents. Though this proposal was violently opposed, and the question frequently agitated with great heat, it was ultimately carried in the affirmative.

In the mean time the Russian troops were taking up winter quarters in Poland, and were said to have

have forced the tenants of ſome of the magnates to ſupply them with proviſions and forage. This occaſioned a great combuſtion in the diet, where we have already ſeen that a powerful party were far from being favourably diſpoſed to that nation. In this ſtate of things the Ruſſian miniſter, count Stackelberg, preſented a declaration to the diet, in which, after ſeeming to attribute ſome merit to the profound ſilence hitherto obſerved by his miſtreſs, although ſeveral of the reſolutions paſſed by the ſtates had already infringed the conſtitution to which ſhe was guarantee, and commenting on her amicable diſpoſition to the Poliſh nation, of which ſhe had given ſo many teſtimonies, then declares how repugnant it would be to his own feelings, to be reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of proteſting againſt any endeavour to alter the form of government ſolemnly confirmed by the act of guarantee of 1775; yet, that ſeveral of the projects lately entertained, and particularly that of eſtabliſhing a permanent diet, having a direct tendency to the ſubverſion of that form of government, he is now under a neceſſity of declaring, in the name of her imperial majeſty, that, notwithſtanding the regret ſhe ſhall feel at withdrawing from the king and the illuſtrious republic that friendſhip which ſhe has avowed for them, ſhe ſhall be forced to conſider, as an infraction of the treaty, the ſmalleſt change in the conſtitution of 1775.

Without taking any notice whatever of this declaration, the diet, on the ſame day, preſented a note to the Ruſſian miniſter, which, along with many high compliments to the empreſs on her juſtice and magnanimity, requeſted, that, as a new proof of both, as well as of the regard which ſhe had always expreſſed for that country, ſhe would order her troops to evacuate it. In ſupport of this requiſition they ſhewed the propriety and juſtice of it upon the following grounds: that ſo great an army, however well diſciplined it may be, could not but be very burdenſome to the country; that its ſtay might beſides furniſh a plauſible pretext to the Ottoman court for cauſing their troops to enter it likewiſe, and thereby, perhaps, of rendering Poland the theatre of war; an event, which could not of neceſſity but prove the inevitable ruin of the country.

It ſeems that the king had made a ſpeech upon the delivery of the Ruſſian declaration, the purport of which we have no information of, but it is ſaid to have given great offence, and that in concert with the declaration, added to the vexation excited by receiving no anſwer to the requiſition for withdrawing the troops, ſo violent an agitation was raiſed in the diet, that the king found it neceſſary, on the following day, in order to allay the ferment, to put an end to the ſeſſion; by which, however, is meant no more, than is underſtood by the term adjournment, with reſpect to the Engliſh parliament. But even this meaſure was ſo far from procuring the deſired ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the adjournment, a deputation of ſeveral principal members was ſent to the king, who, it is ſaid, propoſed the following queſtion to him, with the harſh denunciation which accompanies it, "Whether his "majeſty would adhere to them, or "remain attached to the Ruſſian "party? and that, in the laſt caſe, "they

"they were reſolved to give him "up entirely." The king deferred giving an anſwer to the next ſeſſion; but warned them to conſider well what they were doing.

The king, however, by an eloquent conciliatory ſpeech, reſtored, for the preſent, the good temper of the diet. He declared, that he was no farther of any party than as he thought it tended to the public good. That the intereſt and proſperity of his country had been the invariable objects of his purſuit, and the operating principle of all his actions, from the firſt moment of his acceſſion to the preſent. That if the king went hand in hand with the people, and the people with the king, every thing would go well with them, and end happily; but if they ſuffered cauſeleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions to interrupt that harmony, without which nothing could proſper, and the dæmon of diſcord again to eſtabliſh his throne among them, every thing would, as certainly as the ſucceſſion of night to day, run counter to the wiſhes and hopes of all true patriots, and they would be reduced to a more deplorable ſtate, than they had even yet experienced.

A new declaration from the king of Pruſſia, dated the 19th of November, was the means of affording ſo decided a ſuperiority to the independant party in the diet, as nearly to preclude all farther conteſt. In this piece he loads the confederated ſtates with congratulations and praiſe for the virtue, wiſdom, and patriotiſm which they had ſo ſignally diſplayed in their proceedings, thereby affording an opportunity to himſelf of gratifying his own wiſhes, by effectually ſeconding their intentions of ſupporting the rights and privileges of the republic. Among the enumerated articles of congratulation and praiſe, particular notice is taken of their wiſdom in rendering abortive the ſcheme of a new alliance; a project which he charges directly to their own king and his miniſter. Nor does he leſs applaud their conduct in ſecuring the independence of their military force, and regulating its command and diſpoſition in ſuch a manner, as would prevent the poſſibility of its being rendered, by an abuſe of power, the inſtrument of foreign influence and deſpotiſm, which it would otherwiſe have been ſuſceptible of.

He points ſeverely at Ruſſia with reſpect to the peculiar guarantee ſhe now wanted to introduce, as well as her conduct in breaking through that of 1775, immediately after ſhe had ſigned it, and ſtill more, for the inference which ſhe wanted to draw from the latter, that the republic was bound by it from regulating her own government as the circumſtances of the times and of things demanded.

The king bound himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner to fulfil his promiſes of alliance with, and general guarantee of the republic, particularly to ſecure its independence, without intermedling in its interior affairs, or wiſhing to trouble the freedom of its deliberations and reſolutions, which, on the contrary, he will uſe his utmoſt efforts to ſupport. He concludes with a hope, that a conviction of the uprightneſs and purity of his intentions, as well as of the friendly ſentiments which he entertains, will prevent their ſuffering any ſiniſter inſinuations to prevail upon them, thrown out by thoſe

thoſe only who ſeek to propagate a ſpirit of party under the cloak of patriotiſm, and who, in reality, have no other deſign, than to break off the connection between the republic and its moſt ancient ally, the court of Pruſſia.

The ſtates declared in anſwer, that if their paſt determination of eſtabliſhing a ſeparate commiſſion for the war department had met the approbation of his Pruſſian majeſty, they hoped their ſubſequent conduct on that and other ſubjects would inſure it in future—That it was by ſuch conduct the republic wiſhed to aſſure the king how much they eſteemed his wiſdom and approbation, as well as thereby to ſecure the ſafety of the republic, which he has kindly declared he holds ſuperior to other important conſiderations—That, having declared himſelf ready to fulfil his engagements of alliance and guaranty with the ſtates, the nation accepted it with a reciprocal deſire, and with gratitude—And, that his majeſty, in offering ſuch generous and friendly terms, eſtabliſhes for ever that high opinion which the Poliſh nation entertains of his magnanimity and character.

The vigorous meaſures purſued, and the independent ſpirit ſhewn by the diet, had already begun to operate, in raiſing Poland to a degree of conſideration with its neighbours, which it had long ſince forgotten. Sweden applied warmly to enter into an alliance of the cloſeſt nature with the republic, which was intended to include a mutual guarantee of their reſpective dominions, beſides adopting certain meaſures for ſecuring the future tranquillity and independence of the north. The court of Berlin was to be a principal member of this alliance. If we do not miſtake, Denmark likewiſe propoſed an alliance, which, however friendly, was of a leſs intimate, and leſs political nature.

Nor did the grand ſignior omit this opportunity of endeavouring to renew his former, and to enter into ſtill cloſer connections with Poland. As an introduction to this deſign, he iſſued a declaration to all the powers friendly to Poland, as well as to herſelf, dated on the 23d of November, 1788, ſtrongly expreſſive of his friendſhip and of his good wiſhes for her independence and proſperity; regretting with ſenſibility the long courſe of injury and oppreſſion which ſhe had experienced from Ruſſia, and reprobating particularly the guarantee of 1775, which ſhe forced the Poles to accept, and by which ſhe converted the whole nation into ſlaves and vaſſals. He reprobates, in ſtill ſeverer terms, the exorbitant aſſumption of Ruſſia, totally ſubverſive of the ſovereignty of the republic, in preventing her from ſettling or reforming her own government as ſhe liked, or as the neceſſity of public affairs required.

On all theſe accounts, as an injury and oppreſſion unheard of among nations, the Sublime Porte will, for the honour of the empire, as the ſupport of the weak, and the ſcourge of the unjuſt and powerful, punctually fulfil all her treaties and engagements with the republic, and will, at the firſt requiſition, ſend a powerful army to her aſſiſtance; and gives this notice to the friendly powers, that they might be apprized of the motives for his troops entering into the ſervice of Poland.

Nor did the republic ſeem leſs ſenſible to its growing importance than its neighbours; as an inſtance of

of which, the diet nominated ambaſſadors to the following courts: Conſtantinople, Peterſburgh, Vienna, Berlin, Verſailles, and London. This nomination, however, required the king's confirmation, which was obtained without difficulty. Though theſe miniſters were of the firſt rank and quality, they were ſtill more eminent for their patriotiſm, and the opinion held of their ability.

In the courſe of the various eager debates which took place in the diet upon thoſe ſubjects of diſcuſſion which we have ſtated, as well as others, a violent philippic was pronounced againſt the emperor by one of the members. He obſerved, that great and numerous as the injuries were which the republic had received from Ruſſia, they were only ſuch as in unfortunate circumſtances they could not but expect from that power, with whom, for a courſe of ages, they had been in a ſtate of frequent, if not general enmity. But that the rapacity diſplayed by the emperor, who, in the midſt of a long-eſtabliſhed and uninterrupted league of the cloſeſt friendſhip and amity, beſides all thoſe formal written ſtipulations which can bind ſtates to mutual ſuccour and kindneſs, a league cemented on the ſide of the republic by the moſt eminent ſervices, and conſtantly obſerved with the moſt invariable good faith, ſtained the opening of his reign by taking advantage of their unhappy civil diſſentions, ſeized a part of their country, not only without a colour of right, but even without the pretence of a claim, and thereby opened the way to other powers for that fatal partition, by which more than a third of Poland was ſevered from, and totally loſt to the reſt. This he repreſented as an act of ſuch duplicity, treachery, and of ſuch extreme turpitude in all moral reſpects, as to be without example among civilized nations, whether chriſtian or infidel.—He added to theſe, various other acts of injury, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, which he charged on the emperor. His fraudulent ſeizure of the ſalt-mines, by a quibble on the name of a brook; his monopolizing that article, to the great injury and diſtreſs of the people at large; the arbitrary injunction, by which the nobility, who poſſeſſed lands in Gallicia, were compelled to ſpend half the year in that province, at the peril of forfeiting their eſtates, although their ſeats, and the major part of their poſſeſſions, were ſituated in remote parts of the kingdom; and the late violation of the territorial rights of the republic at the ſiege of Choczim. Notwithſtanding the extreme ſeverities with which this ſpeech was loaded, it was received with ſuch unbounded applauſe by the diet, as had ſeldom been equalled upon any occaſion; a circumſtance which ſufficiently pointed out the prevalent ſtate of temper and opinion in that aſſembly.

The continuance of the Ruſſian troops in the kingdom, at the ſame time that it cauſed great diſcontent and complaint in the nation, ſerved no leſs to preſerve the union, and to ſupport the fervour of the diet. It was generally expected, and probably hoped and wiſhed by the Poles, that the Pruſſian military exertions would be immediately directed to drive the former out of the country. For, excluſively of their averſion to the Ruſſians, their eagerneſs to get in any manner entirely out of their hands, and the

ſatisfaction which the correction and chaſtiſement of their old oppreſſors would afford, ſtill enhanced by the hope that the puniſhment would be inflicted upon the very ſcenes of their arbitrary tranſgreſſions, they were prompted to wiſh for a war, both as a demonſtration of the Pruſſian ſincerity, and as likely to afford means for cementing the union ſo cloſely between the two nations, that nothing in the common courſe of things might be able to diſſolve it. From ſuch an union they augured the happieſt effects. They knew that Sweden and the Porte were eager to become parties to the league; and they expected the acceſſion of ſome of the Germanic ſtates, and even of Denmark, when ſhe ſaw that it might be done with ſecurity. Such a ſtate of things ſeemed to open the moſt flattering proſpects: they fancied they ſaw the tranquillity and liberty of the northern nations eſtabliſhed upon the moſt permanent foundation, and a total ſtop put to the domineering interference of that overreaching power, which had for ſo many years ſpread confuſion, diſcord, and miſery through all the neighbouring countries.

The king of Pruſſia's conduct had afforded much countenance to the opinion of an immediate war. For, beſides his ſtrong remonſtrances to the court of Peterſburgh on the continuance of the Ruſſians in Poland, and his declarations at Warſaw, his troops had been long advancing in great bodies towards the frontiers bordering on Livonia, Courland, and the Poliſh provinces. Magazines had likewiſe been formed, artillery and ammunition brought forward, and appearances were ſo ſtrong, that not only war, but an immediate winter campaign, was generally expected. The king was, however, very cautious in appealing to that laſt reſource, and endeavoured evidently to make the apprehenſion of his power, full in vigour and unimpaired as it was, with a full treaſury, the firſt army in the univerſe, and the greatneſs of his military preparations, produce the good effects and the purpoſes of ſucceſsful war, without its conſequent inevitable evils.

It is likewiſe probable, that the long and alarming illneſs of the king of Great Britain, ſerved greatly at this time to check the deſigns and to impede the activity of the Pruſſian ſovereign. For that misfortune operated in a twofold capacity, throwing a cloud of uncertainty, not only over the reliance which might be placed on the future proceedings of that great country, but involving in it, likewiſe, all that related to the electorate of Hanover.

Thus far the king of Pruſſia had ſucceſsfully diſplayed all the qualities of a great ſtateſman, and of an able and accompliſhed politician. Poland was now entirely in his hands, ſo far as the certain friendſhip and alliance of a country which muſt be devoted to his ſervice could render it ſo, under a nominal independence. This was, without bloodſhed or war, a greater and more valuable acquiſition than had been produced by all the laurels, victories, and long wars of his great predeceſſor. Poland, under a vigorous government, which it would have been his intereſt to eſtabliſh and always preſerve, would ſoon become an impenetrable barrier between him and Ruſſia, and at the ſame time a moſt uſeful ally on the ſide of Sileſia, in all future conteſts with

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the houſe of Auſtria. Thus, while he communicated happineſs and a neceſſary degree of power to his friend and neighbour, he would have derived from it a degree of ſecurity to the ſtraggling appendages of his own dominions, which they cannot otherwiſe eaſily acquire.

Such an arrangement of things would have changed the face of affairs wonderfully for the better, both in the north and center of Europe. The unhappy country of Courland, whoſe diſtreſſed nobility have traverſed all Europe, in the fruitleſs hope of finding ſo much of the ſpirit of knight errantry ſomewhere left, as might induce ſome power heroically to deliver her from the deplorable bondage under which ſhe has ſo long laboured, would then find ſhelter under the wings either of the king or the republic. Time and wiſdom might have communicated ſimilar benefits to other provinces and countries. Why a ſyſtem of policy, ſo wiſely and happily commenced, and for a time conducted, did not produce all the effects which were hoped and wiſhed, will be a ſubject of future diſcuſſion.

CHAP. III.

Declining ſtate of the king's health in the month of October, 1788, which terminates ſoon after in a continued delirium; grief of the people, and meaſures taken by public characters in conſequence thereof. Parliament meets purſuant to the laſt prorogation. Notification to both houſes of the ſtate of his majeſty's health; immediate adjournment for a fortnight, and ſummons for the attendance of members ordered; examination of the king's phyſicians before the privy council; minutes of the council board laid before both houſes at their ſecond meeting; doubts ſtarted in the houſe of commons, whether it would not be neceſſary to examine the phyſicians at the bar; taken into further conſideration on the 8th of December, and a committee appointed in each houſe to examine the phyſicians; their report brought up on the 10th, and a committee appointed to ſearch for precedents; Mr. Fox aſſerts the right of the prince of Wales to the regency; his opinion controverted by Mr. Pitt; Mr. Pitt's conduct ſarcaſtically remarked upon by Mr. Burke; Mr. Fox's opinion condemned by the preſident of the council, and other lords in the upper houſe; defended by the lords Loughborough, Stormont, and Portcheſter. The report from the committee of precedents brought up on the 12th; Mr. Fox explains, and reaſſerts his opinion relative to the prince's right, and is warmly oppoſed by Mr. Pitt; farther explanation of Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the regency; diſcuſſion of the queſtion of right deprecated in the houſe of lords; ſpeeches of the duke of York and of the duke of Gloceſter; three reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, December 16; the ſecond reſolution, declaratory of the right of the two houſes of parliament to appoint a regent, ſtrongly oppoſed by lord North and Mr. Fox, and ſupported by the maſter of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and ſolicitor general, and Mr. Hardinge; reflections of Mr. Ruſhworth on the miniſter's conduct; the reſolution carried by a majority of 268 to 204; oppoſed on the report of the committee by Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. Wyndham; amendment moved by Mr. Dempſter, and withdrawn; amendment to the third reſolution moved by Mr. Dempſter; debate thereon adjourned to the 22d of December.

AS the moſt important tranſactions of the ſeſſion of parliament, whoſe proceedings we are now to relate, aroſe out of the peculiar circumſtances under which it aſſembled, we muſt bring back the recollection of the reader, for a moment, to the impaired ſtate of the king's health towards the latter end of October 1788. On the 24th of that month he had a levee at St. James's, for the purpoſe of quieting the alarm, which the report of his indiſpoſition had ſpread amongſt the people; but upon his return to Windſor his diſorder took a new and unfortunate turn; and before the end of the firſt week in November it was generally known that it had ſettled into a conſtant delirium. The grief and conſternation which this intelligence excited amongſt all ranks of his loyal and affectionate ſubjects could only be equalled by that exultation and joy which were ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted at the period

period of his auſpicious and happy recovery. The prince of Wales repaired immediately to Windſor, where he was met by the lord chancellor, and they, in concert with the queen, took ſuch meaſures relative to the domeſtic affairs of the king as the neceſſity of the caſe required. In the mean time all thoſe, who by their rank and ſituation in the ſtate were required to take a part in ſo new and unexpected an exigence, aſſembled in the capital; and an expreſs was diſpatched to Mr. Fox, at this time in Italy, to haſten his return.

Nov. 20. The parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of November; and as the intended commiſſion for a further prorogation had not been iſſued by the king, its meeting took place upon that day, as a matter of courſe. The peers and the commons remained in their ſeparate chambers; and the chancellor in the upper, and Mr. Pitt in the lower houſe, having notified the cauſe of their aſſembling without the uſual notice and ſummons, and ſtated the impropriety of their proceeding under ſuch circumſtances to the diſcuſſion of any public buſineſs whatſoever, both houſes reſolved unanimouſly to adjourn for fifteen days. At the ſame time Mr. Pitt took occaſion to obſerve, that as it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary, in caſe his majeſty's illneſs ſhould unhappily continue longer than the period of their adjournment, that the houſe ſhould take into immediate conſideration the means of ſupplying, ſo far as they were competent, the want of the royal preſence; it was incumbent upon them to inſure a full attendance, in order to give every poſſible weight and ſolemnity to their proceedings. For this purpoſe it was ordered, that the houſe be called over on Thurſday the 4th of December next, and that the ſpeaker do ſend letters requiring the attendance of every member. Orders to the ſame effect were made by the lords.

In order to lay ſome ground for the proceedings of the two houſes of parliament, a council was held at Whitehall on the day preceding their meeting, to which all the privy councillors were ſummoned. Of fifty-four who attended, twenty-four were of the party of oppoſition. The phyſicians who had attended his majeſty during his illneſs were called before them and ſworn; after which three queſtions, which had been previouſly debated and carried in the council, were put to them ſeverally. The firſt was, "Whether "his majeſty's indiſpoſition ren- "dered him incapable of meeting "his parliament, and of attending "to any ſort of public buſineſs?" To this they anſwered, "That cer- "tainly he was incapable."—The ſecond was, "What is your opinion "of the duration of his majeſty's "malady, and of the probability of "a cure?" To this they anſwered, "That there was a great pro- "bability of his recovery, but that "it was impoſſible to limit the "time."—The third queſtion was, "Do you give this opinion from the "particular ſymptoms of his ma- "jeſty's diſorder, or from your ex- "perience in complaints of a ſimi- "lar nature?" To this their general anſwer was, "That it was "from experience, and having ob- "ſerved that the majority of thoſe "who were afflicted with the ſame "diſeaſe had recovered."

On the 4th the two houſes being aſſembled, the preſi- Dec. 4.

dent of the council informed the peers, that the king, by the continuance of his indiſpoſition, was rendered incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby ſuſpended. He then declared it to be his opinion, that in this diſmembered ſtate of the legiſlature, the right devolved on the two houſes of parliament to make ſuch proviſion for ſupplying the defect as ſhould be adequate to the neceſſity of the caſe; but that it was neceſſary, before any ſtep could be taken in ſo delicate a buſineſs, that the deficiency ſhould be fully aſcertained: with this view he moved, that the minutes of the privy council ſhould be read; which being done, the following Monday was appointed for taking it into conſideration.

A motion to the ſame effect being made by Mr. Pitt in the houſe of commons, Mr. Viner expreſſed his doubt, whether, in a matter of ſuch moment, and which would be attended with ſuch important conſequences, the houſe could proceed upon a report from the privy council without a further examination of the phyſicians, either at their bar, or by a committee of their own. Mr. Pitt urged, in reply, the delicacy of the ſubject to be diſcuſſed; and remarked further, that the examination before the council was taken upon oath, which the houſe had it not in their power to adminiſter. Mr. Fox concurred in opinion with Mr. Viner; he felt the propriety of acting with all poſſible delicacy; but if delicacy and their duty ſhould happen to claſh, the latter ought not to be ſacrificed to the former. A doubt was alſo ſtated by the ſpeaker, whether, in the preſent defective ſtate of parliament, he was competent to iſſue writs for new elections. This was determined in the affirmative, and the houſe immediately roſe.

On Monday the 8th, Mr. Pitt, either convinced, upon further conſideration, of the propriety of Mr. Viner's ſuggeſtion, or expecting that the probability of his majeſty's recovery would become more apparent upon a fuller enquiry into the caſe, came forward to propoſe, that a committee of twenty-one members ſhould be appointed to examine all the phyſicians who had attended the king during his illneſs. A like committee was appointed the ſame day in the houſe of lords; and the members in both were choſen nearly in equal numbers from each ſide of the houſe. Dec. 8th.

The report of the committee [ſee State Papers, p. 287.] being brought up on the 10th, and ordered to be printed, Mr. Pitt moved, "that a "committee be appointed to exa- "mine the journals of the houſe, "and report precedents of ſuch "proceedings as may have been "had in caſes of the perſonal ex- "erciſe of the royal authority being "prevented or interrupted by in- "fancy, ſickneſs, infirmity, or other- "wiſe, with a view to provide for the "ſame." The motion being made, Mr. Fox roſe, and objected to it as nugatory, and productive of unneceſſary and improper delay. He ſaid, the right honourable gentleman knew, that no precedent was to be found of the ſuſpenſion of the executive government, in which, at the ſame time, there exiſted an heir apparent to the crown, of full age and capacity. For his own part, he was convinced, upon the mature ſt conſideration of the principles and practice of the conſtitution,

tion, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the ſovereign, from ſickneſs, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exerciſe the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indiſputable a claim to the exerciſe of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the ſovereign, during the continuance of ſuch incapacity, as in caſe of his natural demiſe. At the ſame time he acknowledged, that the two houſes of parliament were alone competent to pronounce when the prince ought to take poſſeſſion of and exerciſe his right.

He thought it candid, he ſaid, entertaining this opinion, to come forward fairly, and avow it at that inſtant; that the prince had not made this claim himſelf, he imputed to his known moderation, and to the peculiar delicacy of his ſituation; but he thought this a ſtrong reaſon, amongſt others, why they ſhould not waſte a moment unneceſſarily, but proceed, with all becoming ſpeed and diligence, to reſtore to the conſtitution the ſovereign power, and the functions of the royal authority.

The chancellor of the exchequer roſe, with ſome heat, to controvert the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox; he declared it to be little leſs than treaſon againſt the conſtitution; and pledged himſelf to maintain, on the contrary, that the heir apparent had no more right, in the caſe alledged, to the exerciſe of the executive power, than any other ſubject in the kingdom; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legiſlature, in behalf of the people, to make ſuch proviſion for ſupplying the temporary deficiency as they might think moſt proper, to preſerve unimpaired the intereſts of the ſovereign, and the ſafety and welfare of the nation. He added, that from the mode in which the right honourable gentleman had treated the ſubject, a new queſtion preſented itſelf, and that of much greater magnitude than the queſtion originally before them; it was a queſtion of their own rights: it was become a doubt, whether the houſe had on this important occaſion any deliberative power at all. The motion he had made could therefore no longer be called nugatory, but was become abſolutely neceſſary, in order to learn and aſcertain their own rights.

Mr. Fox remarked, in reply, that the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament exiſting which could legally alter the ſucceſſion, nothing but a caſe of neceſſity, which at preſent, he averred, did not exiſt, could juſtify the two houſes in aſſuming to themſelves the right of ſetting aſide the heir apparent from the regency, or putting the executive power into his hands with any limitations or reſtrictions impoſed by their own authority.

Mr. Burke added ſome ſarcaſtical remarks upon the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer. Were he to become an elector for the regency, as undoubtedly, he ſaid, every member of the houſe would be, if the doctrine they had heard was received, he hoped he ſhould be excuſed if he gave his vote for a prince whoſe amiable diſpoſition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a *competitor* who had threatened the aſſertors of the prince of Wales's right with the penalties of conſtructive

tive treaſon. Being called to order for theſe expreſſions, he inſiſted that he was not diſorderly: the right honourable gentleman had aſſerted that the prince had no more right to the regency than any other ſubject whatever; and if the houſe were of the ſame opinion, who would anſwer for the event of the election?

Mr. Pitt concluded the converſation with complaining of the indecency of the expreſſion that had been uſed; and aſked, whether, when Mr. Somers aſſerted, in the convention of 1688, that no perſon had a right to the crown, it would have been thought decent for any member to have riſen and pronounced him a competitor with William III.

A committee of twenty-one, of whom nine were members of oppoſition, was then appointed to ſit with the uſual powers.

Dec. 11. The day following the ſame motion was made in the houſe of lords by the preſident of the council, and carried without a diviſion. His lordſhip condemned the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox in the houſe of commons, which he ſtated to be, that on the event of his majeſty's incapacity, the prince of Wales had an immediate right to aſſume the exerciſe of the ſovereign power. This he declared was treaſonable to the conſtitution; and he aſſerted, on the contrary, that the right and duty of ſupplying the preſent deficiency of the ſovereign power belonged ſolely and entirely to the two remaining branches of the legiſlature.

Lord Loughborough defended Mr. Fox's poſition, both as being more analogous to the law of the land and the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and as ſteering clear of the many embarraſſments and dangers which might ariſe from the oppoſite doctrine. He inſiſted upon the political abſurdity of having an hereditary ſucceſſion to the monarchy, and an elective regency. He aſked, whether the two houſes would not thereby in effect aſſume the whole government to themſelves, as ſuch a regent might be ſo elected, as would neceſſarily become the mere ſlave of the electors? He put the caſe of the two houſes in Ireland aſſuming the ſame right, and electing a different perſon to be their regent. He reminded the houſe, that by the common law the prince of Wales had many rights and privileges peculiar to himſelf, and which belonged to no common ſubject. He was therein deſcribed to be one and the ſame with the king, and it was as much high treaſon to compaſs or imagine his death as that of the king. It would ſcarcely, he ſaid, be denied, that if the preſent unfortunate emergency had happened during an intermiſſion of parliament, that the prince of Wales would have been warranted in iſſuing writs, and ſummoning the parliament to meet. At the ſame time he held, with Mr. Fox, that the exerciſe of this right, under the preſent circumſtances, ought to wait the declaration of his majeſty's incapacity by the two houſes of parliament.

The lords Stormont and Portcheſter argued on the ſame ſide with lord Loughborough; and were oppoſed by the chancellor and earl Stanhope, the former of whom contented himſelf with declaring, that the doctrine advanced was to him at leaſt entirely new.

Dec. 12. On the 12th the report was brought up from the committee, and ordered to be printed;

ed; and Mr. Pitt then moved, that the houſe ſhould on Thurſday next reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

Upon this occaſion Mr. Fox roſe to defend himſelf againſt the miſrepreſentations which, he alledged, had been given of his ſentiments relative to the regency. He had been made to aſſert that the prince of Wales had a right to aſſume the royal authority, upon the interruption of its exerciſe in conſequence of the king's illneſs and incapacity. He believed, he ſaid, that he had never uſed the word *aſſume*; what he undoubtedly meant, and what he was ſtill ready to maintain, was, that the claim, as of right, was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the poſſeſſion was in the two houſes of parliament. Their right of election he poſitively denied, and he conceived there was a clear diſtinction between that, and the right of adjudication. Thus in conteſted returns of members of that houſe, the right of adjudication belonged to their committee above ſtairs, but the right of the perſon declared duly returned to his ſeat in parliament was derived from another authority, the right of election in his conſtituents. He was glad, however, to find that even they who denied the ſtrict *right*, admitted that the prince had an irreſiſtible *claim* to the regency; and as they agreed in ſubſtance, he thought they ought in prudence to waive the diſcuſſion of new and equivocal diſtinctions. Mr. Fox concluded with expreſſing his hopes that the chancellor of the exchequer would give the houſe ſome information reſpecting the nature of the propoſitions he meant to lay before the committee upon the ſtate of the nation. For his own part, he ſaid, he ſhould not heſitate then to declare what in his opinion they ought to be, namely, a declaration or addreſs to the prince, ſtating the fact of his majeſty's preſent incapacity, and inveſting his royal highneſs, during ſuch incapacity, with the full exerciſe of all the royal powers, in the ſame manner and to the ſame extent as they might be exerciſed by his majeſty had his health enabled him to diſcharge the functions of the ſovereign authority.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr Fox, and after admitting the explanation given by the latter, declared that he was ready to meet him on the ground, upon which, after mature deliberation, he had thought fit to place the queſtion in diſpute between them. The right honourable gentleman now aſſerted, that the prince of Wales had a right to exerciſe the royal authority, under the preſent circumſtances of the country, but that it was a right not in poſſeſſion, until the prince could exerciſe it on, what he called, the adjudication of parliament. He, on his part, denied that the prince of Wales had *any right whatever*, and upon that point the right honourable gentleman and he were ſtill at iſſue; an iſſue that, in his opinion, muſt be decided, before they could proceed one ſtep farther in the great and important conſiderations to be diſcuſſed and determined. An expreſſion, he remarked, had alſo been uſed, tending to inſinuate that this right of adjudication, under the preſent or ſimilar circumſtances, could only take place upon

a ſuppoſition of the actual ſitting of parliament; the plain inference from which was, that if parliament were not ſitting, the prince of Wales could aſſume the exerciſe of the regal authority. Mr. Pitt declared, that he thought the prince of Wales could, in no caſe, aſſume of right the ſovereign power. If there were no parliament in exiſtence, he granted that the heir apparent, acting in concert with other perſons in great ſituations, might, under ſuch circumſtances as the preſent, have iſſued writs, and convened the two houſes, for the purpoſe of providing for the public ſafety.

But, ſuppoſing the right of aſſumption given up altogether, and that the prince muſt have the right adjudged by parliament, he denied that they were acting as judges, as the ſentiments of the right honourable gentleman ſo manifeſtly intimated. It was ſubverſive of the principles of the conſtitution to admit, that the prince of Wales might, under any circumſtances, ſeat himſelf on the throne, during the life-time of his father; and the intimation of the exiſtence of ſuch a right, as he had remarked on a former occaſion, preſented a queſtion of greater magnitude and importance, even than the preſent exigency, and the proviſion that it neceſſarily required; a queſtion that involved in it the principles of the conſtitution, the protection and ſecurity of our liberties, and the ſafety of the ſtate.

When the rights and powers of the two houſes were aſcertained, it would then become a queſtion, to whom and what portion of the ſovereign power ſhould be delegated during his majeſty's illneſs: upon this point, however decided he might be in his opinion againſt the whole or any part of the regal power being veſted in the prince of Wales, as a matter of right, in any way, in which that right had been explained, he was equally ready to ſay, that, as a matter of diſcretion, and on the ground of expediency, it was, in his opinion, highly deſirable, that whatever part of the regal power it was neceſſary ſhould be exerciſed at all during this unhappy interval, ſhould be veſted in a ſingle perſon, and that this perſon ſhould be the prince of Wales: that he alſo thought it moſt conſiſtent with true conſtitutional principles, and moſt for the public convenience, that his royal highneſs ſhould exerciſe that portion of authority, whatever it might be, unfettered by any permanent council, and with the free choice of his political ſervants. With regard to the portion of royal authority which ought to be given, or withholden, it would be premature, in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, to enter into the particular diſcuſſion of it; but he had no objection, even now, to declare in general, that whatever authority was neceſſary for carrying on the public buſineſs with vigour and diſpatch, and for providing, during this interval, for the ſafety and intereſts of the country, ought to be given; but, on the other hand, any authority not neceſſary for thoſe purpoſes, and capable of being, by poſſibility, employed in any way which might tend to embarraſs the exerciſe of the king's lawful authority, when he ſhould be enabled to reſume it into his own hands, ought to be withholden; becauſe, from its being given, more inconvenience might ariſe to the future intereſts, both

both of the people and of the crown, than any which could arise, in the mean time, from its temporary suspension.

Dec. 15. As it was evident from the complexion of both houses of parliament that the majority was adverse to the claim of the prince of Wales, as of right, to the regency, it was thought most adviseable, by those who held the affirmative, to avoid, if possible, its being brought to a formal decision. With this view, on the 15th Dec. the earl Fitzwilliam, after stating the inexpediency of bringing, under the present circumstances, any abstract political questions into discussion, when all parties were agreed in substance, desired to know from the ministers, whether they meant to introduce any proposition of that nature. He was answered by earl Camden, who said, that as the most essential rights of the two houses of parliament had been questioned by persons of great and respectable authority, he thought it was become absolutely necessary that they should not be left doubtful and unsettled. Upon this declaration his royal highness the duke of York rose, and addressed the house to the following effect.

Perfectly unused, he said, as he was to speak in a public assembly, he could not refrain from offering his sentiments to their lordships on a subject in which the dearest interests of the country were involved. He entirely agreed with the noble earl (Fitzwilliam) and other lords, who had expressed their wishes to avoid any question which tended to induce a discussion on the rights of the prince. The fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been made on the part of the prince; and he was confident that his royal highness understood too well the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in parliament assembled. It was upon this ground that he must be permitted to hope, that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men, at a moment, when temper and unanimity were so peculiarly necessary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every description of persons must, in common, lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wish to avoid pressing a decision, which certainly was not necessary to the great object expected from parliament, and which must be most painful in the discussion to a family already sufficiently agitated and afflicted. Such, his royal highness observed, in conclusion, were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of his subjects; and he was confident that if his royal brother were to address them in his place, as a peer of the realm, these were the sentiments which he would distinctly avow.

He was followed by his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, who, after stating the peculiar unpleasantness of his own situation, and declaring that it was only four hours since he had heard that any thing was to be agitated upon the subject that day, deprecated the discussion of a question, which could only tend to produce the most mischievous consequences. He declared himself a mere individual, not influenced

influenced by party, but actuated by a ſincere love of his country, and a ſtrong ſenſe of what he knew would be his majeſty's feelings, were he happily to recover from his preſent lamented indiſpoſition. His royal highneſs truſted, that the good ſenſe and loyalty of a majority in each houſe would yet prevent the threatened deciſion on this point. Perſeverance in it was miſchievous to the laſt degree, and could not be meant for the public good. For his part, he felt ſo ſtrongly on the ſubject, that, if the attempt was perſiſted in, and the queſtion brought before that houſe, he could only ſay, that he believed he ſhould not dare to truſt himſelf to come forward and ſpeak his ſentiments on the extraordinary conduct of thoſe, who were unneceſſarily inclined to compel a deciſion on ſo delicate a queſtion.

Notwithſtanding the entreaties of the princes of the royal family, the miniſters perſevered in their intention; and the lord chancellor cloſed the converſation by declaring, that though he much lamented the ſtarting of ſuch a queſtion, yet he did not ſee how they could now avoid coming to ſome determination upon it.

Dec. 16. Accordingly, on the ſixteenth of December, the houſe of commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee, Mr. Pitt moved the three following reſolutions, the firſt of which was voted unanimouſly.

I. "That it is the opinion of this "committee, That his majeſty is "prevented, by his preſent indiſpo- "ſition, from coming to his parlia- "ment, and from attending to "public buſineſs; and that the per- "ſonal exerciſe of the royal autho- "rity is thereby, for the preſent, "interrupted."

II. "That it is the opinion of "this committee, That it is the "right and duty of the lords ſpi- "ritual and temporal and com- "mons of Great Britain, now aſ- "ſembled, and lawfully, fully, and "freely repreſenting all the eſtates "of the people of this realm, to "provide the means of ſupplying "the defect of the perſonal exer- "ciſe of the royal authority, ariſing "from his majeſty's ſaid indiſpo- "ſition, in ſuch manner as the exi- "gency of the caſe may appear to "require."

Reſolved, "That for this pur- "poſe, and for maintaining entire "the conſtitutional authority of the "king, it is neceſſary, that the "ſaid lords ſpiritual and tempo- "ral and commons of Great Bri- "tain, ſhould determine on the "means whereby the royal aſſent "may be given in parliament to "ſuch bill as may be paſſed by the "two houſes of parliament, reſpect- "ing the exerciſe of the powers and "authorities of the crown, in the "name, and on the behalf of the "king, during the continuance of his "majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition."

The arguments urged by Mr. Pitt in ſupport of the ſecond reſolution, were principally drawn from two ſources, the precedents contained in the report of the committee, and the acknowledged maxims and ſpirit of the conſtitution.

With reſpect to the firſt, he admitted that no precedent occurred that was directly in point; viz. in which an interruption had taken place of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority with any legal proviſion, at a time when there exiſted an heir apparent of full age. But he

he remarked that there were many cases from which strong analogies might be drawn, and which tended greatly to elucidate the subject. And first, he challenged his opponents to point out a single case, either of the infancy, infirmity, or illness of a sovereign, in which the full powers of sovereignty were exercised by any person whatever. If the right attached to his royal highness, under the present circumstances, in the same manner as on the demise of his father, an heir presumptive would have the same claim as an heir apparent; but the precedents clearly proved that no such right existed. In the reign of Edward the third, no heir claimed the exercise of sovereignty: the parliament provided a council about the King's person to exercise the sovereign functions. In the reign of Richard the second, counsellors were also appointed to administer the sovereign authority. In the infancy of Henry the sixth, the parliament was called together by the young king's second uncle, the first being still living abroad, and the act was ratified by the parliament that followed. These three instances were sufficient to shew that the exercise of the sovereign power during the infancy of the king was never claimed as of right, but always delegated by parliament. With respect to cases of absence, he observed that, if a right existed to represent the king, it must be a perfect and an entire right, a right admitting of no modification whatever, because, if any thing short of the whole power were given, it would be less than by right could be claimed, and consequently an acknowledgment that no such right existed. But, by a reference to the ancient records, it would be found that the *custos regni*, or lieutenant for the king, had never been invested with the whole sovereign authority. The powers given to the *custodes regni* had been different under different circumstances. The power, for instance, of bestowing benefices, and doing other acts of sovereignty, was occasionally granted to them by express acts—a manifest proof that their powers had been always subject to limitation, and that they held their offices not as of right, but by appointment. With respect to cases of infirmity, one instance had occurred where the exercise of royalty had been interrupted, and which appeared to him to be more a case in point than any other. The precedent to which he alluded was that of Henry the sixth, which differed indeed from the present case, in that the heir apparent was not of full age. But the parliament of that day not only provided for the moment, but looked forward to the time when the heir apparent should attain full age, granting him a reversionary patent, the same precisely with the regent's, to take place when he should come of age: and though they provided for allowing him at that period more considerable powers than they suffered the regent to possess, they had still not granted him the full powers of sovereignty, but had made such limitations, as proved their denial of any right existing independent of their authority. This instance he thought sufficient to shew the sense of parliament in those days, as much as if the heir apparent had been of full age. If then no precedent contrary to those which he had stated could be found, he should presume, that the committee would of course admit, that no right exist-

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ed either in an heir apparent or an heir presumptive, to assume the functions of royalty, on the temporary incapacity of the sovereign.

The only question, then, was, where did the right of providing for such a deficiency exist? If no precedent, in history or in law, was to be found, for the exercise of such authority, during the disability of the sovereign, where was it lodged? It was to be found in the voice of the people: with them it rested; and, though the third estate of the legislature might be deficient, yet the organs of speech remained entire in their representatives, the lords and commons, through whom the sense of the people might be taken. With them therefore it rested, as a right, to provide for the deficiency of the third branch of the legislature, whenever a deficiency arose. These were not merely his opinions, but the opinions of those who had framed the revolution. They had not, indeed, like the committee, to provide for the interruptions of the regal power, while the throne was full, but to supply the deficiency of the third branch of the legislature, which was wholly vacant. As the power of filling the throne rested with the people at the revolution, so, at the present moment, on the same principles of liberty, on the same rights of parliament, did the providing for the deficiency rest with the people.

He again adverted to the proceedings of parliament in the reign of Henry the sixth, which he contended were all founded on the presumption of their right to declare both in what manner, and by whom, the royal authority was to be exercised, for and in the name of the king. In that reign, the duke of Gloucester claimed the regency, and applied to parliament for the same as his right; but the answer of parliament to this claim was, that he neither had by birth, nor by the will of his brother, any right whatever to the exercise of royal authority. They, however, appointed him regent, and entrusted him with the care of the young king. Here then was an instance of the claim of right having been actually made, and fully decided upon by parliament, which declared that no such right existed. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech by defending himself against the imputation of agitating, without necessity, questions of a dangerous tendency. He denied that he had first stirred them; but unconstitutional claims having been asserted, it was their duty to declare their right, so that it might remain ascertained beyond the possibility of any question hereafter, and become secured to posterity. On the contrary, if the right were not declared, it would appear that the two houses had made a compromise unbecoming their dignity, and had acted upon personal motives, rather than a due regard to the true interests of their country.

Lord North rose in opposition to Mr. Pitt. He did not understand, he said, how it would appear that the committee, by agreeing with the right honourable gentleman, and voting the resolution, had acted with greater impartiality, or that the public would be convinced that they had been actuated by motives less personal, than if they did not vote it. The fact of the incapacity of the sovereign to exercise his royal authority being properly established, they ought immediately to proceed

ceed to reſtore the third branch of the legiſlature; and the ſooner they did that neceſſary act of duty, the leſs would their proceedings be liable to the imputation of having been conducted upon perſonal motives. In conſequence of that melancholy misfortune, which they all deplored, they were ſitting, not indeed in the form of a convention (becauſe it happened that the two houſes of parliament had been regularly called together) but with no more authority than a convention poſſeſſed, to do that duty which the calamity of the moment called upon them to perform. Under ſuch circumſtances, they ought to confine themſelves ſtrictly to the neceſſity of the caſe, ſince every ſtep they proceeded beyond the neceſſity of the caſe, was a ſtep in error, and conſequently a ſtep which they ought not to take. The motion, he obſerved, called upon them to declare the right and duty of the lords ſpiritual and temporal. What right had that houſe to interfere with the rights and duties of the other houſe? In the ſecond part of the queſtion he ſaw a project for paſſing a bill; a project directly violating the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, and to which, for that reaſon, he could not agree. What right had that houſe, or the two houſes, to make laws? To paſs a bill, was to do an act of legiſlation, and to aſſume powers that did not belong to them: powers, that the conſtitution had placed in the hands of the king, lords, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, and in their hands only. Their road was eaſy and ſhort: proceed directly to nominate a regent, and then, when the third branch was reſtored, and the legiſlature was compleat, they would become a parliament, perfect in all its conſtitutional form, and they might legally paſs any laws either of limitation, reſtriction, or of any other kind. But, to attempt to proceed otherwiſe, was to trench on the prerogatives of the crown, while they lay at their mercy. They had a precedent, he ſaid, directly in point, a precedent on which the ſtability of our preſent happy conſtitution reſted. How had thoſe great men thought it their duty to act, who ſettled the revolution?—To declare the vacancy of the throne, and immediately to reſtore the regal power, and render the legiſlature complete.

The original propoſition was ſupported by the maſter of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and ſolicitor general, and the ſolicitor general to the queen. They inſiſted much upon the ſilence both of the common and ſtatute law, with reſpect to a right exiſting in any perſon to the regency—They ſaid it was *caſus non proviſus*, and that the lords and commons, being the only two branches of the legiſlature in a capacity to act, were bound to provide ſuch means for ſupplying the defect as were moſt conſonant and analogous to the law of the land. They argued upon a diſtinction between the *political* and *natural* capacity of the king, and maintained, that in the contemplation of the law, the monarchy was ſtill perfect and complete, and the king's political capacity entire, notwithſtanding his preſent illneſs.—The lord advocate for Scotland added, that from a number of precedents to be found in the hiſtory of that kingdom, it appeared, that the appointment of a regent, whatever his powers might be, had always

always been made in Scotland as in England, under the ſanction and authority of the ſtates of the kingdom, either previouſly given, or afterwards interpoſed, and ſometimes the next heir of the crown had been appointed, ſometimes not, ſometimes one regent, and at other times more than one.

Mr. Hardinge laid great ſtreſs upon the precedents of Henry the ſixth, and upon the regency bills which paſſed in the reign of George the ſecond, and of the preſent king. In the former, in caſe of a minority, the princeſs of Wales was made regent, and the duke of Cumberland, the next preſumptive heir, paſſed by; in the latter, the king was enabled to nominate a regent by his will, though the duke of York was the next major in ſucceſſion.—Theſe indeed were acts of complete legiſlatures; but in the debates which they occaſioned, no complaint was made, no idea ſtarted that they were doing an injury to the right of the preſumptive heir, or that of any other.—He likewiſe contended, that the convention at the revolution did, in their declaration reſpecting the appointment of William and Mary to be king and queen, and the definition of the ſeparate powers of each, decide upon an abſtract queſtion of right, and did legiſlate, to all intents and purpoſes, as far as was now propoſed to be done.

Mr. Fox combated theſe arguments with great force and acuteneſs. He began by declaring, that in his opinion the labours of the committee appointed to ſearch for precedents had been entirely fruitleſs, all of thoſe reported being either irrelevant and inapplicable, inconſiſtent with each other, or drawn from periods of civil violence, anarchy, and confuſion.—Of this latter ſort he ſhewed the precedents ſo much inſiſted upon, of the reign of Henry the ſixth eminently to be; and at the ſame time proved, that ſo far as their inconſiſtency with each other afforded any ground of argument, they were, on the whole, more favourable to his opinions than thoſe of his opponents.

He next endeavoured to prove, from the ſpirit and practice of the conſtitution, and the abſurdities and dangers to which a contrary doctrine would lead, his main poſition, viz. that the prince had, ſubject to the adjudication of the two houſes of parliament, an excluſive right, under the exiſting circumſtances, to the full exerciſe of the royal authority.

The aſſumption of a power to nominate a regent, he conſidered, ſo far as it went, as a converſion of the ſucceſſion of the monarchy from hereditary to elective, inſiſting, that the poſſeſſion of the crown, and of the executive authority, muſt, in the nature of things, be governed by the ſame principles. In order to illuſtrate this, he put the caſe of a foreigner aſking an Engliſhman, whether the monarchy of Great Britain was hereditary or elective? Any man familiar with the theory of the conſtitution would naturally anſwer that it was hereditary; but, if the doctrine of that day prevailed, if the houſe ſet aſide the hereditary right to the exerciſe of the king's authority, during its perſonal ſuſpenſion, the anſwer muſt be, "I "cannot tell, aſk his majeſty's "phyſicians: when the king of Eng-"land is in good health the mo-"narchy is hereditary; but when "he is ill, and incapable of exer-

" ciſing the ſovereign authority, it " is elective."

Let the committee conſider the danger of making any other perſon regent beſides the prince of Wales. If the two houſes could chuſe a regent, they might chuſe whom they pleaſed: they might chuſe a foreigner, a Catholic (for the law defines not the regent) who, while he held the power of the third eſtate, might prevail on the other two branches of the legiſlature to concur with him in altering or ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick. He ſaw this ſuppoſition was deemed extravagant; but he meant to put an extravagant caſe. He had not, however, put an impoſſible one; let them turn to the favourite period of our hiſtory (favourite at leaſt with the other ſide of the houſe that day) the reign of Henry the ſixth, and they would find, that Richard, duke of York, took advantage of his power as protector of the kingdom, and actually diſinherited the prince of Wales, and the whole line of Lancaſter, though they were more nearly allied, and had much better pretenſions to the crown than the houſe of York. The ſame diſmal ſcene which had diſgraced our annals at that period, might be acted over again.

He contended, that the appointment of a regent, in the manner now propoſed, implied a right in the two houſes to legiſlate and enact laws, in the teeth of the ſtatute of the 13th of Charles the ſecond, which not only declared, that the two houſes of parliament could not make laws without the conſent and concurrence of the king, but alſo declared, that whoever ſhould preſume to affirm the contrary, ſhould be guilty of high treaſon. The right to make laws reſted only in the legiſlature complete, and not in the concurrence of any two branches of it. Upon that very principle was our conſtitution built, and on the preſervation of it did its exiſtence depend. Were the caſe otherwiſe, the conſtitution might be eaſily deſtroyed; becauſe, if the two branches could aſſume the power to make law, they might, in that law, modify or entirely change the nature of the third eſtate.

The preſent ſituation of affairs had been compared to the revolution; but their proceedings were diametrically oppoſite. At the period of the revolution the convention which was then aſſembled, conſcious that they could not make any change in the genius of the monarchy, until they had a head, firſt reſtored the third eſtate, and then defined its power; whereas the committee were called on to proceed in a different way; firſt, to new-caſt the office, and then to declare the officer. And what muſt be the ſituation of a regent elected by that houſe? He muſt be a pageant and puppet, a mere creature of their own. They might appoint him for a year, a month, a day, and ſo change the monarchy into a republic. The ſafety of the whole depended on the jealouſy which each retained againſt the others; not on the patriotiſm of any one branch of the legiſlature, but rather on the ſeparate intereſts of the three concurring, through different views, to one general good. All theſe principles would be deſtroyed by the preſent project, which would radically alter the government, and of conſequence overturn the conſtitution.

Another miſchief, and that of the moſt ſerious nature, might ariſe from an elective regency. What, if the two houſes ſhould diſagree in the perſon to be appointed? What, if one regent ſhould be appointed in England and another in Ireland? With reſpect to Ireland, if the two houſes of the Britiſh parliament ſimply declared the prince of Wales regent, moſt probably the parliament in Ireland would do the ſame; if they ſpeculated, the Iriſh parliament would ſpeculate. Were the queſtion of right but once ſet afloat, it would become impoſſible to ſay to what extent it might be carried.

Having fully argued the right of the prince of Wales upon theſe and other grounds, Mr. Fox adverted to the alledged neceſſity for the preſent mode of proceeding, and urged the fallacy of pretending that the opinion which he, as a private member of that houſe, had delivered, and the opinion which his noble and learned friend (lord Loughborough) had delivered elſewhere, made it neceſſary. The reſolutions moved appeared in his opinion as inſidiouſly calculated to convey a cenſure on the ſentiments which he delivered, while they ſerved as an inſtrument of evaſion of an aſſertion, highly revolting to the public mind, made by the right honourable gentleman himſelf. Upon the preſent occaſion there had been two aſſertions of poſitive rights on two ſides of the houſe. On his ſide, the aſſertion of the right of the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity to exerciſe the ſovereign authority, during his majeſty's infirmity. On that of the right honourable gentleman, the aſſertion that the prince had no more right to exerciſe the ſovereign authority under ſuch circumſtances, than any other individual ſubject. He did not underſtand the invidious dignity he had been exalted to on this occaſion; but ſince the right honourable gentleman was determined to make a perſonal queſtion between them, why would they not put it on his own opinion, and let the queſtion be, "That it is the "opinion of this committee, that "his royal highneſs the prince of "Wales, being of full age and "capacity, has no more right to "exerciſe the royal authority, dur-"ing his majeſty's incapacity, "than any other individual ſub-"ject?" The right honourable gentleman well knew, that he dared not venture to ſubject ſuch a queſtion to debate. Conſcious of his error, and conſcious that ſo monſtrous a doctrine as he had ſuffered himſelf, in an evil hour, to deliver, had revolted the public mind, he now ſought to divert the public attention by a paltry triumph over him, though that triumph could not be obtained without a marked inſult upon the prince of Wales. For, whatever opinion of the prince's right he (Mr. Fox) might entertain, why ſhould that right be diſcuſſed which had been neither claimed, nor was intended to be claimed? That this was the preciſe ſtate of the fact, was not to be doubted, after the declaration which had been ſo graciouſly communicated, from the higheſt authority, in another place. The claim being thus diſavowed, how muſt the preamble of a bill run, truly to deſcribe the caſe as it ſtood at preſent: "Whereas his "royal highneſs the prince of "Wales has never claimed a right "to the regency, it becomes ne-"ceſſary

" ceſſary for the lords ſpiritual and " temporal, and for the commons of " England, to declare, that his royal " highneſs has no right, and there- " fore we do hereby declare his " royal highneſs ſole regent of theſe " kingdoms?" What could be more ridiculous than a bill opening with this language? and ſo it muſt be worded, unleſs they falſified the fact.

Toward the concluſion of his ſpeech, Mr. Fox adverted to an argument advanced againſt him, including a charge, that he had deſerted the cauſe which he had heretofore been ſuppoſed to claim the peculiar merit of ſtanding forth on all occaſions to defend, and had thus manifeſted an inattention to the privileges of the houſe of commons, as oppoſed to the encroachments of the prerogatives of the crown. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Fox remarked, that his reſiſtance of the latter, when it had been thought increaſing unconſtitutionally, was well known. The influence of the crown had been more than once checked in that houſe, and (he really believed) to the advantage of the people. Whenever the executive authority was urged beyond its reaſonable extent, it ought to be reſiſted; but he deſired to aſk if this was an occaſion for exerciſing the conſtitutional power of reſiſting the prerogative or the influence of the crown in that houſe? He had ever made it his pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power and the fullneſs of its authority: he wiſhed not to trample on its rights while it lay extended at their feet, deprived of its functions, and incapable of reſiſtance. Let the right honourable gentleman pride himſelf on a victory obtained againſt a defenceleſs foe; let him boaſt of a triumph where no battle had been fought, and, conſequently, where no glory could be obtained! Let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature; let him, like an unfeeling lord of the manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by plundering ſhipwrecks, by rigorouſly ſeizing on waifs, and ſtrays, and deodands, and all the accumulated produce of the various accidents which misfortune could throw into his power. Let it not be my boaſt, he ſaid, to have gained ſuch victories, obtained ſuch triumphs, or availed myſelf of wealth ſo acquired. The right honourable gentleman, he added, appeared to have been ſo long in the poſſeſſion of power, that he could not endure to part with it, and was at leaſt reſolved to deſtroy what he might no longer be permitted to enjoy. He had experienced the full favour of the crown, and enjoyed the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the operation of the whole not too much for the ſucceſsful carrying on of the government, he had determined to cripple his ſucceſſors, and deprive them of the ſame advantages which he had poſſeſſed; and thus circumſcribe their power to ſerve their country, as if he dreaded that they would ſhade his fame.

Mr. Pitt made a ſhort reply, in which he ſaid, that the perſonal attack juſt made upon him was neither provoked nor juſtified by the manner in which he had opened the debate, and was unfounded, arrogant, and preſumptuous. The right honourable gentleman had thought proper to announce himſelf and his friends to be the ſucceſſors of the preſent adminiſtration. He did not

know on what authority the right honourable gentleman made this declaration; but he thought, that with a view to thoſe queſtions of expediency which the right honourable gentleman had introduced, both the houſe and the country were obliged to him for this ſeaſonable warning of what they were to expect. The nation had already had experience of that right honourable gentleman, and his principles. It was the profeſſed object of the party with which he acted to endeavour, by the weight and extent of their political influence, to nominate the miniſters of the crown. It could not be denied, that they maintained it as a fundamental principle, that a miniſter ought at all times ſo to be nominated. He would therefore ſpeak plainly. If perſons who poſſeſſed theſe principles were in reality likely to be the adviſers of the prince in the exerciſe of thoſe powers which were neceſſary to be given during the preſent unfortunate interval, it was the ſtrongeſt additional reaſon, if any were wanting, for being careful to conſider, what the extent of thoſe powers ought to be. It was impoſſible not to ſuppoſe, that by ſuch adviſers thoſe powers would be perverted to a purpoſe which it was indeed impoſſible to imagine that the prince of Wales could, if he was aware of it, ever endure for a moment: but to which, by artifice and miſrepreſentation, he might unintentionally be made acceſſary;—for the purpoſe of creating a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party, which would be dangerous to the juſt rights of the crown when the moment ſhould arrive (ſo much wiſhed, and, perhaps, ſo ſoon to be expected) of his majeſty being able to reſume the exerciſe of his own authority.

With reſpect to the ſubject of the debate, he obſerved, that it had been argued upon grounds of expediency, as if the conteſt was between two rival rights, and the only queſtion, in favour of which the arguments preponderated. He ſhould be perfectly ready to meet the queſtion upon this iſſue; but, in fact, this was not a fair ſtate of the caſe. The right of the prince of Wales was not to be conſidered as a rival right, to be argued on the ſame grounds as the other. It was a right which could not exiſt unleſs it was capable of being expreſsly and poſitively proved; whereas the right of parliament was that which exiſted of courſe, unleſs ſome other right could be proved to exclude it. It was that which, on the principles of this free conſtitution, muſt always exiſt in every caſe where no poſitive proviſion had been made by law, and where the neceſſity of the caſe, and the ſafety of the country, called for their interpoſition. The abſence of any other right was in itſelf enough to conſtitute the right of the two houſes; and the bare admiſſion that the right of the prince of Wales was not clearly and expreſsly proved, virtually operated as an admiſſion of every point under diſcuſſion.

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Ruſhworth (member for Newport, Hants) ſtanding upon the floor, the whole of which was crowded up to the table, deſired that gentlemen of more experience and age than himſelf would refer to the glorious reign of George II. Let them recall, he ſaid, to their memory the year 1745: ſuppoſe that great and good king had lain under a ſimilar affliction

affliction at that period; where was the man, much leſs the miniſter, that would have dared to come down to that houſe, and boldly, in the face of the world, ſay, that the prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than any other ſubject? [*A continued call of hear! hear! prevailing in all parts of the houſe*;] the man or miniſter, he added, who would have dared to have uttered ſuch language, muſt have found ſhelter in ſome other place than the houſe of commons, or in the whole kingdom of England.

The queſtion was then put upon the motion made by lord North; when there appeared Ayes 204, Noes 268. The ſecond and third reſolutions were then ſeverally put, and carried without further debate.

Dec. 18. On the 18th the houſe adjourned, on account of the illneſs of Mr. Fox, to the day following; when Mr. Pitt being called upon to inform the houſe more diſtinctly of the mode of proceeding he intended to adopt, ſtated, that as, in contemplation of law, his majeſty's political capacity was entire, he ſhould propoſe, that their proceedings ſhould be under the royal authority, delegated by a commiſſion under the great ſeal. That commiſſioners ſo appointed ſhould open the parliament in the name of his majeſty, in the uſual form, and afterwards give the royal aſſent to ſuch bill as might be paſſed by the two houſes for appointing a regent to exerciſe ſo much of the royal authority as was neceſſary to be exerciſed during his majeſty's indiſpoſition. This he conceived to be the only mode of proceeding that could be adopted conſiſtently with the principles of the conſtitution.

The report from the committee being then brought up, and the firſt reſolution read and agreed to, the ſecond was objected to by ſir Grey Cooper.

He began by expreſſing his doubt, whether the houſe could, with propriety, and conſiſtently with the order and regularity of their proceedings, agree to the reſolution reported from the committee on the ſtate of the nation. He contended, that in their preſent imperfect ſtate neceſſity alone could juſtify or authorize their proceedings. They had, in all the ſteps which they have hitherto taken, acted under the authority, and moved by the mere impulſe, of that neceſſity; and if any part of their proceedings tranſgreſſed the clear limits of that neceſſity, and the direct courſe which it points out to us, it was, in his opinion, an act of *ſelf-conſtituted power, and of very dangerous tendency and conſequence.*

The point in queſtion, therefore, was, whether the ſecond reſolution now reported was or was not an act of neceſſity, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defect in the legiſlature, by the king's incapacity. He contended, that the reſolution, declaring the right and duty of the houſe, was not neceſſary, becauſe there appeared to him no real impediment or obſtacle to their progreſs, which it was requiſite to remove and clear away before they could act in their deliberative capacity. That there was no claim of right, no denial of their authority, no matter of which the houſe could, conſiſtently with the gravity and order of its proceedings, take parliamentary notice or cognizance.

At the revolution, the convention parliament did not, in the famous

committee on the ſtate of the nation, declare what it was their right or their duty to do. It appears that Finch and ſir Edward Seymour, and ſome other leading men at that time, delivered and maintained opinions directly contrary to the principles on which the firſt reſolution of the 28th of January 1689 was grounded. But the grand committee propoſed no reſolution to vindicate or eſtabliſh their right againſt ſuch aſſertions. They exerciſed their right, and did the noble work they were about; and they thought that the doing the deed comprehended in it, and inconteſtibly proved, both their right and their duty to do it.

Having ſubmitted to the houſe theſe obſervations on the order of their proceedings, he requeſted the indulgence of their attention to ſome remarks upon the precedents on which the right honourable gentleman had laid the foundation of his reſolutions, and particularly on the precedent of the 32d and 33d of Henry the ſixth, which runs from page 42 to page 77 in the report from the committee; and which, being the only one touching the ſupply of the defect in the royal authority from ſickneſs, bore with the moſt force on the preſent ſtate of things and perſons. The precedent had been much relied on; it had been propoſed as a pattern for their proceeding in the great and arduous affair which a moſt deplorable neceſſity impoſed upon them. He would venture to undertake to prove, by the irrefragable evidence of records, and the authentic hiſtory of the times, that, during the courſe of all the proceedings which collectively form that precedent, both houſes of parliament were in the moſt abject and humiliated ſtate of dependence on the power and will of Richard duke of York, and the potent and formidable faction of the noble families who adhered to him, and followed the projects of his ambition; and that every ſtep they took, every declaration they made, and every act they did or paſſed, were taken and done under the impreſſion of immediate force and irreſiſtible influence. After the aſſaſſination of the virtuous duke of Glouceſter, the king's uncle, Richard, duke of York, became firſt prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir to the crown. The prince of Wales was born in October 1453, and about this time the king fell into a diſorder in his mind, which rendered him unfit even to maintain the appearance of royalty. The queen and her favourite, the duke of Somerſet, found themſelves obliged by this exigency to yield, for a time, to the high power and connections of the duke of York. Somerſet was actually ſent to the tower on the 13th of February 1454. Richard was appointed, or, more properly ſpeaking, appointed himſelf, lieutenant to the king, for holding the parliament. About this time the famous earl of Warwick, the earls of Saliſbury and Weſtmoreland, and many others of the duke's followers, were admitted into the council, in the place of the former adminiſtration, and had the whole government in their hands. By their command and influence, the committee of lords was ſent on the 23d of March to the king, who lay ſick at Windſor, to take his pleaſure upon certain queſtions ſtated in their commiſſion. On the 25th of March, the biſhop of Carliſle, one of the deputed lords, reported to the houſe, that they found the king in a ſtate

of perfect lethargy and inſenſibility. Then followed, on the 27th of March, the famous tranſaction of the nomination and election of the duke of York to his firſt protectorate, by the peers ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, without any participation or even conſent of the commons. Sir Grey Cooper obſerved, that he did not conſider their appointment of the duke of York to the firſt protectorate, as in any reſpect proceeding even from the free deliberation or choice of the houſe of lords; but, that it was dictated and compelled by the controuling and overbearing power of the duke and his adherents. This concluſion was not founded on conjecture, or the mere authority of any hiſtorian or annaliſt; but, on the evidence of the records of parliament. He then cited, from the fifth volume of the Rolls of Parliament, the caſe of the purgation of the duke of York in the houſe of peers, upon occaſion of the trial of the earl of Devonſhire for treaſon, in the year 1452.

This record, he ſaid, proved to demonſtration in what a wretched ſtate of ſubmiſſion and proſtration the whole houſe of peers lay at the feet of the protector. For, the man whom they, with one voice, declared to be, and to have been, a faithful and loyal ſubject to the king, had, not two years before they made this diſhonourable declaration, levied open war againſt the king, and marched with an army to the gates of his capital, and was, at the very moment, known to be conteſting the king's title to the crown. Sir Grey ſaid, he would next ſhew, by a record of unqueſtionable authority, that the houſe of commons was, at the very ſame time, in an humble, helpleſs, and diſgraceful ſtate of dependence on the ſame power. He then cited the famous caſe of the impriſonment of Thorpe, the ſpeaker, which happened juſt at the time of the duke of York's being appointed lieutenant of the king to hold the parliament, and ſoon afterwards protector of the kingdom. It was of this precedent, cited in a debate on the 8th of March, 1620, that Sir N. Rich obſerved, "*It is a caſe begotten by the "iniquity of the times, when the duke "of York might have an over-grown "power in it, and therefore wiſh it "may not be meddled with.*"

He added, that what our excellent hiſtorian Rapin remarks on this parliament, and the other parliaments about this time, was perfectly juſt, and well founded. He ſays, that the contrary reſolutions of thoſe aſſemblies, clearly ſhew that they acted not with freedom, but were ſwayed by the events which happened before their deliberations.

In the beginning of the year 1455, the king was ſomewhat recovered from his indiſpoſition, and the queen moved him to reſume his authority, and to releaſe Somerſet from the Tower. The duke of York was forced to retire. He raiſed another army, and the battle of St. Alban's was fought in the month of May 1455. After this great event, the unfortunate king was reſtored to the appearance and forms of royalty; the duke of York and all his adherents were declared innocent of any treaſon againſt the king; he was reinſtated in the protectorate, at the inſtance of the very commons whoſe ſpeaker he had impriſoned; and upon a reverſe of fortune, he was, as it was called, exonerated of the of-

fice, and of all his power. It was not neceſſary to ſtate, that from the period of the battle at St. Alban's, the whole kingdom was deluged with blood, and involved in confuſion, by a moſt cruel and ferocious civil war, for the courſe of thirty years. From the very threſhold of this diſaſtrous period, the precedent was taken, for the purpoſe of doing what the houſe of peers, who elected the duke of York, declared they would not do, prejudice my lord the prince.

Upon the reading of theſe records might he not venture to aſk the houſe, whether ſome feelings of reſentment and indignation did not riſe in their breaſts againſt thoſe who have propoſed this precedent as a pattern for their conduct, in one of the moſt important and momentous emergencies, that ever preſented itſelf to parliament, and in which all the great energies of government, all the rights of the higheſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons, and the firſt principles of the conſtitution, are concerned?

Mr. Wyndham ſpoke with great ability on the ſame ſide, and contended that the analogies which had been drawn from the known and eſtabliſhed maxims and practice of the conſtitution, were too clear to be miſtaken, and too forcible to be reſiſted. He maintained that nothing ſhort of abſolute neceſſity ſhould induce the houſe to violate the principles of an hereditary devolution of the executive power; a neceſſity which, in the preſent caſe, could not be pretended. He ridiculed all attempts to decide a queſtion of the nature then before them upon mere legal diſtinctions; and urged the propriety of attending to the conſequences that might follow from the application of particular precedents and maxims to the matter in queſtion, rather than to the precedents and maxims themſelves.

After ſome farther debate it was moved, by way of amendment, firſt, that the word "right" ſhould be left out of the reſolution; and afterwards that inſtead of the words "in ſuch manner as the exigence "of the caſe may require" the following ſhould be inſerted, "by "preſenting an addreſs to the "prince of Wales, heir apparent "and of full age, beſeeching him "to take upon himſelf the admini-"ſtration of the civil and military "government of the country, dur-"ing the indiſpoſition of his ma-"jeſty, and no longer." Theſe amendments were moved by Mr. Dempſter and Mr. Powys, and negatived without a diviſion. The third reſolution being then read, Mr. Dempſter again moved that all the latter part, from the word "de-"termine," ſhould be left out, and that the amendment he had before moved ſhould be inſerted. The debate upon this queſtion was adjourned to the following day.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The minister's explanation of the measures he intended to propose relative to the regency. Resumed debate on Mr. Dempster's motion. The plan of the minister warmly opposed by lord North, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, as tending to an unnecessary and unconstitutional assumption of power. Substance of Mr. Fox's speech on that occasion. The plan and resolutions defended by Mr. Pitt; substance of his speech. Opinion of the solicitor general. Mr. Fox in explanation. Pointed observations from Mr. Sheridan. The resolutions carried by a majority of 251 to 178, and delivered at a conference to the lords; referred to a committee on the state of the nation. Amendment proposed in the committee by lord Rawdon; supported by lords Stormont, Portchester, and Loughborough. Original resolutions defended by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the chancellor; substance of their speeches. The marquis of Lansdowne's approbation of the measures of the ministers, and his argument in opposition to the claims of the prince of Wales. Amendment negatived by 99 to 66. The resolutions finally agreed to, and the commons acquainted therewith. Protest by forty-eight lords. Addresses and petitions sent up from several counties and corporations.

Dec. 22. BEFORE we proceed to the debate upon the amendment moved by Mr. Dempster, it may be necessary to observe, that the chancellor of the exchequer had informed the house, that it was his intention, in case the resolutions he had moved should be agreed to, and meet with the concurrence of the house of lords, to propose, that the lord high chancellor should be impowered to put the great seal to a commission for opening the parliament in the usual form, and that as soon as a bill should be passed by both houses for providing for the exercise of the royal authority, under certain limitations, during his majesty's indisposition, another commission should be sealed for giving to such act the royal assent.

This project was opposed upon a great variety of grounds by lord North, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke. In the first place it was argued, that it was an unnecessary, unwarrantable, and unconstitutional assumption of power — unnecessary, because all parties concurring unanimously in opinion that the prince of Wales should be invested with the regency, the proceeding by address or declaration was the most simple, and the most consonant to the practice and constitutional functions of the two houses. If it should be objected that the prince-regent might refuse his assent to such limitations as might be thought fit to be put upon the exercise of the royal authority in his hands, it was answered, that the argument proceeds upon a supposition that would warrant future permanent restrictions upon the executive power. If the heir apparent was not fit to be entrusted as a temporary representative of his father, the same restrictions would be necessary when he came to have the executive power as a principal and in his own person. But what grounds were there for apprehending either that he would abuse his power, or refuse to consent to any necessary limitation of it, when such necessity should

be made manifeſt? Had not the whole line of his anceſtors ſince the revolution, had not even William the third, conſented to ſuch limitations? But he might diſſolve the parliament—a ſuppoſition, it was anſwered, in the higheſt degree improbable. The diſſolution of parliaments was a part of the royal prerogative, which had always been exerciſed with much delicacy and caution even by the ſovereign himſelf; and it was not to be imagined that any perſon would be ſo weak and ſhort-ſighted as to adviſe ſuch a meaſure in circumſtances like the preſent, eſpecially as there was not a ſingle ſhilling voted for carrying on the public ſervice. Beſides, the moderation which the prince had manifeſted throughout the whole of this trying occaſion, was a ſufficient pledge for the rectitude of his future conduct, and entitled him in a peculiar manner to the confidence and affection of the houſe.

Nor were the meaſures propoſed more unneceſſary than unwarrantable and unconſtitutional. The reſolution began with declaring, "That "for maintaining entire the conſti- "tutional authority of the king, it "was neceſſary they ſhould deter- "mine"—What? why, that the repreſentative of the king ſhould have no other power than the houſe of commons ſhould think fit to allow him. They were to deviſe means (as if they had to eſtabliſh a new conſtitution, inſtead of preſerving inviolate an old conſtitution already eſtabliſhed) for altering and new modelling an eſſential part of the ſtate; and in order to fix the form of a legal ſanction on their proceedings, they were to give a fictitious royal aſſent, but in reality their own aſſent, to their own acts. The glaring falſhood and abſurdity of ſuch a proceeding was treated with much ridicule and indignation.

It having been urged on the other ſide that the king, in the contemplation of the law, being ſtill in full poſſeſſion of his political capacity, the method propoſed for ſupplying the defect of his preſent inability to exerciſe his functions, was the moſt agreeable that could be deviſed to the legal forms of the conſtitution, Mr. Fox replied, that no man could be more diſpoſed than he was to regard the forms of the conſtitution, but he held them ſacred only ſo far as they were the outguards and protectors of the conſtitution itſelf. The moment that they ceaſed to be the guardians, and became the betrayers, he could no longer venerate the forms, but muſt inſtantly refer to the ſubſtance and eſſence of the conſtitution. He therefore in the preſent diſcuſſion felt it to be his firſt duty to enquire whether the meaſures now propoſed were not in direct hoſtility to the principles of the conſtitution, while by a miſerable juggle and fraud they pretended to be conſiſtent with the forms. He did not mean to combat the doctrine, that the two houſes of parliament were competent, by reſolution or addreſs, to ſupply the preſent deficiency: but he ſhould beg leave to contend, that if they proceeded farther, if they aſſumed to themſelves powers which belonged to the legiſlature, and proceeded to legiſlate, they would act in direct violation of the ſpirit of the conſtitution. What was there but their own diſcretion as a ſecurity from the moſt unconſtitutional outrages?

He ſhould freely admit, that by addreſſing the prince of Wales to take upon him the exerciſe of royal authority,

authority, they did an informal act, but it was an act which the neceſſity of the caſe was ſufficient to juſtify. To make the chancellor put the great ſeal to the propoſed commiſſion was alſo informal. Let the two acts be examined and compared. Do the firſt, and the prince inſtantly holds the parliament, the legiſlature is complete, and the informal act may be ratified. If the chancellor puts the great ſeal to whatever bill the two houſes ſhall paſs for ratifying their proceedings, not a ſtep is gained, for the remedy itſelf is alſo unconſtitutional and inefficient. Our propoſition inſtantly re-produces legiſlature; your's, a monſter unknown to the conſtitution. We do all that neceſſity requires; you do infinitely more. It was ſaid, "that "the power which neceſſity creates, "neceſſity alſo limits:" we do but one informal act, you two or more. You proceed to chuſe an inconvenient regent for the purpoſe of getting a convenient regent, whom we reach at once. We proceed to limit his power, if it muſt be limited, legally, when the legiſlature is complete: you proceed to do this, when there exiſts in the country no power that is competent to the meaſure. You do that by a fraud and a fiction, which we do conſtitutionally and legally.

All this, it had been ſaid, was very plauſible; but during the life of the king there was no perſon that could have a right to act for him. Then why did they preſume to confer this right on the lord chancellor? "Oh," ſays a learned gentleman, "we have a right to make the "chancellor do what we pleaſe, and "to act according to our will, but "we have no power to admit the "prince of Wales to act according "to his will." By this doctrine they had the power to appoint themſelves regents, but no power to appoint the heir apparent. Monſtrous and indecent incongruity!

But, he ſaid, the meaſure propoſed was not only contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, but to a direct act of parliament. The 13th of Charles the ſecond expreſsly declared, that the two houſes could not make laws without the king. But, it had been ſaid, this ſtatute could not apply; for the king, though at preſent incapable of exerciſing, had ſtill in the eye of the law his political capacity entire. The throne was to all intents and purpoſes full, and nothing was wanting but an organ to convey the royal aſſent. What then was propoſed to be done? To appoint a perſon who ſhould give the royal aſſent to bills to be paſſed? Indeed! How was this perſon to know the royal pleaſure? Was he to go to Kew to apply to the royal perſon, whom Providence had deprived of the power of aſſent or diſſent? Human reaſon revolted from the abſurdity. Was there a permanent authoritative counſel to which he could apply? None. Could he exerciſe his own will? No: he was deprived of all diſcretion. To whom then could he apply? To the two houſes of parliament that gave him being; and thus we had a monſter unknown, unheard of in our hiſtory. We had indeed formerly two houſes of parliament, that proceeded firſt to legiſlate, and then to *act*. Had the learned gentleman been then ſolicitor general inſtead of ſir Oliver St. John, he would not have felt himſelf at any loſs how to legalize all the proceedings of the long parliament; he would have iſſued a commiſſion in the name of the king, affixed

affixed the great ſeal to each of the ordinances, and having ſo done, he would have exclaimed, Here are perfect ſtatutes according to the law! But the king's name could not be uſed againſt the king's authority; and ſetting up a man of ſtraw for the purpoſe of limiting the prerogative, was in fact and truth an infringement and outrage of the royal authority.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to conſider the precedents of the firſt of Henry VI. and of the revolution.

On the death of Henry V. the biſhop of Durham, lord chancellor, delivered the great ſeal into the hands of the infant king, then nine months old; and the duke of Glouceſter of his own authority delivered it into the hands of the maſter of the rolls, by whom it was uſed. This was rather a ſtrong meaſure; and yet in the parliament which ſucceeded, although acts of indemnity were paſſed for every other irregular meaſure, yet no act of indemnity was paſſed for this; ſo little doubt had our anceſtors of that day of the right of the next perſon in the line of ſucceſſion. A commiſſion was then iſſued under the great ſeal, appointing the duke of Glouceſter to the regency, with full powers to exerciſe the royal authority, and to uſe his diſcretion fully and freely in truſt for the minor king. By this firſt ſtep the third eſtate was reſtored before the two houſes took upon them to do any one act of legiſlation; and the regent being thus veſted with the full exerciſe of the prerogative, the parliament was able to confirm by an act the firſt meaſure of the iſſuing of the commiſſion.

From this precedent he therefore deduced theſe two important facts: 1. That the power was given, in the firſt inſtance, to the next in ſucceſſion to the crown; and in this nomination the full abſolute authority of the ſovereign was entruſted to him. 2. That though afterwards limitations were put to the duke's exerciſe of the prerogative, the limitations were made in full parliament, when the duke conſtituted the third eſtate, and when from each of the bills that reſtrained his authority he might have withholden his aſſent.

Mr. Fox then obſerved, that tho' nothing could be more diſtinct than the powers of the two houſes taken individually, and the power of the three eſtates in conjunction, yet in all this inveſtigation they had been induſtriouſly confounded. Moſt of the precedents on which they are called upon to proceed, were acts of the legiſlature. He inſiſted, that as they were not a legiſlature, the only precedents applicable to the preſent queſtion were ſuch as related to the proceedings of the two houſes of parliament when deprived of the third eſtate: of this kind were the proceedings of the convention at the revolution; and on this ſubject he ſaid he wiſhed to be clearly underſtood. He declared, then, that the revolution was evidently a caſe of neceſſity, ariſing from real and imminent danger; the vacancy of the throne was occaſioned by the flight of the king, who having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution, and violated the fundamental laws of the kingdom, had provoked the juſt reſiſtance of the people, and withdrawn himſelf in the tumult out of the kingdom. Thus outraged and injured, threatened with a foreign enemy in ſupport of a tyrant, there exiſted a neceſſity in which

which all forms were to give way to the ſubſtance and eſſence of the conſtitution. They had not in that neceſſity the choice of conduct. Their firſt bounden conſtitutional duty was to protect themſelves againſt the danger which threatened, and therefore he aſſumed it as an uncontrovertible poſition, that what they did under the immediate preſſure of this neceſſity, did not and could not apply to the preſent neceſſity: but he was ready to acknowledge, that every proceeding of theirs which could be referred to free agency, and in which they were not ſhackled by the dangers that ſurrounded them, did apply to the preſent caſe. Arguing on theſe two poſitions, if it ſhould be ſaid that the convention overlooked the line of hereditary ſucceſſion, his anſwer would be, that in doing ſo they acted under the preſſure of the neceſſity, well knowing that they could only preſerve to the kingdom its liberties and conſtitution, by putting the crown into the hand of a perſon able to protect them. Their election of king William, therefore, he thought an act of poſitive neceſſity, which did not apply to the preſent caſe. The mode of their electing him he conſidered as an act of diſcretion, and that therefore did apply. King William, with all his great and glorious qualities, certainly did not poſſeſs ſuch a knowledge of our conſtitution, as to have had in his mind any preference as to the manner in which the crown ſhould be conferred on him. His education, chiefly military, did not lead him much to the diſcuſſion of the forms of our parliamentary proceedings; and whether it came to him by declaration of the two houſes, by addreſs, or by an act paſſed with the affectation of legal forms, was a matter which he believed would have been indifferent to him, and therefore he took it for granted that the convention acted from their own volition. And how did the two houſes act? They might have ordered a new great ſeal to be made, they might have created a pageant, and given to themſelves the empty form, without the reality or the eſſence of a perfect parliament; they might have committed an inſulting fraud, and in the mere mockery of legiſlation have paſſed an impotent act, conveying to king William the crown. But, knowing and feeling the diſtinct powers poſſeſſed by the two houſes, and poſſeſſed by the legiſlature; knowing that the two houſes could act only by reſolutions and addreſſes, and that the legiſlature could again act only by bill and ſtatute, the convention proceeded by that courſe which was conſiſtent with their functions, by addreſs.—Here was a precedent in the revolution applicable to the preſent caſe.

He concluded with ſome obſervations on the words of the reſolution. He had, he ſaid, in the courſe of this diſcuſſion, thrown out an opinion, that a right attached to the heir apparent to exerciſe the functions of royalty, during the incapacity of the king, and that the two houſes ſhould recognize this right, and put him in poſſeſſion of it. In oppoſition to this opinion, the two houſes came to a reſolution, that they alone poſſeſſed the right of nominating to the regency; but at the ſame time declaring they thought the prince the moſt proper perſon to be appointed. Bowing to their deciſion, he now wiſhed them to go on, and to appoint the

prince

prince regent. Inſtead of this, what was the language and ſpirit of the next reſolution? That they have no right, that they cannot appoint him. They muſt firſt do what never was done before in the hiſtory of this country, they muſt firſt form themſelves into a legiſlature. Thus they firſt make a declaration of a right purely abſtract; and having made it, they ſhrink from the exerciſe of the right they have arrogated. He then warned the houſe againſt the adoption of ſpecious pretexts, by which, under the colour of original principles, they were to aſſume powers inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution. There was no way ſo certain of bringing the popular branch of the legiſlature into popular odium, as by deviating from the preciſe path marked out for it in the conſtitution, and ſtraying within the limits of the other two, whom it was their duty to watch, but never to invade.

Mr. Pitt replied to theſe arguments, and maintained that the grounds on which he had propoſed and ſupported the reſolution, were ſuch as would bear it out, whether reference was had to precedents and practice, or to the principles of the conſtitution. The former, he ſaid, had been produced, in the firſt place, to ſhew, that, in all caſes of interruption, or ſuſpenſion of the executive government, the right of providing a remedy was in the two remaining branches of the legiſlature; and, in the ſecond place, that, in infancy or infirmity of the ſovereign, the will of the king had always, in form of law, been made the inſtrument of ſanctioning the acts of the executive power, by whomſoever adviſed or directed. In this manner, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, had parliaments in ſuch caſes been called together in former times, as appeared by the precedents, and their acts were ſanctioned by the royal authority, although the king was incapable of exerciſing any judgment, diſcretion, or will of his own. The preſent parliament was more regular in point of form, in as much as it wanted no ſuch power to call it together, being legally ſummoned and aſſembled without it. It had been argued, that this power of putting the great ſeal to a commiſſion for calling a parliament, when there was none, was ſo much conſidered as the right of the firſt prince of the blood, in caſes of the minority of the king, that it had not even been thought neceſſary to grant an indemnity for having done it, and conſequently it muſt have been conſidered as a legal act. The precedents of the firſt part of the reign of Henry VI. ſhewed that this was a miſtake; for, a commiſſion for calling a parliament at that time had been afterwards ratified by parliament; and, there were other inſtances of ſuch ſubſequent ratification, where the ſeal had been put to commiſſions by the firſt prince of the blood.

With reſpect to the revolution, he admitted that the circumſtances of that period had been fairly ſtated; but he differed from Mr. Fox in the application which he had made of them, and contended, that the principle reſulting from the proceedings of parliament then was ſuch as ought to govern the proceedings at preſent. He agreed, that what had been done from motives of policy to protect the nation from invaſion by a formidable rival, and to prevent the return of the abdicated monarch, ought

ought to be laid aſide from their conſideration at preſent; but, the two remaining branches of the legiſlature, on that occaſion, had not reſtricted themſelves to a ſimple addreſs to the prince of Orange to accept the crown; they felt not only that they muſt have a king, but that they muſt have a king on certain terms and conditions. They did what amounted to a legiſlative act: they came to a reſolution to ſettle the crown, not on the prince of Orange and the heirs of his body, nor on the princeſs Mary and the heirs of her body; but on the prince and princeſs jointly, the authority to be exerciſed only by him. Here it was evident that whatever the neceſſity of the caſe required at that time, the lords and commons poſſeſſed the power to provide for it, and conſequently whatever the neceſſity of the caſe demanded at preſent, the power belonged to the lords and commons to ſupply it.

But, although the application of the principle was denied, the form of the proceedings was recommended as a pattern. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt contended that the circumſtances of the caſe were widely different. The throne was vacant *then*; but it was full now, and, therefore, the addreſs was not a precedent in point of form.

With reſpect to the ſtatute of the 13th of Car. II. Mr. Pitt obſerved, that it ſaid no more, and could never be underſtood to mean any more, than that when there was a king, the lords and commons could do no legiſlative act of themſelves; but it could not poſſibly mean that they ſhould not act at all, when there was no king to act with them. The ſame principle which juſtified the proceedings at the revolution muſt juſtify the proceeding at the preſent period; and the 13th of Charles II. might as well have been alledged againſt the revolution, as oppoſed to the proceedings under their deliberation.

The right honourable gentleman had argued, that as the firſt ſtep in their proceeding, whatever mode might be adopted, muſt neceſſarily be informal, that mode muſt, of courſe, prove the beſt which can ſooneſt do away the informality, and, at the ſame time, conform to the neceſſity of the caſe.—This, Mr. Pitt remarked, brought him to the true grounds on which the queſtion was to be argued, and on which they might fairly come to a deciſion. By the right honourable gentleman it was ſaid, that the prince of Wales might be deſired by an addreſs to repreſent the king: he had propoſed that the royal aſſent ſhould be given by a commiſſion under the great ſeal. The latter had been objected to on this ground, that any act done in the king's name, without his knowledge, was a coarſe fiction, a mere legal forgery, not to be endured. If it were really ſo, what was the regent to do? Was he to act in his own name, or in the king's? In his own name he could not act without firſt dethroning the king, and in the king's name he could not act without recourſe to this reprobated fiction. If gentlemen who argued thus knew their own principles, they proved the impoſſibility of appointing any regent. But the fiction which had been treated with ſo much diſreſpect, and twiſted and diſtorted into ſo many ſhapes of abſurdity, was, in fact, ſanctioned by the practice of the conſtitution, and the forms of law. A learned gentleman had truly told them,

them, it was that fiction which governed the proceedings of the courts of juſtice, which protected their deareſt rights and properties. It reſulted from the nature of hereditary monarchy—from that principle which ſuppoſes the ſame power to paſs inſtantly in ſucceſſion from one perſon to another, and that the political capacity of the king is always entire—that principle which preſerves ſacred and inviolable the perſon on the throne, and has protected it in the imbecility of infancy, and the decrepitude of age. Certain forms of law were evidence of the will of the king; and wherever they appeared could not be averred againſt. Of this nature was affixing the great ſeal; and if the chancellor were now to put the great ſeal to any act, it could not be contradicted, its legality could not be diſputed; it muſt be received by the courts of juſtice, and proceeded on as law. But, the perſonal imbecility of the king being known, and that he is incapable of giving any command, the chancellor would incur ſuch perſonal danger by an action of that ſort, as would undoubtedly deter any man in his ſenſes from committing it. The higheſt authority in the nation was requiſite for ſuch an act: and ſuch was the great council of the nation.

The compariſon of the two methods of proceeding was ſufficient to enable them to decide which was preferable. They had already voted it to be their right and their duty to provide for the temporary exerciſe of the executive power in ſuch manner as the exigency of the caſe might require. Having recognized their own authority, would they give authority to another perſon to curb them in the uſe of it? Having declared what their right and their duty were, could they renounce any part of that right and that duty?

It had been obſerved that the perſon of the king could not be repreſented in parliament, unleſs he poſſeſſed full parliamentary powers, the power of aſſembling, of proroguing, and of diſſolving it; and to reconcile the houſe to the granting of thoſe powers, it was ſaid that the regent would not uſe the power of diſſolving the parliament. But when powers were once given, it was impoſſible to ſay how they might be exerciſed. The regent might fill the other houſe with new peers, while they were deliberating whether that power ſhould or ſhould not be limited. The powers to be given him ought to be diſcuſſed, while the houſe had the power of deliberating with effect. With many it was a doubt, whether very extenſive powers ought to be given, during a ſhort regency, as they all hoped, and wiſhed it might prove; and, if they acted honeſtly, as their duty to the ſovereign, and regard to the public, dictated, they would decide that firſt. If they acted otherwiſe, and ſhould afterwards on deliberation be of opinion that all the powers of the prerogative were not neceſſary in ſuch circumſtances, where was the remedy, when they had given them all? To give any part of them aroſe from neceſſity; and they went beyond neceſſity, if they gave more than was ſufficient.

It had been argued, alſo, as if the limitations had been perpetual, and they had been warned againſt invading the prerogative, in its defenceleſs ſtate. When the neceſſity of exerciſing the prerogative by a

regent ſhould ceaſe, the limitations would ceaſe likewiſe. But if the full powers were given to a regent, that circumſtance might have a permanent influence, during the life of the king, to weaken the prerogative. It would be highly improper in him to ſay who were likely to be the adviſers of his royal highneſs as regent; but he would not pay ſo ill or ſo diſhoneſt a compliment to his royal highneſs, as to agree to give him power as regent, which his adviſers, whoever they ſhould be, might induce him to miſuſe. Should the houſe give the whole power, it might be affirmed that they went beyond the neceſſity of the caſe, and ſacrificed their own rights, and their duty to the king, to the proſpect of reſuming what they might not afterwards be able to reſume.

Mr. Pitt was ſupported by the ſolicitor general, who argued againſt ſacrificing ancient forms, that had the ſanction of time and the authority of law to give them validity, to theories on the ſpirit of the conſtitution. We were not now to forget that we had a king on the throne, and that that king was not incapacitated by law, however he might be incapacitated in fact. The day was not yet come when ſuch a melancholy matter was to undergo the inveſtigation of parliament, which the two houſes, without the third branch, could not deem themſelves to be. It would therefore be highly illegal in the two houſes to addreſs the prince of Wales, and give him the powers of regent, before they were capacitated ſo to do; nor would he, he ſaid, wiſh to implicate himſelf in the guilt of any reſolution which might ſo affect the ſovereignty; for the king was yet a capable man in his political character, as the opinion of the twelve judges teſtified, by their carrying on the buſineſs of the courts every day, as if the king was in his moſt perfect ſtate.

Much had been urged concerning the impropriety of affixing the great ſeal to a commiſſion, without the direction of the ſovereign. He would ſay, that if the great ſeal were affixed to a commiſſion calling together the two houſes of parliament, the meeting under that commiſſion would be legal, notwithſtanding it was not the immediate order of the king, becauſe on the face of the proceedings every thing muſt be taken for granted to be regular. The ſame obſervation would hold good with reſpect to any commiſſion for giving the royal aſſent to a bill, without the perſonal conſent of the ſovereign, or the regent who acted in his ſtead; ſuch aſſent, when once given, either by commiſſion or by the royal perſon, being always conſidered as binding and concluſive.

Before the queſtion was put, Mr. Fox roſe in explanation of that part of his ſpeech which had been repreſented as implying the impoſſibility of the royal aſſent being ever given to an act under the preſent circumſtances. He ſaid, that he had never aſſerted that the name of the king could not be uſed without the will. For a perſon poſſeſſing the exerciſe of diſcretion, and conſequently the power of aſſenting or diſſenting, to uſe it might be an allowable fiction; but for a perſon ſet up by parliament to do a particular act or acts, without the liberty of exerciſing diſcretion, or diſſenting if he thought proper, to uſe it was an extravagant fiction. In the one

caſe, there were three branches of the legiſlature, in the other there were only two.

Mr. Sheridan concluded the debate by putting a few pointed queſtions to the miniſter. He aſked, whether the apprehenſions he entertained of the abuſe of the prerogative did not ariſe from the recollection of his own conduct? In impoſing reſtrictions, he ſaid, ſome delicacy was requiſite, for every reſtriction that was not neceſſary, was not a limitation, but an inſult. Was the right honourable gentleman in ſuch haſte to impoſe reſtrictions, becauſe he feared that he could not carry the limitations which he meant to propoſe, unleſs he were miniſter? Or was he apprehenſive that parliament or the prince would forget to do their duty? From ſome ſuch fear, or unworthy ſuſpicion, his haſte muſt proceed. What proviſion was made, if the prince ſhould refuſe to be regent, on the right honourable gentleman's terms? Suppoſing him not to refuſe, what reaſon had they to believe he would withhold his conſent from thoſe reſtrictions when regent, under which he would conſent to accept the truſt? Would any one adviſe him to ſay, I accept the regency under the limitations you propoſe, which I think are improper, and which I hope parliament will annul?

The queſtion being called for, the houſe divided; when there appeared, for the amendment, 178; againſt it, 251.

The original reſolution was then put and agreed to; and the three reſolutions were ordered to be delivered to the lords at a conference, and their concurrence to be deſired.

The next day, upon the return of the lords from the conference, the reſolutions were read; and it was moved, that they ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe, appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, on the Friday following. Upon this occaſion lord Loughborough objected to the receiving from the other houſe a preſcribed mode for their conduct, as totally unprecedented. The commons, he remarked, had not, as hitherto had been the conſtant and invariable practice, left a blank for their lordſhips to fill up if they pleaſed, but had undertaken to decide both what was their own and alſo what was their lordſhips duty. He alſo objected to the report of the committee of precedents, as full of miſtatements and inaccuracies, ſeveral of which he pointed out, and expreſſed a wiſh that it might be re-committed. Theſe objections were over-ruled, and the reſolutions, together with the report, ordered to be referred. 23d Dec.

On the 26th, the firſt reſolution being read, lord Rawdon moved an amendment, ſimilar to that propoſed by Mr. Dempſter. He was ſupported by the lords Stormont, Portcheſter, Carliſle, and Loughborough. They inſiſted principally upon the dangerous tendency of the meaſures propoſed, which they contended went in their principle to the total deſtruction of the conſtitution: whereas the plain and ſimple method of proceeding to appoint a regent in the firſt inſtance, either by addreſs or declaration, would produce all the effect, without any of the miſchiefs of the other mode. If the two houſes could aſſume the functions, and exerciſe the prerogatives 26th Dec.

prerogatives of the crown in one inſtance, they might in others, and therefore it was impoſſible to foreſee where ſuch a practice might end.

Lord Stormont remarked, that the only advantage gained by the propoſed mode was, that of giving a legal form to their proceedings; but when it was conſidered by how groſs and palpable a fiction the royal aſſent was to be pretended, and that even the royal ſignature was to be forged, it was hoped ſuch an argument would not, except by mere lawyers, be much inſiſted upon. He deſired their lordſhips to turn to the debates in the year 1688, and they would ſee the miſerable jargon introduced by the lawyers of that period. At the time of the revolution, every diſtinction that ſophiſtry could ſuggeſt, and ingenuity invent, was deviſed, and inſiſted on, to miſlead the houſe of commons, and confound their judgment; but the firſt men of thoſe days, who, though not great lawyers, were great ſtateſmen, ſwept away the cobweb diſtinctions of profeſſional reaſoners at once, and by dint of ſound ſenſe prevailed on the houſe to ſpeak by their actions, and come directly to the point, and declare the prince of Orange king.

He ſaid, the words of the amendment were preciſely the ſame with thoſe adopted by the convention parliament, when it was reſolved to addreſs the prince of Orange, with the exception only of the reference to the incapacity of his majeſty; and ſurely, no one of their lordſhips would contend, that the addreſs voted to the prince of Orange implied that he poſſeſſed any other right to the throne, than that which he derived from the votes of the two houſes.

He called upon noble lords to point out the difficulties to which voting the addreſs would ſubject them. It would neither invalidate the rights of the two houſes, recognize the claim of the prince of Wales, though much might be urged in ſupport of it, nor prevent their proceeding to paſs a bill of limitations, if it ſhould be thought wiſe to lay the regent under any reſtrictions. With regard to the latter, the addreſs moved by the noble lord by no means precluded ſuch a bill; but, to attempt to paſs it at preſent, would be indecent and unfair. Let them fill the third eſtate, declare a regent, and eſtabliſh the royal authority, and then if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to reſtrain its powers, combat them in a manly way, when the royal authority was capable of defence, and could act for itſelf.

Lord Portcheſter charged the three reſolutions with groſs inconſiſtency. The firſt declared his majeſty incapable of exerciſing the royal authority, and the third ſuppoſed him capable of giving the royal aſſent to a bill. He reprobated the expedient authorized by the third reſolution; and ſaid, that ſo far from being calculated, as had been aſſerted, by means of a forgery of the great ſeal, to preſerve the form of the conſtitution, and keep the royal authority whole and entire, it tended immediately to diſſolve the very fabric of the conſtitution, and to put an end to the third eſtate, by dividing the royal authority into four parts; one of which was to be given to the houſe of commons, another to the houſe of lords, and a third to a commiſſioner or commiſſioners, in order to enable them altogether to deliver the remaining part to a regent.

Lord Loughborough maintained,

with great force of argument, and knowledge of the laws and conſtitution, the right of the prince of Wales to the regency, in preference to any other perſon whatever. He grounded his doctrine reſpecting the right of hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne, and, by analogy, the right of hereditary ſucceſſion to the exerciſe of executive power, on Mr. Juſtice Foſter's treatiſe on the principles of the conſtitution. He was ready to admit, that the right of hereditary ſucceſſion in either caſe was not an original veſted right, which belonged, in the firſt inſtance, to one of a family, and was deſcendible to the heirs, in like manner as deſcendible property of an ordinary deſcription; but that it was made hereditary for the general benefit of the community, and to guard againſt the danger and miſchief reſulting from the pretenſions of a variety of claimants on the one hand, and the known and aſcertained fatal conſequences of an elective crown on the other.

The firſt reſolution, he contended, was deſignedly formed to cover a concealed purpoſe different from that which the words of it profeſſed to import. It was neither more or leſs than a declaration, that the office of regent was an elective office, and that the two houſes of parliament were the electors.

He concluded with remarking upon the ſlight difference of opinion that ſubſiſted amongſt them. Some had aſſerted, that the prince of Wales had an inherent right to the regency; others, that he poſſeſſed an irreſiſtible claim; and all agreed that he was the only fit perſon to be appointed regent. Being therefore unanimous in the main point, he inſiſted that they ought to carry that into effect, and not to waſte more time in the mode of doing what all agreed ought to be done forthwith.

The original reſolutions were defended, upon the grounds before taken, by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the lord chancellor; the former inſiſted much upon the wiſdom of our anceſtors, in ſhackling every regent with councils of regency, or ſuch other reſtrictions as ſhould prevent them from graſping at the whole of the royal authority. He begged, however, that his obſervations might be conſidered as applicable ſolely to the wiſdom of our anceſtors, and that he concurred with them in thinking that to be the true line of policy. He meant not to glance at the preſent heir apparent, who he was ſure would be the laſt man deſirous of aſſuming powers, which the two houſes of parliament ſhould not think conſiſtent with the ſafety of the crown. Such, however, was the natural proneneſs of human nature to ambition, that it behoved the two houſes always to regard with jealouſy every opportunity that afforded the means of gratifying that paſſion, and to provide reſtrictions to check its progreſs. With regard to the prince of Wales, ſo amiable had been his conduct, that it ſet ſuſpicion at reſt, and rendered the taſk of limitation leſs difficult. There was no intention, in reality, to withhold from his royal highneſs above one or two inſtances of exerciſing royal authority, and thoſe, ſuch only as a due regard for the preſervation of the crown on his majeſty's head, and the ſecuring to him the power of reſuming the exerciſe of all his royal prerogatives, when he ſhould be reſtored to health, indiſpenſably demanded.

The duke of Richmond purſued the

the ſame line of argument. He ſaid, he had the higheſt reſpect for his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, and had not the moſt diſtant idea, were his royal highneſs declared regent inſtantly and by the means recommended in the amendment, that his royal highneſs would do any thing improper; but, his duty to his majeſty, and the duty they all owed to the crown, and to themſelves, made it incumbent on them to guard againſt any poſſible danger, and to deliver ſuch a precedent to poſterity as ſhould at once mark the extreme caution with which they had proceeded in a caſe of ſuch infinite difficulty, and ſecure the ſafety of the conſtitution to future ages. If, without any ſuch limitation or reſtriction, the prince were inſtantly declared regent, he conceived that the whole perſonal property of his majeſty would come into the hands of the prince of Wales, and all his majeſty's ſervants, from the noble lords with white ſtaves down to the loweſt page, might be removed. Nay, the very phyſicians that had the care of his majeſty's health might be changed. All his majeſty's wealth, likewiſe, might be ſeized, and perverted from the uſes to which his majeſty might have graciouſly intended to apply it. The duke ſaid, that when his majeſty ſhould happily be on his recovery, the knowledge of the alteration in the ſtate of his houſehold, and of his perſonal property, might have the worſt poſſible effect upon him. He was, indeed, ſure, from the ſtrong marks of filial affection and tenderneſs which his royal highneſs had manifeſted, during his majeſty's melancholy illneſs, that every care would be exerted by the prince; but, he was reaſoning on the poſſibility of the caſe, and it was the duty of their lordſhips to guard againſt that abuſe of power, to which, from the infirmity of human nature, every man was liable.

The lord chancellor contended, that the words of the amendment were ſo looſe and undefined as to convey no diſtinct import. The words purported to be a reſolution of that houſe, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, praying his royal highneſs to take upon himſelf, as ſole regent, the adminiſtration of executive government. He begged to know, what the term regent meant? Where was he to find it defined? In what law book, or what ſtatute? He had heard of *cuſtodes regni*, of *lieutenants of the king*, of *guardians* and *protectors*, and of *lords juſtices*; but he knew not where to look for an explanation of the office and functions of a regent. To what end then would it be to addreſs the prince of Wales to take upon himſelf an office, the boundaries of which were by no means aſcertained? But the amendment attempted ſomething which probably was intended as a ſort of definition of the term regent, and of the nature of a regent's office, by adding the adminiſtration of executive government. There again, however, the expreſſion was dark and equivocal. What was meant by the executive government? Did it mean the whole royal authority, all the ſovereign's functions, without reſtriction or limitation of any kind whatſoever? If it did, it ought to have ſaid ſo in expreſs words; and if it had, would any noble lord have contended, that ſuch a broad degree of authority as amounted to the actual dethroning of his

majeſty, and wreſting the ſceptre out of his hand, ought to be voted by that houſe? He begged their lordſhips conſtantly to recollect, that in the contemplation of law, the political character of a king of Great Britain was always whole and entire; and he deſired them at the ſame time to keep in mind, that the king's natural character was inſeparable from his political character. It was, as Sir Matthew Hale, who had been mentioned in the courſe of the debate, well obſerved, owing to this having been ſomewhat loſt ſight of, that ſo many miſchiefs had enſued to this country.

He juſtified the taking the advice of the two houſes of parliament on the preſent occaſion, as the beſt mode of proceeding. Of old, when the number of privy counſellors was not ſo great as at preſent, and when it was not cuſtomary for his majeſty to have thoſe perſons members of his privy council whom he never choſe to meet, in a dilemma like the preſent the meaſures to be adopted for the public ſafety might originate there; and others there were, who thought his majeſty's cabinet council the proper place: he differed in reſpect to both. He had heard, indeed, of ſome antiquaries, who were of opinion, that, upon ſome emergencies, a middle council between the two, compoſed of the judges and the king's miniſters, ought to be formed; but, the beſt council of all, in his judgment, was the grand council of the nation, the two houſes of parliament. It was now ſaid, after the rights of the two houſes to ſupply the defect in the exerciſe of the royal authority had been diſcuſſed and decided, and when they were called upon to concur with the houſe of commons in reſolving upon the means, which were to be reſorted to for that purpoſe, that the two houſes were about to exerciſe the powers of executive government, and to do an act of legiſlation. Had miniſters, of themſelves, put the great ſeal to a commiſſion for calling the two houſes together, and opened parliament in that way, he was perſuaded that the charge of their being about to take upon themſelves the executive government would have been thundered in their ears ten times more loudly.

The lord chancellor ſpoke of the noble qualities of the prince of Wales in terms of great praiſe; but, he ſaid, there might be heirs apparent, whoſe lives might have afforded the two houſes ſufficient reaſon for ſetting them aſide from the regency; he maintained, therefore, that it was expedient that the two houſes ſhould not abandon ſuch a power, nor, under the circumſtances of the caſe, avoid avowing it to be their right.

The marquis of Lanſdowne, in a ſpeech of great length, expreſſed his general approbation of the meaſures propoſed by the miniſters. In contradiction to the doctrines which had been aſſerted, concerning the two houſes of parliament, that they were then in a convention, he had no heſitation in declaring, that the preſent was to all intents and purpoſes a parliament, a parliament regularly aſſembled. The king had aſſembled them; the king had the undoubted authority thus to aſſemble them, becauſe the king was living. He pretended not to any great knowledge of law, but he knew enough

of

of it to be perfectly assured that, according to the law and the constitution, the throne was never vacant; and that the king, in no age, in no condition, either as a minor or otherwise, was ever considered as incompetent to the exercise of the royal functions. The same principle prevails in regard to minors, who present to livings at a year old, and other matters. It is not to be presumed, that these old principles of law are without a meaning. Whenever called for, they are found to have been suggested by the deepest wisdom, and calculated to meet future exigencies, whatever superficial people may think, who never foresee or comprehend difficulties, till they happen. It was of the utmost consequence to every country, that it should not, on any event, be left without a government, practically as well as legally competent to every exigence. Parliament was the natural government of this country, and nothing was wanting to make the present legally as well as practically competent, but a commission from the crown.

He wished, therefore, that his majesty's ministers had come down at once with such a commission as the third proposition pointed out, and that, instead of having to discuss the propriety of putting the great seal to such a commission, they would, in the first instance, have acted upon such a commission. It had been observed, that some risque would have been run, if the officer holding the great seal had, of his own authority, affixed it to a commission to hold the parliament in the king's name. Some risque undoubtedly would have been run, but great officers were created for the execution of great and important acts, and if they would run no risque and no hazard, they had no business in great situations. He could not, however, see that any risque would have been run by any man holding the great seal, who, in the present critical situation of affairs, should have assembled the parliament, and brought together the collective wisdom of the nation; and, sure he was, that the two houses were fully equal to the acquitting of any minister, who had, in such an emergency, put the great seal to a commission, constituting them a parliament.

Upon the question of the claims of the prince of Wales, his lordship was not less firmly decided; and upon principles, as we find them stated, more general than those on which it had been before argued. By the principles established at the revolution, he said, the crown itself was declared not to be descendable property, like a pig-sty or a laystall, but a descendable trust; and therefore he contended, that hereditary succession was not to be considered as a right, but a mere political expedient; and that this reasoning obviously applied with double force to any claim to the regency. He was therefore anxious it should be not only discussed but decided, that the eyes of all mankind might be opened to the important fact which must result from the discussion and decision, that the people had essential rights of their own, but that kings and princes had no rights whatever. He wished it might be decided, for the benefit of foreign countries, that those who suffered oppression under governments the most despotic, might be

taught their rights as men, and learn, that although their rights were not, like the rights of Engliſhmen, ſecured by precedents and charters, yet that their rights muſt be acknowledged, as ſoon as ever they choſe to aſſert them.

At half after twelve o'clock the houſe divided on the queſtion; when there appeared for the amendment 66; Noes 99. The three reſolutions were then ſeverally put and voted.

Dec. 29. After a ſhort debate upon the report, which was made on the 29th of December, they were finally agreed to, and a committee appointed to acquaint the commons therewith at a conference.

A ſtrong proteſt was entered againſt agreeing to theſe reſolutions, and ſigned by the dukes of York and Cumberland, and forty-ſix other peers.

Theſe proceedings of the two houſes of parliament were not beheld with indifference by the body of the people at large. The friends of the miniſters were active and ſucceſsful in procuring addreſſes from a conſiderable majority of the counties and corporations of the kingdom, in approbation of the meaſures propoſed by them: and, on the other hand, petitions were alſo preſented to both houſes, particularly from the counties of Northumberland and Southampton, and from the inhabitants of the city of Weſtminſter, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the propoſed plan of the regency, and of the principles upon which it was founded.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Death of the speaker, Mr. Cornwall. Election of his successor. Mr. William Wyndham Grenville proposed by lord Euston and Mr. Pulteney; sir Gilbert Elliot, by Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Frederick Montagu—the former chosen by a majority of 71. Mr. Pitt communicates to the prince of Wales the plan of the regency. Motion proposed by Mr. Loveden for the re-examination of the king's physicians, previous to the consideration of the restrictions upon the regency. Personal invectives thrown out on that occasion. Committee appointed to re-examine the physicians. Their report taken into consideration Jan. 16th. Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion; proposes three objects for their deliberations. 1st. Nature of the king's illness; Anecdote relative to the queen. 2d. Principles on which they were to proceed. 3d. The limitations which those principles pointed out; viz. in the power of creating peers, of granting places or pensions for life, of alienating the personal property of the king, respecting the care of the king's person, and the disposal of the offices of the household. Mr. Pitt moves five resolutions founded on those principles. They are strongly opposed by Mr. Powys, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and colonel Fullarton. Celebrated speech of Mr. Grenville in support of the resolutions; amendment moved by Mr. Powys, and negatived by 227 to 154. Second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, voted by a majority of 216 to 159. Third and fourth resolutions carried without a division. Debate on the fifth resolution, relative to the officers of the household, opposed by lord Maitland, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox; amendment moved by Mr. Bouverie, and rejected by a majority of 54. Debate on the Resolutions in the house of lords. Able speech of the bishop of Llandaff. Convicts deprived of the benefit of applying to the royal mercy. Lord Camden's opinion relative to the creation of peers by act of parliament. Resolutions carried by a majority of 26. Protests signed by 57 lords. Resolutions ordered to be presented to the prince and the queen. Their answers. Debate on the motion for putting the great seal to a commission for opening parliament. Sessions opened. Motion by Mr. Pitt for leave to bring in the regency bill. Bill read a first and second time. Debates in the committee. Debate on the third reading. Regency bill sent to the lords. Notification of the king's recovery. Account of transactions relative to the regency in the Irish parliament.

Dec. 29. ON the 29th of December, the speaker of the house of commons (Mr. Cornwall) was seized with a dangerous illness, which terminated fatally on the 2d of January. The house immediately adjourned itself to the 5th, and being assembled on that day, the earl of Euston rose, and after a short speech in praise of the gentleman he designed to propose as a proper successor to the late speaker, he concluded by moving, "That the "right honourable William Wyndham Grenville do take the chair." The motion was seconded by Mr. Pulteney, who said that the right honourable gentleman possessed an hereditary claim to the favour of the house, as the guardian of its privi-

leges, which he had fortified and eſtabliſhed by his judicious alteration of his father's bill, a bill that, in his opinion, had gone farther towards ſecuring the firſt and the moſt invaluable privileges of that houſe, than any meaſure that had ever taken place in parliament. Mr. Pulteney mentioned the cuſtomary uſage of a previous direction from the crown, when the chair became vacant; but as, under the melancholy circumſtances of the times, no ſuch form could take place, and as it was abſolutely neceſſary that the chair ſhould be filled, in order to enable the houſe to proceed with the very delicate and peculiar buſineſs before them, which demanded diſpatch, the choice of a ſpeaker immediately was ſo indiſpenſably requiſite, that he ſuppoſed no doubt could remain on that queſtion.

Mr. Welbore Ellis roſe next, and after adverting to the unneceſſary and, as he thought, unwarrantable delay which had taken place in ſupplying the deficiency of the third eſtate, and to which it was owing that they were under the neceſſity of taking the informal ſtep they were now engaged in, he moved that the name of ſir Gilbert Elliot ſhould be inſerted inſtead of Mr. Grenville's. This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Frederick Montagú, who joined with Mr. Ellis in the higheſt commendations of the gentleman propoſed by them, for his candour and conciliating manners, his powerful eloquence, his knowledge of the laws of his country, and his zeal for the conſtitution.

After a ſhort addreſs from the two candidates, of mutual preference to each other, the houſe divided; when there appeared for Mr. Grenville 215, for ſir Gilbert Elliot 144.

During the interval of the ſpeaker's illneſs, Mr. Pitt communicated to the prince of Wales the plan he had formed for the conſtitution of the regency. This letter, together with the obſervations of his royal highneſs thereupon, will be found in the State Papers [p. 298 & ſeq.] and will render any further remarks from us on that ſubject unneceſſary.

Jan. 6, 1789. Mr. Pitt having given notice that he ſhould this day propoſe to the houſe the reſtrictions, within which the exerciſe of the regal power ſhould be granted to the regent, Mr. Loveden, the member for Abingdon, roſe as ſoon as the order of the day was moved, and obſerved that before the houſe proceeded to ſettle the terms of the regency, he conceived that they ought to know exactly where they were, and what the exigency of the caſe really was, the providing for which had become the object of their deliberations. No limitations of any kind could be ſuitably adopted, without having a reference to the cauſe which created the neceſſity for their introduction; and therefore, before they went a ſtep farther, in his humble judgment they ought to know preciſely what was the preſent ſtate of his majeſty's health, what the degree of alteration which it had undergone ſince his majeſty's phyſicians were laſt examined, and whether the probability of his recovery was increaſed, or leſs than it had been, at that period. This was the more neceſſary, as reports had gone abroad, of a very contradictory kind, and the authority of the different phyſicians who attended his majeſty had been made uſe of to give ſanction to thoſe reports. He ſhould therefore, he ſaid, beg

beg leave to move, "That the phy-
" ſicians who have attended his ma-
" jeſty ſhould be again examined,
" to inform the houſe whether any
" alteration or amendment had ta-
" ken place in the ſtate of the king's
" health, and if the preſent ſymp-
" toms were ſuch as to give reaſon
" to hope for his majeſty's ſpeedy
" recovery."

This motion gave riſe to a warm debate, which was managed not with the moſt perfect temper and moderation on either ſide of the houſe. Our readers will already have remarked, that an entire change in the miniſterial offices of government was conſidered as one of the immediate conſequences of the appointment of the prince of Wales to the regency. As the reſtrictions which Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of moving, could not fail to weaken and embarraſs in a conſiderable degree the new adminiſtration, and as the propriety of theſe reſtrictions was contended for upon a preſumption of the ſpeedy recovery of the king, the contending parties caught with great eagerneſs at ſome little difference of opinion relative to that point, which prevailed amongſt the medical gentlemen who attended him. In the courſe of the debate on Mr. Loveden's motion, Mr. Pitt treated the opinion of Dr. Warren, who was leſs ſanguine in his expectations of an immediate recovery than others, as if it had been dictated by a partiality to the riſing adminiſtration; and he inſinuated, that from the warmth with which that opinion was taken up and defended on the other ſide, it looked as if thoſe gentlemen ſpoke from their wiſhes. Theſe inſinuations were repelled, as being both ſcandalouſly unjuſt and baſely illiberal; and in return, Dr. Willis, who was extremely confident in his expectations, and conſequently the favourite on the other ſide, was repreſented as a tool employed to ſerve the deſigns of Mr. Pitt's faction. After much altercation on this ſubject, it was agreed that a new committee ſhould be appointed, and that the phyſicians ſhould be re-examined.

The committee ſat till the 13th, when the report was brought up, and a motion was made by Mr. Burke, and ſeconded by Mr. Wyndham, that it ſhould be re-committed, on account of their not having examined into the grounds of the different opinions held by the phyſicians reſpecting the probability of the king's recovery. This motion was negatived without a diviſion: the report was ordered to be printed, and to be taken into conſideration in a committee of the whole houſe on the ſtate of the nation upon the Friday following. Jan. 13.

On that day Mr. Pitt roſe, and after expreſſing his ſatisfaction at having conſented to the motion for re-examining the phyſicians, the event of which had juſtified his former opinion reſpecting the probability of his majeſty's recovery, he proceeded to open the buſineſs which was to be the ſubject of their preſent deliberations. This, he obſerved, divided itſelf into three diſtinct heads.—1ſt. The nature of the king's illneſs.—2dly. The principles upon which the two houſes were authoriſed to act on this occaſion.—And 3dly. The application of thoſe principles to the meaſures which he ſhould propoſe for remedying the preſent defect in the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority. Jan. 16.

After

After a very minute and laborious enquiry, the committee appointed to examine the king's phyſicians had collected a body of evidence, which contained the opinions of all thoſe gentlemen, and from which the committee might collect the following information:—That his majeſty was by his illneſs rendered incapable of attending to the buſineſs of his ſtation; but that it was probable he might recover, and be once more able to reſume the reins of government. In theſe two points, all the phyſicians were agreed; and though no one of them could venture to fix a time when that happy event might be expected, yet they were unanimous in declaring, that it was more probable that a recovery would take place, than that it would not: they were no leſs unanimous in ſaying, that though the interval between their firſt and their ſecond examination had not produced any conſiderable change in his majeſty's health, no inference could be drawn from ſo ſhort a ſpace of time againſt the probability of a cure.

Though the phyſicians were agreed in theſe points, they were not all equally ſanguine in their hopes of his majeſty's recovery; but it was remarkable, that ſuch of them as were leaſt converſant in the diſorder with which his majeſty was afflicted, and had the leaſt opportunity of being acquainted with the particular caſe of the royal patient, were the leaſt ſanguine in their hopes of recovery — that thoſe who, without any great degree of experience in the particular diſorder, yet from their conſtant attendance upon his majeſty, had a better opportunity of being acquainted with his caſe, and the ſtate of his health, were more ſanguine than the former — and, finally, that thoſe who were moſt converſant in complaints like thoſe of his majeſty, and were beſides conſtantly attending upon his perſon, were the moſt ſanguine of all in their hopes, that his majeſty would recover, and poſſibly in a ſhort time.

In conſequence of theſe differences of opinion, a diſpoſition had appeared in ſome members of the committee to diſcredit what had been ſaid by the phyſicians, as if undue influence had been uſed to make them publiſh opinions, which they did not entertain. The fact, to which he alluded, he ſhould not heſitate to ſtate on account of the reſpectable perſonage involved in it, as he was convinced that the more her conduct was inveſtigated the more it would redound to her honour. It was ſurely natural, he ſaid, for her majeſty to wiſh that the people, to whom ſhe knew the king was ſo dear, ſhould be made acquainted with any, even the leaſt, alteration for the better in his health: accordingly, thinking that ſuch an alteration had taken place one day, as would juſtify a more favourable account than the phyſicians had ſigned, ſhe expreſſed a deſire that it might be ſo changed as to contain what ſhe conceived to be the exact ſtate of the caſe.

Having explained this tranſaction, Mr. Pitt proceeded to conſider the principles on which they were authoriſed to act in providing for the deficiency in the executive government. It had been determined, that the right to provide for ſuch deficiency devolved on the two houſes of parliament; but there was abundant reaſon to hope that the occaſion would be temporary and ſhort. What they had to provide for, therefore, was no more than an interval, and

and he flattered himself that it would prove but a short interval. If, however, unfortunately, his majesty's illness should be protracted, they might leave it to parliament to do what at present was clearly unnecessary; to consider of a more permanent plan of government. They were to provide only for the present necessity, and not to exceed it; they were also to provide against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority, whenever God, in his providence, shall enable the rightful holder again to exercise it. They were therefore to grant such powers, and none others, as were requisite to carry on the government of the country with energy and effect.

Upon these principles he should propose to invest the prince of Wales with the whole royal authority, to be exercised in the name and on the behalf of the king, subject to such limitations and restrictions only as should be provided. He observed, that in the *succession act* of queen Ann, and in the *regency acts* of George the second and George the third, the exercise of all the royal prerogatives were granted in a fuller manner than he intended to propose: but on the other hand the regent, in all those cases was fettered with a council, the consent of a majority of which was necessary to authorize his acts.—Under the present circumstances he thought it more adviseable to leave the regent entirely free in the choice of his political servants; but at the same time this required some limitation of the authority with which he was to be invested.

The first restriction he meant to propose was, that the authority of the regent should not extend to the creating any peer, except such of the royal issue as should attain the age of twenty-one. There were three grounds, he conceived, upon which this branch of the prerogative was intrusted by the constitution to the crown, none of which were applicable to the present case. First, it was designed to enable the king to counteract the designs of any factious cabal in the house of lords, which might have acquired a predominant influence in their deliberations. But was it at all probable that the government of his royal highness should be obstructed by any such cabal? He, for one, was ready to declare that he should give no opposition to any administration the regent should chuse to form, so long as their measures were compatible with the prosperity of the kingdom. On the other hand, he said, such a number of peers might be created, as would considerably embarrass his majesty's government on the event of his being restored to health. Secondly, This power was vested in the crown, to enable the sovereign to reward eminent merit, and thereby to invite others to the same laudable exertions in the public service. But was it, he said, to be supposed that for want of such an incentive for a few months, the country was likely to be deprived of the service of men of merit. If his majesty recovered, as they all hoped, and had reason to expect he would, the power of creating peers might be exercised by the rightful holder of the prerogative; but if, unfortunately, his majesty should grow worse, and be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, parliament would have it in its power to take off the restriction, and vest the regent with a power, which though not

not at preſent, he was ready to admit, might in time become neceſſary to the carrying on of a powerful government. Thirdly, This power was deſigned to provide for the fluctuation of wealth and property in the country, that by raiſing men of great landed intereſt to the peerage, that branch of the legiſlature ſhould be always placed upon its true and proper baſis. But ſurely it would not be contended, that it was neceſſary to provide in a temporary plan for exigencies, which could only ariſe from the lapſe of conſiderable periods of time. For all theſe reaſons taken together he ſhould therefore propoſe that the regent ſhould be reſtrained from the exerciſe of this part of the prerogative of the crown.

The next reſtriction he ſhould propoſe was, that the regent ſhould not grant any penſion or place for life, or in reverſion, other than ſuch place as is, from its nature, to be held for life, or during good behaviour. This reſtriction, he ſaid, flowed from the ſame principle which ſupported the former; it would prevent his majeſty from being put on a worſe footing, ſhould he recover, than he was before his illneſs; and it could not be ſaid, that the power reſtrained by this limitation was neceſſary to a regent.

The next was, to reſtrain the regent from exerciſing any power over the perſonal property of the king. Mr. Pitt on this occaſion obſerved, that he ſcarcely thought it neceſſary to paſs this reſolution, as it was not probable that his royal highneſs ſhould interfere with his majeſty's perſonal property in his life-time; but as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to ſubmit it to the committee.

The laſt reſolution would be for entruſting the care of the royal perſon, during his majeſty's illneſs, where of courſe all men would be unanimous in agreeing that the royal perſon ought to be placed, in the guardianſhip of the queen; and with this truſt his intention was, to propoſe to put the whole of his majeſty's houſhold under her authority, inveſting her with full powers to diſmiſs and appoint, as ſhe ſhould think proper. Without being inveſted with this control, he imagined that the queen could not diſcharge the important truſt committed to her care. Theſe officers were, for the moſt part, in actual attendance upon his majeſty's perſon, and he did not ſee how they could be put under the control of the regent, while the care of his majeſty, upon whom they were to attend, was truſted to another perſon.

The lords of the bed-chamber, indeed, might not be thought neceſſary now, when their attendance could not be required; but, on the other hand, a generous and liberal nation would not have it ſaid, that in the moment of the king's illneſs they had grown ſo very œconomical, that they would not bear the expence of ſupporting, till his recovery, thoſe officers who formed part of his majeſty's royal ſtate: it would be no pleaſant thing to his majeſty to be told, ſhould he, on his recovery, call for ſome one of thoſe lords who uſed to be about his perſon, that they had been diſmiſſed, that the nation might ſave the expence attending their offices.

Laſtly, he ſhould propoſe, that a council ſhould be named to aſſiſt the queen with their advice, whenever ſhe ſhould require it: but who ſhould not have any power of control, but

barely that of giving advice, and of ſatisfying themſelves daily of the ſtate of the king's health: and that they, or ſome others, ſhould be appointed to manage the real and perſonal eſtate of the king, with this reſtriction, not to alienate, or to diſpoſe of any part of it, except by leaſe.

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the firſt of the five reſolutions, which the reader will find among the State Papers [p. 302]. Theſe reſolutions were ſtrongly oppoſed both in the committee and on the report. Mr. Powys began by obſerving, that he ſhould oppoſe the reſolutions opened by the right honourable gentleman, and the monſtrous ſyſtem to be built upon them, as tending to mutilate and diſmember the conſtitutional authority of the crown. They had voted a reſolution, that it was their duty to preſerve the royal authority entire. What were they now called upon to perform? to diſſolve, ſeparate, and parcel out what they had ſolemnly reſolved to preſerve whole and entire. To ſtrip the executive government of any of its legal prerogatives, would be to overturn the conſtitution, for the preſervation of which, and the benefit of the people, theſe prerogatives were originally annexed to the crown. He conſidered the prerogative in particular, of beſtowing peerages, as an integral part of the royal authority; it was a ſhield which the conſtitution had from its earlieſt days provided for its own defence and preſervation; and which could not be wreſted from the crown without bringing deſtruction upon the conſtitution. It was reſerved for the preſent miniſter to innovate upon the conſtitution, and to exhibit a ſight, which, from the foundation of the monarchy, had never been ſeen in the country before, the exerciſe of the royal power, without the prerogatives, which the conſtitution had rendered inſeparable from the royal authority.

In the regency acts of former reigns, the royal authority had been preſerved entire, and a council had been appointed for the regent—no ſuch council was to be appointed in the preſent inſtance, and this was given as a reaſon for the reſtrictions propoſed—but on what grounds was this diſtruſt of the Prince of Wales founded? was it becauſe he had quietly waited for parliament to ſettle the government without an attempt to embarraſs their deliberations, by preſſing upon them any claim whatever on his part to a ſhare in that government? Was it becauſe princes were naturally fond of power, and did not like to relinquiſh it, after having once obtained it? But was that backwardneſs to reſign power, confined to princes? Or was it not to be found in thoſe, who to ſecure their return to it, would ſtrip the crown of its inalienable prerogatives, and trample upon the conſtitution? With reſpect to patent places, he conſidered them as part of the public fund, ſet apart for the reward of virtue, and of merit; and therefore he was of opinion that they could not be withheld from the regent, without a manifeſt injury to the public, and without the deſtruction of one great incentive to meritorious deeds.

The idea of withholding from the regent the nomination of the different offices in the houſehold, and granting it to the queen, was to refuſe to a reſponſible, and grant it to an irreſponſible perſon. Mr. Powys ſaid, he had ſucceſsfully withſtood, under the auſpices of the right honourable

honourable gentleman, the formation of what he conceived to be a fourth eſtate in the country. It was remarkable, indeed, that the right honourable gentleman ſhould now be himſelf the propoſer of a fourth eſtate: the queen, without being reſponſible to parliament, or the laws, would be in a ſituation, under the right honourable gentleman's regulation, in which ſhe could influence the votes of a very great number of members of both houſes of parliament, who uſually have places in the houſhold. If the nomination of lords and grooms of the bed-chamber was to be withheld from the regent, becauſe it was dangerous to truſt him with it, the remedy was inadequate to the diſeaſe: for the army and navy could not be very harmleſs engines in the hands of a man, to whom it would not be ſafe to truſt the nomination of lords and grooms of the bed-chamber.

The right honorable gentleman ſeemed to wiſh to preſerve concord and harmony in the country; but it looked as if his real wiſh was to deſtroy the domeſtic happineſs of the royal family, to arm the mother againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the mother, and by making a palſied and impotent government, render his own return to power a matter of neceſſity. But ſuch a government would be a curſe to any country, and therefore the formation of it ought to be reſiſted by all who wiſhed well to this. In oppoſing it, he would take for his guide the act of the 5th of the preſent reign, for ſettling a regency, in caſe the crown ſhould deſcend to any of the iſſue of his preſent majeſty, before they had attained the age of 18. The preamble to that act ſtated, "that for the purpoſe of preſerving the luſtre and ſplendor of the crown entire, be it enacted, &c." and then it went on to appoint a regent, and a council to aſſiſt him. He intended to move an amendment to the reſolution then before the committee, and he would borrow from the above ſtatute thoſe very words, which he thought ſo very expreſſive, that he could find none that were better calculated to convey his meaning.

He concluded by moving, that the original reſolution, from the firſt word, be left out, and the following words inſerted in its ſtead—"that for the purpoſe of preſerving the luſtre and ſplendor of the crown entire, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales be empowered to take upon him the ſtyle and title of regent of the realm, and to exerciſe all the prerogatives and powers of the crown, which, by the act of the 5th of his majeſty, the council and regent were empowered to exerciſe, in caſe the crown had deſcended to any of his majeſty's iſſue, under the age of 18, &c."

The amendment was ſeconded by lord North, who concurred with Mr. Powys in conſidering the ſyſtem propoſed as a dangerous innovation upon the conſtitution, and militating againſt one of its fundamental maxims—that the king never dies. It directly introduced that interregnum, that ceſſation of imperial power, againſt which the conſtitution had ſo wiſely and cautiouſly guarded. The prerogatives of the crown, he argued, were truſts for the public, and conſequently not one of them could ceaſe without public injury. They were alſo ſuppoſed to be neceſſary for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed government; and therefore the more neceſſary to a regency, which was naturally and unavoidably

avoidably weaker than the government of a king.

Having argued these general topics with great ingenuity, he proceeded to consider the limitations themselves. With respect to the power of creating peers, he observed, that the house ought to be very cautious how they suffered a bill suspending for an unlimited time this branch of the royal authority to pass their hands. It had been said that a time might come when it would be proper to re-consider the whole business, and then, if his majesty's recovery should appear less probable, they might lessen or entirely remove the restrictions now imposed on the regent. But were they sure that they should be able to take off the restriction then under consideration? It could not be done without the concurrence of the lords. Limitations of the peerage had been always and with reason considered as tending to aggrandize individually the members of that body; and therefore it was not likely that they would be very ready to consent to the removal of it. A circumstance happened at the close of the reign of George I. which would throw some light upon this. The king at that time, it was thought, could not live long, and his ministers were known not to stand very high in the opinion of the prince of Wales; they were known to have a strong and predominant party in the house of lords; for the purpose, therefore, of securing themselves from the mortification of being removed from their places, they caused a bill to be introduced into the house of lords for limiting the number of peerages to that which at the time existed: the lords saw that such a limitation would necessarily raise their individual consequence, and therefore both sides of their house joined in carrying it through: it was sent down to the commons, and there it was received with the indignation it deserved, and was rejected by a majority of 265. This circumstance should make gentlemen see the necessity, if a restriction upon this branch of the prerogative should be thought proper, that the term of its duration should be ascertained; and that, unless renewed, the restriction should, at the expiration of that term, be of itself dissolved, otherwise they might possibly not find the lords as ready to give it up, as they might be to consent to it.

The restriction respecting the nomination of the lords of the bed-chamber, and other officers of the household, he viewed in a very serious light. A person with the command of so great a fund as the civil list, must certainly have an influence, which exercised by one who was not responsible, might be of very great prejudice to the government; the patronage of the household was immense, and could not, with safety to the state, be separated from the executive officers of the crown, who were responsible for all their acts.

The pages and grooms of the chamber, might be left under the control of the queen; but the lords of the bed-chamber, who were part of the king's public state, and who were never in waiting but on public occasions, who were in reality political servants of his majesty, and who had proved to be so on a recent occasion, ought undoubtedly to be under the control of the executive government.

The right honourable gentleman had assured them, that the patronage to be withholden from the regent

under this reſolution would not be abuſed, and had deſired that his profeſſion, that he would not take part in any factious oppoſition to the government of the regency, might be conſidered as a ſufficient ſecurity. That the exalted perſonage, in whoſe hands this enormous patronage was to be nominally lodged, would not abuſe it, lord North declared, that he was willing to believe; but, when he conſidered, that there was to be a council to adviſe her majeſty, he was not quite ſure that the advice given would always be pure, and free from the influence of a ſpirit of factious oppoſition. At all events, it was not parliamentary to rely on the profeſſions of an individual. When a great public meaſure was under conſideration, they were to govern themſelves by public principles, and not by perſonal confidence.

He concluded with declaring, that he ſhould tremble for his country, if the reſolutions were adopted; that if the houſe thought that any advantage could repay the violation of the conſtitution, and acted upon that principle, that principle would prove its ruin. He wiſhed it not to be ſaid, that for fear the regent ſhould change the miniſtry, they were willing to change the conſtitution. He, probably, ſhould not live to ſee the fatal effects which might follow; but there were gentlemen ſitting there, who might one day repent, that by their vote that night they had brought on the ruin of the conſtitution.

Mr. Sheridan followed on the ſame ſide with lord North; and after repelling ſome inſinuations which had been thrown out againſt the party ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the good opinion of the prince, he attacked, with ſucceſsful ridicule, that part of Mr. Pitt's plan which put the patronage of the king's houſhold into the hands of the queen, or in other words, he ſaid, into his own. He aſked, if gentlemen were aware, that by ſo doing they were about to give nearly the third part of the patronage of the crown into the hands of the oppoſition; for, notwithſtanding the declaration of the right honourable gentleman, he was inclined to expect one from the recollection of his having made preciſely the ſame profeſſions of moderation, when he ſtood in the ſame predicament a few years back. It would be, he obſerved, a novel ſight to ſee a popular leader of oppoſition, with a guard of court ſcullions, and the ſurly patriot, attended by the laced liveries of the royal pages. He repreſented the ex-miniſter as coming down to the houſe in ſtate, with the cap of liberty on the end of a white wand, a retinue of black and white ſticks attending him, and a guard of beef-eaters marſhalled by the lord ſteward, the lord chamberlain, and the maſter of horſe, clearing his way through the lobby.

They had been told, that the removal of the king's houſhold would hurt his majeſty's feelings; but would they not give him credit for thoſe feelings which dignify even his ſtation? The regent and his miniſters were allowed to exerciſe the moſt important privileges of royalty; and was it to be ſuppoſed that the king would be more ſhocked to find his houſhold ſervants changed, than that, perhaps, the conſtitution of his country was altered, or part of his dominions ceded to foreign potentates, or any other

other essential calamity and disgrace entailed upon his empire? When therefore it should please God to restore our sovereign to the use of his faculties, and he should enquire as a parent, how those ministers in whom he trusted had treated his son; was he to be satisfied, with hearing that his master of the horse was safe? Should he, as a sovereign, ask who headed our armies or conducted our fleets; was he to be informed that his scullions were marshalled by the same chiefs as formerly? or, if he was anxious of the state of his civil list revenue; was he to be made easy with being assured, that the state of his court calendar had been preserved entire? He concluded with declaring, that he had no doubt, but when it should be known by the public, that the motive for imposing such restrictions was no other than because the prince was going to take into his service a different set of men from those now in office, they would despise and detest the cunning and the craft from whence so wretched a proceeding had originated.

Colonel Fullarton concluded the debate with an able and animated speech.—He first adverted to a position on which much stress had been laid, namely, that in contemplation of law, the political capacity of the king continued perfect, and could neither suffer diminution nor defect. If by this technical phraseology was meant, that all the powers and authorities of executive government remained entire in the person of the king during his incapacity, in such a way, that he should of right exercise the same as soon and as long as he was capable of exercising them personally; and that, while he should not be capable of exercising them personally, they should be exercised in trust for him: if that was the meaning of the right honourable gentleman's expressions, no person could be more ready to admit that doctrine than he was. But, if it was meant, that the powers and authorities of executive government might remain dormant, unemployed, unproductive to the public service, as long as the king was incapacitated from the personal exercise of them, it was a monstrous and absurd doctrine. Would any man who pretended to the slightest respect for the constitution venture to declare, that the powers and authorities of government were to be considered as the mere property of the sovereign? That they were to be considered like the store, or the wardrobe, or the privy-purse, as things meant for the personal use, pleasure, and convenience of the sovereign, and that when he is incapable of using them personally, they need not be used at all? Did gentlemen recollect that the powers of the crown were vested in the king, not for the personal benefit of the king, but for the benefit of the state? That there were duties and obligations mutually to be performed between the sovereign and the subject, duties of an awful magnitude, involving the welfare and happiness of the people? How then could the right honourable gentleman maintain, that these duties and obligations, in contemplation of law, could possibly remain entire, in the person of the king, during his incapacity, any otherwise than this, that when the king was incapacitated from the personal exercise of them, they must be performed in trust for him; that some person or persons, either by devo-

lution or appointment, must perform the duties of the royal station, and exercise the functions of authority in trust for the king, during his incapacity; unless the committee were prepared to declare the kingly power either totally or in part useless?

Having argued for some time on these and other topics, Mr. Fullarton concluded with reciting a part of the history of France, which bore so strong a similitude, in some of its circumstances, to the situation they were in, that some of the members were in doubt whether it was a real story or invented for the purpose.

In the reign of Charles the sixth the government of that country being interrupted by the incapacity of the monarch, the then prime minister, countenanced by the queen, Isabeau de Baviere, and supported by a strong faction, laid a plot for the purpose of affronting the heir apparent (afterwards Charles the Victorious) and continuing themselves in power. This minister's name was Mervilliers; he had commenced his career in the profession of the law, but quickly found a nearer road to advancement in the intrigues of politics. The project above stated they absolutely accomplished by means of a corrupt majority of the parliament of Paris—nay, they had even the cunning to procure an address of thanks from the mayor, aldermen, and corporation of that city.

What was the consequence of this measure? The nation was involved in all the miseries of a weak and disunited government, despised and dismembered by its enemies, till the spirit and virtue of Charles the Victorious, by first conquering his domestic foes, enabled him to defeat his less dangerous enemies, and restore the crown of France to its wonted splendour and dignity. "And, now," said Mr. Fullarton, "I will defy the right honourable gentleman to produce a single instance, in the history of England, in the history of France, in the history of Spain, or in the history of any other country, with whose history we are acquainted at all, where the established legal powers of executive government were maimed, mutilated, and restrained, without producing inefficiency, counteraction, calamity, and disgrace."

On the other side of the house, the resolutions were supported by the speaker, Mr. Grenville, in a speech which arrested the attention of the committee for near three hours. He began with taking a view of the steps that had already been taken for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of their situation, and the rights and duties appertaining to it. This led to consider the validity of a position maintained by persons in both houses, "that although the two houses of parliament constitute the only power competent to act on this occasion, yet that they can lawfully proceed no farther than to call some person to the exercise of the royal authority; and that whatever other provisions the existing circumstances may require, must be made hereafter with the consent of such person then representing the sovereign, and exercising, at his own discretion, the legislative functions of the crown."

In support of this proposition, the statute of the 13th of Charles the second, cap. 1. had been quoted: but

but that this ſtatute was not applicable to the preſent circumſtances was evident, he ſaid, from hence, that it would apply equally to every ſtep that could be taken; and the only inference that could be drawn from it would be, that we were now in a ſituation for which no legal remedy could by any poſſibility be provided. The neceſſity of the caſe was, therefore, to ſuperſede all law.

After diſcuſſing this queſtion upon various grounds, he proceeded to conſider the caſes of the reſtoration and the revolution; and endeavoured, with great ingenuity and acuteneſs, by diſtinguiſhing the points in which they agreed from thoſe in which they diſagreed from the preſent circumſtances, to juſtify the mode of proceeding adopted by his right honourable friend.

Having gone over this preliminary matter, and further premiſed, that the more ſtrongly we recognize the right of inheritance to the crown in the event of a demiſe, the more eſſential it becomes to guard, with the utmoſt jealouſy, againſt the admiſſion of any principle which leads to the aſſertion of ſuch a right when there is no demiſe, and againſt the adoption of any meaſure which might afford the means of ſuperſeding the king's authority during his life, under the name and influence of that perſon on whom his crown would, in the courſe of nature, legally devolve. He next laid down the principle upon which he conceived the propriety of limiting the powers of the regent was grounded; this was, that at the ſame time that a form of government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, capable of conducting the public buſineſs with energy and effect, complete and ample ſecurity ſhould be provided for enabling his majeſty to reaſſume the exerciſe of his authority fully, freely, and without embarraſſment. On this ground our anceſtors acted in the caſe of every regency which has hitherto exiſted in this country, as far as we can trace them with any degree of accuracy, either in the records of parliament, or in the annals of our hiſtory. For, if we except the two inſtances of Richard the third, and of the protector Somerſet (which are both ſuch evident uſurpations that no ſtreſs can be laid upon them) it will be found, that during the courſe of many centuries, no ſubject in theſe realms, however nearly allied to the perſon of the king, has been permitted, in any caſe of infancy or diſability, to exerciſe the whole prerogative and authority of the crown. The mode of reſtriction has, indeed, for the moſt part, been different from that which is now propoſed, but the principle has been the ſame. The whole powers of the crown have, for the moſt part, been called into action, but they have not been given to any one ſubject: they have been divided among a variety of perſons, differing in rank, ſituation, and deſcription, and whoſe jarring intereſts have been thought to afford the beſt ſecurity, that they would not concur in meaſures prejudicial to the authority of the ſovereign. Conformable to this principle, are the regency acts of George the ſecond and George the third, in which a permanent council is eſtabliſhed. That in the preſent caſe, the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form as is there provided, would have been productive of infinite miſchief, without being compenſated by any one real advantage, appears to be the general opinion of men both within and without thoſe doors. All are agreed, that the government of theſe kingdoms ſhould, during this unhappy interval, be committed to the adminiſtration of one

perſon, and that it is extremely deſirable that this perſon ſhould be his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. But if by general conſent we depart in this reſpect from the practice of our anceſtors, it ſurely cannot be reaſonable to argue, that we are, therefore, bound to adhere to it in another point ſo intimately connected with the former. It cannot be a juſt concluſion to ſay, that becauſe they committed the whole authority of a king into the hands of a regent, controlled and fettered by a fixed and permanent council, it is proper for us to delegate the ſame power to a ſingle perſon, unreſtrained by any ſimilar check. It ſeems, on the contrary, that the more widely we depart from one line of limitation and reſtraint, the more we are bound to look to ſome other mode of carrying the ſame purpoſe into effect.

He next obſerved, that it is by no means a juſt concluſion, either from the theory or practice of the Britiſh conſtitution, or from any general principles of government, that the ſame powers which may be entruſted with propriety to the permanent authority of a king, are equally fit to be committed to thoſe hands which are to exerciſe the temporary and delegated functions of a regent. The proviſions which reſpect the prerogatives of the crown in this country, are adapted to the ordinary courſe of an eſtabliſhed government, and are calculated for a long continuance. Becauſe if parliament were in the conſtant habit of regulating and directing the exerciſe of the prerogatives of the crown, thoſe prerogatives would in fact become the prerogatives, not of the crown, but of parliament itſelf. It is therefore juſt and prudent that in apportioning theſe, a due conſideration ſhould be had, not of the neceſſities which exiſt at any one preciſe moment, but of thoſe which may be likely to ariſe within a conſiderable compaſs of time. But in the eſtabliſhment of a regency the caſe is directly the reverſe. We are to look not to the general exigencies of government, but to thoſe occaſions which may probably exiſt during the period for which the ſyſtem ſo provided is intended to continue. And as, for this reaſon, there may frequently be much leſs ground to juſtify the grant of particular powers; ſo, on the other hand, there will almoſt always in ſuch a caſe be infinitely more temptation to abuſe them. The permanent intereſt of a ſovereign will frequently operate as a reſtraint on him, in thoſe very points where the poſſeſſor of a temporary authority, however near to the crown in proſpect or expectation, will feel himſelf moſt deſirous, and will moſt ſtrongly be urged by others, to exceed the limits of a juſt and ſound diſcretion.

The propriety of the particular reſtraining reſolutions came next under his conſideration. With reſpect to the reſolution which reſtrains the power of creating peers, it met with his entire approbation, and that on two ſeparate grounds. Firſt, becauſe he was clear, that during the ſhort period for which they were providing, no inconvenience whatever could reſult from it: that there was, for this reaſon, no neceſſity for delegating this power to any other hands; and that, therefore, according to the principle on which he had before enlarged, they had no right to confer it on the regent. But, he added, there is, in the ſecond place, a more important conſideration

ſideration which applies to this ſubject. Of all the powers of the crown this is the moſt liable to be abuſed under a delegated and temporary government; and it is alſo that from the abuſe of which the moſt injurious conſequences would ariſe to the permanent intereſt of the ſovereign. The power to create, at diſcretion, a laſting influence on the deliberations of one of the branches of the legiſlature, is a prerogative of ſo high a nature, that nothing but a ſtrong neceſſity would juſtify that principle of the conſtitution, which has placed it in the hands of the ſovereign himſelf. As exerciſed by him, it is, however, ſubject to this reſtraint, that the miſchiefs attendant on its abuſe operate againſt the peace and ſecurity of that government, of which the king is not only in actual poſſeſſion, but which he is to retain for the whole period of his life, and which he can have no intereſt to weaken or embarraſs. The caſe of a regent is widely different. If we ſuppoſe him unhappily to be miſled by the councils of men deſirous of availing themſelves of a ſhort interval of authority, in order to eſtabliſh for themſelves an influence in the ſtate, paramount to that of their ſovereign, what other mode could be ſo naturally reſorted to for this purpoſe, as the abuſe of this particular branch of the prerogative? It ſhould be further conſidered, that, in the preſent caſe, exactly in proportion as the probability of the king's recovery increaſed, the force of this reſtraint would gradually be weakened, and the temptation to the abuſe would grow more powerful. The perſons who adviſed the regent would then feel it leſs likely that the conſequences of any miſconduct of theirs in this reſpect would be injurious to the government in their own hands, and they might perhaps imagine that they had an intereſt in the miſchiefs which it would entail on the ſubſequent adminiſtration of the ſovereign. The conſideration, therefore, of the ſhortneſs of the interval for which we now provide, ſerves at once to ſhew, that no neceſſity can exiſt for giving this power; and to afford a great additional weight to the apprehenſion of danger reſulting from it. In the preſent moment, I can entertain no doubt that the granting it would exceed the limits of our authority; and that even if that were not the caſe, it would be the duty of parliament to withhold it on grounds of expediency.

The other four reſolutions were ſhortly touched upon by Mr. Grenville, and defended upon the grounds already occupied by Mr. Pitt.

At length the committee divided; when there appeared, for the amendment, 154; againſt it 227.

The reſolution relative to the creation of peers was then put to the queſtion, and carried by 216 to 159; as were the two following, without a diviſion; and the fifth was poſtponed to the Monday following.

On the 19th Mr. Pitt moved his fifth reſolution, committing the care of his majeſty's perſon to the queen, and granting to her the power of removing from, and appointing, all the offices of the houſhold. Two objections, he obſerved, had been made to this part of his plan. Firſt, that a conſiderable part of the houſhold eſtabliſhment was become unneceſſary: to this he had replied on a former occaſion. The ſecond was, that the political influence which would neceſſarily accrue from ſo conſiderable Jan. 19.

a portion of patronage, might be perverted to factious purpoſes. That all power was ſubject to abuſe was a propoſition that could not be controverted. But was it in any degree probable, was it even decent to ſuppoſe that the reſpectable perſonage in queſtion would become the inſtrument of any factious oppoſition, even if an oppoſition ſhould be formed, to the government of her ſon? He aſked, whether this objection had been urged againſt the eſtabliſhments provided for other branches of the royal family, the influence of which were certainly as likely to be exerciſed againſt the executive authority? Mr. Pitt was ſupported on the ſame ground by Mr. Dundas, and the ſolicitor general.

On the other ſide, lord Maitland and Mr. Grey objected to the limitations in general, not only as tending to diſtract and embarraſs the new government, but as nugatory and ineffectual for the purpoſe which they were meant to ſecure. This purpoſe was avowed to be the full, free, and unimpaired reſumption of the government by his majeſty upon his recovery. But how far were they calculated to ſecure that object? Were his royal highneſs to forget the duties of a ſon and of a ſubject, his love of juſtice, and his reverence for the conſtitution, or to ſacrifice them all to gratify his ambition;—inveſted with the patronage of the army, the navy, and all the great offices of the kingdom, what could oppoſe him? Surely, not the lords with white ſtaves, or the feeble bands of the houſhold. Conſidered in this point of view, the limitations were totally inadequate to their purpoſe. They would obſtruct the regent in the juſt and uſeful exerciſe of his power; they would limit him in the choice of his political ſervants; but, in the abuſe of it, ſhould he or his miniſters be diſpoſed to abuſe it, they would oppoſe no ſufficient obſtacle to his deſigns.

With regard to granting the patronage of the houſhold to the queen, they obſerved, that it would be deſtructive of that political diſintereſt, which made her the fitteſt perſon to have the care of his majeſty. Arguing upon general principles, the poſſeſſion of the power given her by the reſolution, and the intereſt ariſing therefrom in the continuance of the king's illneſs, tended ſtrongly to diſqualify her for ſuch truſt. Among all the virtues which adorned that character, was there any which exceeded her moderation? Was there any part of her public or her private conduct which recommended her ſo much to the eſteem, the affection, and the reverence of a loyal people, as that prudent caution with which ſhe had, through the whole courſe of her life, abſtained from all interference in the affairs of government; and was it wiſe, was it proper, was it conſiſtent with a true regard for her intereſt in the public affection, to place her in a ſituation new to herſelf, unknown to the conſtitution, and which might eventually draw her aſide from that line of diſcreet and amiable moderation, which ſhe had hitherto followed with ſo much circumſpection and ſo much praiſe? The amount of the patronage intended to be given her, was one-fourth of the whole civil liſt. She might have bad adviſers as well as the prince; and, by the mention of a council of advice, it appeared that ſhe was to have adviſers, and it was tolerably evident who thoſe adviſers were to be.

Nay,

Nay, the preſent reſolution did not even ſecure its profeſſed object, the continuance of his uſual attendants about the king's perſon, as it gave her majeſty the power not only to continue but to remove.

Mr. Fox followed on the ſame ſide. He expoſed, with great ability, the futility of the doctrine advanced by the law-officers, "That the king's political character was, in the eye of the law, inſeparable from his perſonal—that it remained entire and perfect—and would continue ſo to do until his natural demiſe." This doctrine, which had been frequently urged, he had wiſhed in vain to hear explained; for, how that perſon, whoſe political faculties were confeſſedly ſuſpended by a ſevere viſitation of Providence, could ſtill exiſt in the full enjoyment of his political character, was beyond his underſtanding to comprehend. The doctrine partook of, and ſeemed indeed to be founded on, thoſe blind and ſuperſtitious notions, by which, as they all knew from hiſtory, human inſtitutions had been as it were deified, and which were inculcated for the purpoſe of impreſſing a ſtrong and implicit reverence of authority in the minds of the multitude. If ſuch was the view in which the honourable and learned gentleman wiſhed to conſider this myſterious character of complete political exiſtence, without political capacity, he could only obſerve on his doctrine, that he took up the ſuperſtitions of antiquity, and rejected the morality; for, while he thus enveloped the ſacred perſon of majeſty with a political veil, which, by ancient ſuperſtition, was calculated to inſpire awe, and ſecure obedience; he was labouring to enfeeble the arm of government, to cripple it in all its great and eſſential parts; to expoſe it to hoſtile attack and to contumely; to take from it the dignity which appertained to itſelf, and the uſe for which it was deſigned towards the people. A learned gentleman had ſaid, that his allegiance would continue during the life of the king, whatever might be the condition of his mind. This, in ſome reſpects, was true: but if it was admitted as an argument for the limitations contended for, and this allegiance was made to depend not on the political capacity, but on the bare perſonal exiſtence of the king, then all which they had heard, that theſe limitations were but temporary, and that the time would come when they muſt be reviſed, and the full power be given to the regent, was falſe and abſurd. For, whether the king's malady endured one year, or thirty years, it was preciſely the ſame in the contemplation of this doctrine; and the legiſlature could not veſt the full powers of the crown in any other hands, while the perſon of the king remained.

With reſpect to the creation of peers, he obſerved, that the right honourable gentleman had conferred that rank upon no leſs than forty-two perſons during the five years that he had been in office; and he had not the pretext of ſaying that any cabal was formed to thwart his meaſures in the houſe of lords, which made ſuch a promotion neceſſary: and if ſuch were the means which he had been obliged to reſort to, ſurrounded with all the power and influence of the crown, what muſt be the condition of thoſe who ſhould have to contend, in the crippled ſtate to which they would be reduced, with

with an oppoſition armed with ſo large a portion of the uſual patronage of government?

He expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his indignation and abhorrence of the project of putting into a ſtate of competition perſons ſo nearly connected by blood, by duty, and by affection, and thereby exciting that mutual jealouſy which, in ſome degree, is inſeparable from the human mind. How much, he ſaid, had they to anſwer for, who, with a perfect knowledge of this weakneſs of human nature, wickedly and wantonly purſued a meaſure which might involve the empire in endleſs diſtractions!

Before he ſat down, he begged to aſk the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him, — what period of time he propoſed to confine thoſe limitations to? — what revenue he meant to aſſign to his royal highneſs during his regency? — and, who were the perſons the council of advice would conſiſt of?—Upon the ſecond point, he begged leave to explain what he had good reaſon to believe were the ſentiments of his royal highneſs, whoſe feeling for the diſtreſſes of his country, and whoſe decided objection to encreaſe its already too grievous burdens, would make him revolt at the idea of impoſing any new taxes for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue to ſupply the charges of his government.

To theſe queſtions Mr. Pitt anſwered, that whenever the phyſicians ſhould pronounce that his majeſty's recovery was leſs probable than it had been, he ſhould think it neceſſary to remove moſt of the reſtrictions, and to new-model the houſhold. The council for the queen would conſiſt of the great officers of the houſhold, with the addition of ſome prelates. As to the revenue to be provided for the ſupport of the regent's dignity, he ſhould not be deterred by the unpopularity of ſuch a meaſure from propoſing, as his laſt act, whatever additional burthens it might require to be laid upon the people.

During the courſe of the debate Mr. Bouverie had remarked, that the reſolution conſiſted of three diſtinct propoſitions; the care of his majeſty's perſon; the power to remove or continue the houſhold officers; and the appointment of a council: it was therefore propoſed that they ſhould be put ſeparately. But Mr. Pitt not conſenting to this propoſal, Mr. Bouverie moved, that the ſecond clauſe of the reſolution ſhould be left out. The committee divided on this motion; when there appeared, Ayes 165; Noes 229.

Lord North then moved, that the words "for a limited time," be added; upon which the committee again divided: Ayes 164; Noes 220.

The houſe was then reſumed; the ſeveral reſolutions reported, and agreed to; and ordered to be delivered, at a conference, to the lords.

On the 22d of January the lords, having reſolved themſelves into a committee on the ſtate of the nation, proceeded to take the reſolutions into their conſideration. As the debate turned, for the moſt part, upon the ſame topics that had been ſo fully diſcuſſed in the lower houſe, we ſhall forbear entering in the detail, and content ourſelves with a recital of ſuch parts of it as poſſeſſed any degree of novelty. Jan. 22.

The biſhop of Llandaff (Dr. Watſon) gave it as his opinion, that as ſoon as ever the two houſes of parliament

liament had ascertained the single fact of the king's incapacity, they ought to have impowered the prince of Wales, by a commission under the great seal, or otherwise, to take upon him, not the whole *regal* power, but the whole *legislative* authority of the king. The legislature being, by this one act of necessity, completed, the next step should have been for the parliament to have appointed a regent whom they thought fit, and with or without limitations as they thought fit. A regency being settled, not by the two houses of parliament, but by the whole legislature, the next step should have been, to make the best possible provision for the guardianship of the king's person, for the security of his private property, and for his re-assumption of all his public rights of sovereignty, as soon as ever it should please God to put him in a capacity to enjoy them.

He next proceeded to state the reasons which led him to disapprove both of the mode in which the proposed limitations were to be established, and the limitations themselves.

It had been argued, he observed, that the monarchical power of a king of Great Britain was a *fiduciary* power, and that it followed as a legitimate consequence, that whenever the individual to whom the community has committed this trust shall become incapable of executing it, the trust itself ought to revert to the community at large, to be by them delegated, *pro tempore*, to some other person, to be exercised by that other person, for the same common end, the promotion of the common welfare: that therefore, during the present incapacity of the king, the trust does in fact revert to the community, and the community may delegate, till the king's recovery, the whole or any part of that trust to whomsoever they think fit. Upon this general ground of reasoning, he presumed, the proposition had been founded, which maintains, that the prince of Wales has no more right to the regency, previous to the designation of the two houses of parliament, than any other person. But I conceive, he said, this reasoning is not true; it would have been true, had the law been absolutely silent as to what was to become of the trust, when he to whom it was given became incapable of exercising it; but the law is not silent. In one case, in which the king becomes incapable of executing the trust committed to him, the law has clearly and positively said—"The trust shall not "revert to the community at large, "the community perfectly know "the mischief of such a reversion, "they will have nothing to do with "it; it shall go, according to the "established order of succession, en-"tire to the heir." This is the express declaration of law, when the king becomes by death incapable of exercising the trust committed to him; and the analogy of law speaks the same language in the present case; it says, "No, the trust shall "not revert to the community, it "shall go *pro tempore*, and it shall go "whole and entire to the next in "succession to the crown; it shall go "to the prince of Wales, who is of "an age to receive, and of a capa-"city to execute, the trust for the "public good." I say not that the prince of Wales has a legal right to the trust, but I do most firmly contend that he has such a title to it as cannot be set aside, without violating the strongest and most irrefragable analogy of law.

We

We have heard much, he said, on this occasion of the word *right*; but no one has condescended to define it. Now if, with Grotius, we define *right*, as applied to things, to be a moral power of possessing a thing in conformity to law, it is certain the prince of Wales can have no right to the regency; for the case has never occurred in our history, of a king being incapable of governing, when an heir apparent was of full age to govern, therefore there is no unwritten law; and every body knows that there is no statute law respecting the point; therefore there can be no conformity to law. But if we define *right* to be a moral power of possessing a thing, consistently with law; and if we admit that what is not forbidden by law, is consistent with law, where is the law, written or unwritten, which forbids the prince of Wales from exercising the executive government of the country, during the incapacity of his father? It might, I think, be shewn, that the law forbids every other person in the kingdom from doing this, but I doubt whether it could be shewn that it forbids the prince of Wales.

His next argument was founded upon the legal distinction between the natural and politic body of the king, the union of which two bodies, an old expositor of the common law considers as constituting a king; and he defines a *demise* of the crown to be, a disunion or separation of the body politic of the king from his body natural. Admitting, said he, this definition of a demise to be a just one, I would argue thus—whenever there is a separation of the body politic of the king from the body natural of the king, there is a demise of the crown. But, during the present indisposition of the king, there is a separation of the body politic of the king from the body natural of the king; therefore, during the present indisposition of the king, there is a demise of the crown. Thus also, if a king should become incapable of exercising the functions of a king, by being driven, for a time, from his throne, as happened to Edward the fourth; or if he should become incapable, by voluntarily abandoning the throne, as happened in the case of James the second; or if he should become incapable, by the hand of God; in all these cases, and in cases such as these, there would be a civil demise of the crown. I am not here to be told, that the throne is not vacant; I know that it is full, and that the powers of him who fills it are not extinguished, but suspended; therefore it is, that the demise I am contending for is not natural but civil, not absolute but conditional, not perpetual but temporary. It is a maxim, I am told, in law, that the king never can become incompetent to the exercise of the kingly office; it is not my intention to question law maxims, which are generally founded in great wisdom; but I must be allowed to say, that we are at this moment denying in fact that integrity of kingship which we are establishing in words; for, what is this politic capacity of the king, which always remains entire, but the power of executing the office of a king? it is that body politic of the king which is immortal. But, in appointing a regent, we certainly disunite the body politic of the king from his body natural, and we annex it for the time to the body natural of the prince of Wales. This civil demise of the crown differs not, I think,

think, from a natural demiſe, in the *quantum* of power which ought to be transferred to the ſucceſſor; but it differs from it in the mode by which that power is acquired, and in the tenure by which it is holden.

After examining the ſeveral arguments that had been urged in favour of the reſtrictions propoſed, he concluded with adding, that, were the public grounds for theſe limitations more obvious and more extenſive than any perſon will aſſert them to be, ſtill he could not vote either for the limitations themſelves, or for the mode of eſtabliſhing them. I cannot, he ſaid, concur in violating the conſtitution, by allowing to the two houſes of parliament, either the right of legiſlating, or of ſuſpending, though but for an hour, any portion of the royal prerogative. The eſtabliſhed prerogative of the crown is a part of the common law of the land, and I think the two houſes of parliament have no more right to ſuſpend the law than the king has; the conſtitution is violated, let the ſuſpenſion be made by any power ſhort of that which made the law, the complete legiſlature of the country. If the two houſes can ſuſpend indefinitely, they may aboliſh perpetually: why may they not come to a reſolution, that all the prerogatives of the crown, and that the king himſelf, are as uſeleſs to the public good, as this houſe was formerly declared to be by the other?

The lords Stormont, Carliſle, Derby, and Portcheſter, oppoſed the reſolutions; the laſt, amongſt other objections, urged this fact—that in conſequence of the delay occaſioned by the preſent mode of proceeding, and the ſuſpenſion it produced of the royal prerogatives, two convicts had been executed, without having had an opportunity of applying to the crown for pardon—a right ſo highly valued, that Judge Blackſtone obſerves, that if any man on conviction becomes inſane, his execution is delayed, leſt he ſhould have it in his power to ſtate circumſtances which might induce the king to extend his mercy to him.

Lord Camden having remarked that parliament had, in more inſtances than one, conferred by an act of its own the dignity of peerage, and that the validity of ſuch creation was not to be controverted; this doctrine was warmly animadverted upon by earl Fitzwilliam, who declared his intention of making an expreſs motion upon the ſubject; but after an explanation from the preſident of the council, the matter dropped.

An amendment was moved, that the words "for a time to be limited," ſhould be added to the ſecond reſolution; upon which the committee divided: Contents 67; Non-contents 93.—The debate was reſumed on the day following, when a diviſion took place upon the ſame amendment moved upon the third reſolution; Contents 68; Non-contents 91.—The reſt of the reſolutions were then voted, and agreed to on the report; and proteſts were entered, ſigned by 57 lords.

On the 27th, Mr. Pitt, Jan. 27th. after recapitulating the ſteps that had been already taken, obſerved, that before they proceeded any farther, he thought it would be both moſt reſpectful to the prince of Wales, and moſt expedient in the order of their proceedings, to endeavour to know, whether his royal highneſs was willing to accept the regency upon the terms of the reſolution which they had come

come to—With this view he moved, That a committee be appointed to attend his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with the reſolutions which have been agreed to by the lords and commons for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority during his majeſty's illneſs, by impowering his royal highneſs to exerciſe ſuch authority, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, ſubject to the limitations and reſtrictions which the circumſtances of the caſe appear at preſent to require; and that the committee do expreſs the hope which the commons entertain, that his royal highneſs, from his regard to the intereſts of his majeſty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in his royal highneſs, as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhall have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid reſolutions into effect.

This motion gave riſe to a conſiderable degree of altercation, in which the miniſters were accuſed, and defended themſelves againſt the accuſation, of having treated the prince of Wales, throughout the whole courſe of their proceeding, with the moſt ſhameful want of attention and reſpect. The motion was voted without a diviſion, and ordered to be carried to the lords for their concurrence, together with a ſimilar reſolution for a committee to lay before the queen the reſolution of the two houſes, relative to the care of his majeſty's perſon.

The reſolutions being read in the houſe of lords on the 28th, and a motion made for their lordſhips concurrence, the duke of Northumberland briefly obſerved, that theſe reſolutions, as propoſed to be preſented to the prince for his aſſent, appearing in the face of them moſt materially to curtail the exerciſe of that royal authority which they were about to put into his hands, would, as they ſtood, ſeem to convey a want of confidence in his royal highneſs; he conceived it, therefore, would be but decent in their lordſhips to ſpecify the reaſons which had guided their lordſhips in adopting thoſe reſolutions.

It having been moſt generally taken as the ground for thoſe reſtrictions, that his majeſty's illneſs was but temporary, and would probably be but of ſhort duration, he conceived their lordſhips could have no objection to connect that with the addreſs. His grace concluded with moving an amendment to that effect, which was negatived without further debate; and the uſual blanks were ordered to be filled up with the words, "lords ſpiritual and "temporal."

On the 30th of January the two committees preſented to the prince of Wales and the queen the reſolutions of the two houſes, and received the anſwers which the reader will find amongſt the State Papers, p. [305 and p. [306. He entreated gentlemen would pauſe; and by giving the bill before them a deliberate peruſal and cool reflection, proceed in future with the caution due to ſo momentous a tranſaction. Jan. 30th.

The anſwers received from the prince of Wales and the queen being read, and ordered to be printed, the houſe of lords again reſolved itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation. 31ſt.

The

The lord preſident began with remarking, that being ſtill merely a convention, they could do no one legiſlative act till they were enabled ſo to do by the preſence or aſſent of the ſovereign. Deprived of the aſſiſtance of his majeſty in his *natural capacity*, they were compelled to reſort to his *political capacity*. There was but one organ by which this aſſiſtance could be obtained, and that organ was the great ſeal. This mode of proceeding, he knew, had already been ridiculed as a *phantom*. But would thoſe who were thus free of their ridicule impart any other mode by which they can be extricated from their preſent difficulties? They were compelled, therefore, by neceſſity to reſort to a reſolution of the two houſes, impowering the proper perſon to make uſe of the great ſeal; an inſtrument which, his lordſhip ſaid, was of ſuch great and particular authority, that even if the lord chancellor committed a high miſdemeanor by affixing it to letters patent, thoſe inſtruments muſt be conſidered valid; they would have the whole force of law, and could not be diſputed by the judges. His lordſhip, in ſupport of this doctrine, quoted the conduct of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who had ſuffered the great ſeal to be affixed to an inſtrument in the manner he now propoſed. Two reſolutions, he ſaid, would be therefore found neceſſary to be adopted under their preſent circumſtances to compleat the legiſlature. The firſt was, to eſtabliſh a commiſſion to open and hold the parliament in due form; the ſecond would follow up the firſt at a convenient time, for the purpoſe of impowering the royal aſſent to be given in his majeſty's name to the bill of regency, by the ſame, or by another commiſſion. His lordſhip concluded by moving, "That it is "expedient and neceſſary that let-"ters patent, under the great ſeal "of Great Britain, be impowered "to be iſſued by the authority of "the two houſes of parliament, in "the tenor and form following:"—Then followed an exact tranſcript of the writ uſually iſſued under the ſign manual, impowering certain commiſſioners to open and hold the king's parliaments at Weſtminſter. The commiſſioners nominated by the preſent letters patent were, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the dukes of Cumberland and Glouceſter, together with the other perſons uſually inſerted therein.

The motion being ſeconded, Lord Portcheſter roſe, and obſerved, they were now in that preciſe ſituation where they ſtood two months ſince; with this difference only, that they were now going to do, by a pretended act of parliament, what ſhould have been done by a *declaration* of the two houſes. But beſides this fiction of the great ſeal, there were other ſtumbling-blocks in their way. By two acts of parliament, the ſign manual was made eſſentially neceſſary to the validity of any act. Theſe were the acts of 33d of Henry the eighth, and the 1ſt of Philip and Mary; the former declaring that no act could be valid unleſs ſigned by the ſovereign, or, in his abſence, by the *cuſtos regni*; and the latter, in deciding on the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, ſpeaking the ſame language, but in ſtronger terms.

Lord Camden replied, that a different meaning was to be attached to thoſe acts. They were, he contended, acts merely *affirmative*; —that is, they aſſerted that acts ſo

ſigned were legal, but they no where contained the aſſertion, that thoſe acts could not be legalized in any other form!—His lordſhip added a precedent in point, that of 28 Eliz. which had actually paſſed under the great ſeal only, and without the ſign manual.

His royal highneſs the duke of York roſe unexpectedly at this moment, and ſaid, he had not been informed that it was intended to inſert his name in the commiſſion, and therefore it had not been in his power to take any ſteps to prevent it. He could not ſanction the proceedings with his name, not wiſhing to ſtand upon record, and be handed to poſterity, as approving ſuch a meaſure. His opinion of the whole ſyſtem adopted was already known: he deemed the meaſure propoſed, as well as every other that had been taken reſpecting the ſame ſubject, to be unconſtitutional and illegal. He deſired, therefore, to have nothing to do with any part of the buſineſs; and requeſted that his name, and that of his brother the prince of Wales, might be left out of the commiſſion.

Lord Camden ſaid, upon a requiſition thus communicated, there could be no heſitation. He ſhould not for a moment reſiſt the royal duke's deſire, but would readily agree to omit his royal highneſs's name, and that of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

The duke of Cumberland next roſe, and deſired that his name, and that of the duke of Glouceſter, might alſo be omitted.

Some difficulty here aroſe, as to the mode of complying with their royal highneſs's requeſts. Lord Walſingham ſuggeſted the regular parliamentary form of proceeding, that of reading the paſſage of the commiſſion deſired to be omitted, and putting the queſtion, "That "theſe words ſtand part of the "motion." This being admitted to be proper, his lordſhip put the queſtion in form, and declared "the "*non-contents* had it." But lord Radnor and lord Fitzwilliam remarked, that if the means of leaving out his royal highneſs's name, that had been reſorted to, were ſuffered to go upon the journals, it would convey a marked diſreſpect to his royal highneſs.

At length it was ſettled, that the motion ſhould ſtand as it did: and that, when reported to the houſe, Lord Radnor ſhould then move an amendment, that it might appear on the journals, that it was at the deſire of their royal highneſſes the dukes of York and Cumberland, being preſent, that their names, and thoſe of the prince of Wales and duke of Glouceſter, were omitted in the commiſſion.

The reſolution, as amended and paſſed by the lords, Feb. 2. having been communicated to the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt moved for their concurrence therein. This motion, which was at length carried without a diviſion, gave riſe to a long and warm debate.—The reſolution was defended, as affording the only legal ſecurity to their proceedings which the caſe admitted of.—On the other ſide, it was urged, that however they might thus be made *formally* legal, yet being ſubſtantially and hiſtorically otherwiſe, it would have been much more ſafe, that the whole caſe ſhould ſtand upon its own ground, diſtinguiſhed as an irregular proceeding, juſtified only by neceſſity, than to call in counterfeit props to ſupport it. The

precedents

precedents of the reign of Henry the ſixth, upon which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid whilſt miniſters were contending for the right of the two houſes to nominate a regent, were now totally abandoned. In conformity to thoſe precedents the prince of Wales ought to be empowered by the propoſed commiſſion to open the parliament in the king's name, and to exerciſe the legiſlative authority of the king, in the paſſing of ſuch acts as might be tendered for the royal aſſent. Nor could there be now any ground of apprehenſion that he ſhould reject a bill of limitations, as he had already declared his willingneſs to accept the regency with the reſtrictions propoſed.

Mr. Burke in a long and able ſpeech ſupported the excluſive right of the prince of Wales to the regency, and endeavoured to impreſs the committee with a ſenſe of the fatal conſequences that might follow, from admitting any idea of competition in it, to the unity of the empire, the integrity of the conſtitution, and the hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne itſelf.

Before the houſe adjourned the ſpeaker begged leave to call the attention of the houſe to the ſituation in which he ſtood.—In conſequence of the honour they had done him of placing him in that chair, he ought regularly to be preſented to the king, for his approbation. As that could not be done, he wiſhed to know whether they had any directions to give him with reſpect to the commiſſioners who were to open the ſeſſions. After a ſhort converſation, it was agreed that he ſhould not be preſented for their confirmation.

The day following, the ſpeaker with the commons being at the bar of the houſe of lords, earl Bathurſt, who ſat as ſpeaker for the lord chancellor, acquainted them that the illneſs of his majeſty had made it neceſſary that a commiſſion in his name ſhould paſs the great ſeal, which they would hear read. The clerk having read the commiſſion, lord Bathurſt, in a ſhort ſpeech (ſee State Papers, p. 306) opened the cauſes of their preſent meeting, and the objects for which they were to provide. Feb. 3d.

As ſoon as the commons were returned to their houſe, and had gone through the uſual forms, Mr. Pitt roſe, and after a ſhort preface moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the regal authority during his majeſty's illneſs. Leave was accordingly given; and the bill was brought in and read for the firſt time without debate on the day following.

On a motion made this day, for the ſecond reading of the regency bill, Mr. Burke begged leave to make ſome obſervations on the principles and proviſions of the bill, in order to point out to gentlemen in what point of view they were to examine it when it came before them in the committee. 6th Feb.

In order to form a competent idea of the bill, they were to recollect that it had been declared that the king was incapable of exerciſing the royal functions: it was now propoſed to ſupply this defect by the unexampled remedy of a mutilated, divided, and disjointed government, a government which went to heap all the burthen and odium of power on his royal highneſs, without any of its

its graces or ſplendor; and which, while it took away from him even the power of doing good, of encouraging merit, or even exerciſing charity, was calculated to ſecure the influence and future ſucceſs of a party in avowed enmity with him. Being called to order on account of ſome warm expreſſions he uſed, he added, that if the meaſures propoſed were in their own nature unjuſtifiable, and tending to introduce diſorder and debility into government—if they were contemptible in the jealouſy they evinced of the prince, and alarming from their hoſtility to the whole houſe of Brunſwick—if they tended to create diſtruſt and diſunion not only among the different branches of the royal family, but between all orders and ranks in the ſtate, then was he juſtifiable in the warmth he had evinced.

The bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed on the morrow.

7th. The regency bill conſiſted of thirty-two clauſes*.—The clauſe, which was firſt objected to in the committee, was that which contained the oath to be taken by the regent. Two parts of this oath were objected to by Mr. Burke.—Firſt, that by which he was bound "to take care of the perſonal ſafety "of the king to the utmoſt of his "power and ability"—a proviſion, which could only be conſidered as a mockery and inſult upon the prince of Wales, when it was well known that he was not in the ſmalleſt degree entruſted with the care of the royal perſon.—Secondly, that part by which he was bound "to govern "according to the ſtipulations and "reſtrictions contained in the bill." It was aſked, for what purpoſe this idea of a covenant was introduced, and why the words did not run in general terms, as in the coronation, "according to the "laws of the land," of which that bill, when it paſſed, would of courſe make a part?

In anſwer to both theſe objections it was ſaid, that the oath was taken from that inſerted in the regency act of the preſent reign; and with regard to the firſt objection, it was ſaid, that the regent, poſſeſſing almoſt the whole executive power, would be poſſeſſed of means peculiar to himſelf of providing for the king's ſafety; ſuch as protecting him againſt treaſon, ſeditions, and riots, in caſe of civil war or of invaſion.

The ſeventh clauſe, providing againſt the non-reſidence of the prince, and againſt his marrying a papiſt, being read; Mr. Rolle roſe, and again brought on the ſubject of the rumour which had formerly prevailed, of the prince's marriage. He concluded with moving that the words, "or "who is or ſhall be married, in law "or in fact, to a papiſt," ſhould be added. This produced much altercation, in which the mover was treated with great aſperity by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Courtenay.—Mr. Welbore Ellis deſired the royal act to be read, by which it is enacted, that the marriage of any of the deſcendants of Geo. II. ſhall not be valid without the royal aſſent. This, he obſerved, was a full anſwer to all cavils, as that could not be valid in fact, which was not good in law.

The amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

The next clauſe in the bill was

* See State Papers, p. 343.

that

that which reſtrained the regent from creating peers.

Mr. Jolliffe moved an amendment, for limiting the duration of this reſtriction to the firſt of February 1790. He ſaid he thought that all the reſtrictions were founded on a ſuppoſition that his majeſty's recovery was probable; now it was to be preſumed, that ſymptoms of recovery might be looked for, if they were to be expected at all, within fifteen months from the firſt diſcovery of the diſorder; and the committee ought to limit the duration of reſtrictions, which if not limited, it would not be in the power of the commons alone to remove, whenever they ſhould feel an inclination ſo to do. The conſent of the lords would then be neceſſary; and their lordſhips might not be readily diſpoſed to conſent to what would be a diminution of their own conſequence.

Mr. Hawkins Browne was ready to admit that the reſtrictions ought to be limited in point of duration; but thought fifteen months too ſhort a period, and propoſed two or three years.

Mr. Burke declared, there was no foundation whatever for the reſtriction. If it was directed againſt the prince, it was inſulting and injurious, as his conduct had hitherto given no ground for ſuſpecting him of a diſpoſition to abuſe power. If it was againſt thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be his adviſers, they were equally malignant, becauſe thoſe perſons, when in office, had made the moſt temperate uſe of that power. The duke of Portland had been in his majeſty's ſervice in England, as well as in Ireland, and had not made a prodigal uſe of that prerogative. The late marquis of Rockingham, in whoſe footſteps the preſent Whigs profeſſed to tread, was extremely ſparing of grants of peerages. Why then ſhould it be ſuppoſed that they would deviate from an example which they took for their model, when they wiſhed to recommend themſelves to the good opinion of the public?—The amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

The next clauſe on which any debate took place was that reſpecting the granting of places, or penſions in reverſion. Lord North obſerved, that it was one of the profeſſed principles of the reſolutions, that the prince ſhould have the power of appointing his own ſervants. How then, he aſked, if the prince had not the power of granting penſions or reverſions, was it poſſible for him to fill the higheſt ſituation in the law department, if a vacancy ſhould happen therein? Not a *puiſne judge*, nor even a barriſter of tolerable buſineſs, would accept of the office of lord high chancellor, an office extremely precarious in its tenure, if the prince had not a power to reward him for his ſervices in caſe of a diſmiſſal. He therefore propoſed that an exception ſhould be inſerted to provide for ſuch a caſe.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, it was very fit the regent ſhould have the choice of a lord chancellor, if the country ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to loſe the learned lord who now filled that office. But ſtill he was of opinion that it was not in the preſent bill that the power of providing for him ſhould be given. When the occaſion ſhould occur, the regent might apply to parliament, and he himſelf for one would

very readily agree to the ſum mentioned by the noble lord. But a regent ſhould not be put on a better footing than the king himſelf. Now the king could not grant ſuch a penſion without the conſent of parliament. It was for this reaſon only that he oppoſed the noble lord's motion.

Lord North replied, that he ſuppoſed that, by the mode propoſed, they meant to take to themſelves the diſpoſal of the great ſeal, as they kept the power of providing for the officer who might be called to that ſituation on his retirement. By retaining that power, every compact made with his royal highneſs in the reſolutions was broken. The houſe, inſtead of relieving him from the already too heavy reſtrictions, were forging for him new fetters. The parliament, not the regent, would have the power of chuſing his ſervants.—The amendment was negatived.

Feb 9th. The houſe being again in a committee on the regency bill, the twelfth clauſe was read, upon which Mr. Anſtruther obſerved, that though this clauſe ſtated that the care or management of the king's property ſhould not be in the prince of Wales, yet it was totally ſilent in what hands it ſhould veſt. There have been various accounts concerning the vaſt amount of that property; whatever it might be, it was but right that it ſhould be properly taken care of, and not be ſo placed that it might be embezzled by anonymous purloiners, whom nobody could call to account, becauſe nobody knew. He was therefore of opinion, that a commiſſion be appointed, to conſiſt of the queen, the princes of the blood, the great officers of ſtate, the lord chancellor, and the two chief juſtices, for executing the ſaid truſt.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that as to the amount of that property, he believed there could be nothing but gueſs-work; at leaſt he had no clue by which to enable him to form any thing like a judgment; whatever it might be, it had already been depoſited in ſuch hands as would always be obliged to account for their truſt.

Mr. Burke ſupported the propoſition offered by Mr. Anſtruther, and conſidered this as a further proof of the unjuſt and illiberal treatment of the princes of the blood royal, who were thus excluded from, and deemed unworthy of any ſhare of that truſt, in which they had undoubtedly the firſt intereſt and the deepeſt concern.

The clauſe paſſed without amendment.

The fourteenth clauſe, providing for the payment of his majeſty's houſhold, under the direction of her majeſty, being read; Sir James Erſkine oppoſed it, as granting larger powers than were neceſſary; and inſiſted that the expence of the houſhold might be much diminiſhed.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that ſome circumſtances, ariſing from his majeſty's ſituation, rather tended to increaſe than diminiſh the expence of ſome parts of the houſhold.

Mr. Burke objected to the clauſe, as tending to the ſubverſion of the civil liſt act, irreconcileable with the true principles of œconomy, and calculated only for the purpoſe of providing for a favourite and unneceſſary corps. He alſo objected to it

as proceeding to ſecure the payment of the houſhold, before the queſtion of ſeparating it from the executive government had been decided upon.

Mr. Powys moved, that the clauſe be poſtponed; in which motion he was ſupported by Lord North, upon the ground taken by Mr. Burke: the committee divided; ayes 87; noes 132.

The ſixteenth clauſe, relative to the privy purſe of his majeſty, was oppoſed on the impropriety of refuſing to his royal highneſs, who was to ſupport the dignity of the crown, the power over the privy purſe, amounting to 60,000 l. a year; out of which, by the clauſe, was to be taken 16,000 l. andgiven to her majeſty, for purpoſes unknown to parliament; and the remainder locked up and left, in caſe of his majeſty's indiſpoſition continuing, to the diſpoſition of parliament. It was ſupported upon the propriety of continuing his majeſty's benefactions, and on the impropriety of ſeizing the moment of his majeſty's indiſpoſition to ſtrip him of his property. The 16,000 l. which, it was objected, were given to her majeſty for purpoſes unknown to parliament, was explained in the following manner: 12,000 l. was given to pay an eſtabliſhed liſt of charities ſettled by his majeſty; and the remaining 4000 l. was to enable her majeſty to continue his majeſty's benefactions to thoſe perſons who were not on the liſt; but who, ſhe knew, received charity to that amount.

Sir William Moleſworth was willing to agree to the ſum propoſed to be taken from the money of his majeſty's privy purſe, that was appropriated to the charities mentioned; but not thinking it proper that the remainder ſhould be kept from the prince, he moved, as an amendment, to add the words, "and that "the remainder ſhall be paid over "to the treaſurer of the privy purſe "of the regent." Upon this amendment the committee divided: ayes 101, noes 156.

The ſeventeenth clauſe was next read, veſting in her majeſty the care of the king's perſon, and the government of the houſhold.

Mr. Powys objected to that part of the clauſe which gave her majeſty power over the houſhold. He condemned it as a diviſion of power with the executive authority. It was unjuſtifiable and inadmiſſible. The power given her majeſty over the houſhold, and the clauſe reſtraining the regent from creating peers, not only gave a dangerous controul over the two houſes, but put it into irreſponſible hands. After arguing upon the miſchiefs that might reſult from ſuch a meaſure, he concluded by moving an amendment to the preamble of the clauſe, leaving it open for future reviſion.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed to the amendment, and ſaid, that in the courſe of the whole buſineſs, one of the principles he had ever invariably maintained was, that the whole of the bill ought ever to be kept open to the future reviſion and alteration of parliament.

The amendment being put and agreed to, the ſame was inſerted in the clauſe.

Sir Peter Burrell objected to the latter part of the clauſe. The patronage given, he ſaid, was ſo looſely expreſſed, that it was impoſſible to aſcertain the amount of it; which, he conceived, the houſe

ought to be acquainted with, previouſly to its adopting the clauſe.

The chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the honourable baronet, that the whole amount was about 200,000l. a year: of this one half went to the payment of tradeſmen's bills: the ſalaries of the houſhold, from the greateſt officers to the loweſt turnſpit, did not amount to more than 100,000l. a year; out of that ſum there was not more than about 30,000l. received for ſalaries by members of the two houſes of parliament. There were ſeven in the houſe of commons, whoſe ſalaries amounted to about 4000l. and eighteen lords in the other houſe, whoſe ſalaries amounted to about 26,000l. Such influence, he ſaid, was not likely to produce any conſiderable alteration in the ſyſtem of œconomy adopted on the preſent exigency.

Mr. Burke and lord North condemned the clauſe, on the old ground of her majeſty's having any ſhare in the executive government. They reprobated the meaſure of dividing that power as unconſtitutional and dangerous, and expreſſed their fears of its operating as a pernicious precedent.

Mr. Sheridan propoſed, as an amendment, which was ſupported by lord George Cavendiſh, and general Norton, to ſeparate the great officers from the houſhold; upon which the committee divided: ayes 118, noes 173. Majority againſt the amendment 55.—The queſtion was then put upon the clauſe, which was carried.

Feb. 10th. The clauſe relative to the queen's council being read, Mr. Pitt propoſed, that it ſhould conſiſt of the four principal officers of the houſhold, the lord chamberlain, the lord ſteward, the maſter of the horſe, and the groom of the ſtole, for the time being, and in addition to theſe, of four other perſons; in ſelecting of whom, he was naturally led to make choice of thoſe whom his majeſty himſelf had placed at the head of the church and the law; and therefore he ſhould propoſe the names of John lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edward lord Thurlow, William lord archbiſhop of York, and Lloyd lord Kenyon.

He meant that theſe four ſhould be appointed counſellors by name, and not as officers filling, for the time being, the ſtations which they now hold: but the four officers of the houſhold he propoſed not by their own names, but the names of their offices.

This conſtitution of the council was objected to on theſe gounds; firſt, on account of the omiſſion of the princes of the royal blood: ſecondly, on account of the nomination being in ſome inſtances perſonal, and in others official; and laſtly, becauſe of the omiſſion of other eminent perſonages, whoſe ſituations made them fit objects for ſuch a choice.

In anſwer to the firſt objection, lord Graham obſerved, that there was no neceſſity for inſerting the names of the princes of the blood in the liſt of counſellors to the queen, as her majeſty could at all times procure their advice; and he was of opinion, that reſpect to the princes ſhould prevent the committee from putting them into ſituations, which would render them reſponſible to parliament; and might cauſe them to be brought to the bar of the houſe to anſwer for the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them.

Colonel Phipps ſaid, that a very good

good reaſon for omitting the names of the princes was, that the two houſes having agreed that the regent ſhould not have the cuſtody of the royal perſon, thoſe perſons ought not to be appointed counſellors to the queen who might be ſuppoſed to be much at the devotion of the regent. For this very reaſon alſo, he urged, in anſwer to the ſecond objection, it was not proper that the committee ſhould name the two archbiſhops, and the chancellor, and chief juſtice for the time being; for then, in caſe of any change, the regent would have the nomination of counſellors, who were to adviſe the queen about the care of the king's perſon, with which the regent was not to meddle. For the very ſame reaſon the officers of the houſhold, who were to be named counſellors, might be deſcribed as for the time being, becauſe the bill had put them entirely under the control of the queen, who could alone remove them.

In addition to theſe reaſons, Mr. Pitt argued, that it was held as a principle in law, that in all caſes, thoſe who by their proximity could be ſuppoſed to have any poſſible intereſt in the ſucceſſion, were, for that reaſon, excluded from the care of the perſon to be taken care of: this, therefore, was, in his mind, a ſtrong reaſon why the princes of the blood ſhould be excluded from a participation in the council to be allotted the queen, which, in its nature, neceſſarily involved in it the care of his majeſty's perſon.

The laſt objection was founded on the omiſſion of the ſpeaker, the lord mayor of London, and chief juſtice of the common pleas. The omiſſion of the laſt-mentioned great officer was ſtrongly animadverted upon; and the miniſters were accuſed of looking to the politics of perſons as the criterion of their qualification for the truſt to be veſted in them.—Mr. Burke concluded the debate with reminding the committee, that the excluſion of the royal family was full in the teeth of the very laſt regency bill, namely the fifth of the preſent king, by which his majeſty was obliged to nominate a guardian for the prince of Wales, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed to the crown before he was of age, from among the princes of the blood.

A diviſion took place, on a motion made by lord North, that the duke of York ſhould be one of the council; when the queſtion was negatived: Ayes 130; Noes 177.

The ſeveral names of their royal highneſſes prince William Henry, prince Edward, duke of Glouceſter, and duke of Cumberland, were then ſeverally propoſed, and negatived.

Mr. Dempſter then propoſed, that the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and the lord mayor of London, be added; both which queſtions were negatived.

Feb. 11. The 26th clauſe, providing for the reſumption of the government by his majeſty, being read, Mr. Pitt having premiſed that though the right of reſumption did not depend on the votes of either houſe of parliament, yet as a king of this country was not capable of doing any act of ſtate by himſelf, but was obliged to make uſe of the medium of perſons who ſhould be reſponſible to the laws for ſuch an act; ſo in the preſent caſe, the bare conſciouſneſs of his majeſty, that his incapacity was removed, ought not to be admitted as a proof of ſuch a fact; but he ſhould employ ſome organ, known to the

country, to satisfy the people of so desirable an event. It would not be reasonable that his majesty should be obliged to resort to the political servants of the regency, to desire that they should take the proper steps for restoring him to power; and the reason which induced him to think so was, that the servants of a government which was to be destroyed by such measures were certainly not the most fit to carry them into execution. His proposal then was, that as soon as it should appear to five out of the eight counsellors appointed to advise the queen, that his majesty's health was restored, they should certify it under their hands to the political servants of the regent, who should be bound to record the instrument in the council books, and farther to notify it to the lord mayor of London, and afterwards to the public in the London Gazette. The king should then summon the attendance of a number of members of the privy council, either such as had been members of it before his indisposition, or should have been added to it by the regent: the number that he would propose to be summoned on this occasion should be nine. These nine, sitting in council with his majesty, would have an opportunity of judging whether his incapacity was really removed or not; and should six of them be of opinion that it was, then a proclamation, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by these six privy counsellors, certifying the king's capacity, should immediately be published, and instantly all the power of the regent should cease and determine. These six persons should be responsible to the public for the opinion which they should thus give under their hands; and that responsibility would be the people's security, that the trust reposed in these persons would not be abused.—Having premised this, he moved, that the blank left for the number of privy counsellors whom the king should summon be filled up with the word *nine*.

Mr. Powys said, that of all the measures proposed by the right honourable gentleman in the whole course of this unprecedented business, this was certainly the most extraordinary; the right honourable gentleman had first maintained, that parliament had a right to settle every thing relating to the present exigence; but now he abandoned that principle, and did not intend to suffer the interference of parliament in the restoration of the king to his government.

With respect to the responsibility of the privy counsellors who were to sign the proclamation, the public, he said, could not have much confidence in the declaration of men picked and chosen from their fellow counsellors in the manner proposed. But, after all, what was the nature of their responsibility? Their grounds for declaring that the king was restored to health could not be ascertained; and therefore, supposing they should be wrong, it could not be said whether they had acted wrong wilfully, or merely from an error in judgment: of what use, therefore, could that responsibility be to the public, which could not draw down upon these counsellors the punishment and vengeance of the law, because it was impossible to prove, in case they should be wrong in their declaration, that it was not through error, but design, that they had deceived the public.

The

The neceſſity of having the king's capacity to reſume the government aſcertained by the two houſes of parliament, rather than by the queen's or the privy council, was ſtrongly urged by Mr. Sheridan. He obſerved, that by the preſent bill every act that ſhould be done by the king during his incapacity was declared to be invalid, and of no effect: now ſhould it be reſolved by the nine privy counſellors, during a receſs of parliament, that the king was recovered, the moſt ſerious conſequences might follow: for before the two houſes could meet to aſcertain that fact, the great ſeal might have been put to a commiſſion of regency that would place it out of the power of the two houſes to interfere any more, though his majeſty ſhould relapſe; and thus thoſe privy counſellors, whether through error or deſign, might be the means of making an incapable king eſtabliſh a government which the two houſes could not afterwards overturn. A clauſe to remedy this objection, was offered by Mr. Marſham, but rejected. Mr. Powys afterwards moved, that the phyſicians be examined by the queen's council on oath; which was negatived. Laſtly, Mr Sheridan, after again urging the neceſſity of parliamentary inveſtigation of the recovery of his majeſty, moved, that the regent be obliged to communicate to parliament the notification of the king's recovery.

Upon this motion, after ſome converſation, the houſe divided; when it was negatived. Ayes 113; Noes 181. Majority, 68.

The committee having gone through the whole bill, which the reader will find at the end of the State Papers, the houſe was reſumed, the report brought up, and agreed to, and the bill ordered for the third reading on the morrow.

Upon the third reading, two clauſes were propoſed to be added, the one by Mr. Pulteney, limiting the reſtriction relative to the creation of peers to three years, which was adopted; the other by Mr. W. Smith, reſerving to the regent the power, in certain caſes, of giving the royal aſſent to a bill or bills for the relief of diſſenters from the church of England. This, after a ſhort converſation, was withdrawn. The bill then paſſed, and was ordered to be carried to the lords. Feb. 12.

On the 17th the regency bill, having paſſed through the previous ſtages without oppoſition, was committed in the houſe of lords, where, beſides ſeveral verbal amendments, two new clauſes were added to it: the firſt, placing under the controul and management of the queen all the palaces, houſes, gardens, parks, &c. poſſeſſed by his majeſty: the ſecond committing to her majeſty the care of all the royal offſpring under the age of twenty-one. Feb. 17.

This day, as ſoon as the lords were aſſembled, the chancellor roſe, and after obſerving that it had appeared from the official report of the phyſicians, that his majeſty had been for ſome time in a ſtate of convaleſcence, informed them, that the accounts juſt received conveyed the happy intelligence that that improvement was ſtill progreſſive; an information he was ſure which would prove highly pleaſing to every man in the kingdom. In this ſituation of things he conceived they could not poſſibly proceed Feb. 19.

proceed upon the bill before them; and therefore moved, that their lordſhips do immediately adjourn to Tueſday next.

Before the queſtion was put, the duke of York roſe, and addreſſed the houſe in words to the following effect: "I truſt your lordſhips will do me the juſtice to believe that no perſon in the houſe could feel equal pleaſure with myſelf, from the favourable account which the noble lord on the wool-ſack has given, and the motion he has made to the houſe, in which I entirely concur.—I ſhould have had great ſatisfaction in making the ſame communication to the houſe, if I had been enabled to do it from any certain information. I thought it my duty yeſterday, upon the favourable reports given to the public, to requeſt to be admitted to his majeſty's preſence:—from reaſons very juſtifiable, I have no doubt, it was not thought proper that I ſhould have that ſatisfaction.

From the knowledge I have of my brother's ſentiments, though I can have had no immediate communication with him upon the ſubject of this motion, I am convinced that he will feel equal if not greater pleaſure than myſelf at the hopes of his majeſty's recovery, as it muſt relieve him from the embarraſſment of the ſituation in which the bill would have placed him, which nothing but a ſtrong ſenſe of his duty to the public would have induced him to undertake."

Feb. 24. On Tueſday the 24th the lord chancellor informed the houſe, that he had on that day attended his majeſty, by his expreſs command, and had found him perfectly recovered; but that, in order to bring the preſſure of public affairs as gradually as poſſible upon his mind, he ſhould propoſe an adjournment to the Monday following.—On that day the houſe again adjourned to Thurſday the 5th of March; when they were informed by the chancellor, that his majeſty would ſignify his further pleaſure to both houſes on the Tueſday following.

Before we begin our narrative of the tranſactions of the Britiſh parliament ſubſequent to the king's recovery, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of the proceedings of the parliament of Ireland during the important period which has ſo long occupied our attention.

The ſeſſions was opened on the 5th of February by the marquis of Buckingham, who, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed the two houſes of the ſevere indiſpoſition with which the king was afflicted; and at the ſame time acquainted them, that he had directed all the documents reſpecting his majeſty's health which could aſſiſt their deliberations to be laid before them.

As ſoon as the uſual addreſs was voted, Mr. Fitzherbert, the ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, moved the houſe of commons, "that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Monday ſe'nnight, to take into conſideration the ſtate of his majeſty's health." As the evident deſign of this delay was to prevent the Iriſh parliament from coming to any reſolutions relative to a regency, before the determinations of the Britiſh parliament could be propoſed to them for their concurrence, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, as derogatory to the independance of that kingdom, and to the dignity and credit of its parliament. Mr. Grattan, therefore, propoſed that the houſe

houſe ſhould meet on the next Wedneſday; and his amendment, after a long and warm debate, in which the adminiſtration of the lord lieutenant was animadverted on with the greateſt ſeverity, was carried by a majority of 128 to 74.

At the ſame time, a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for proceeding immediately upon the buſineſs of ſupply, preparatory to the paſſing of the money bills, was negatived; and the conſideration of ſupply put off to the 12th of February.

On Wedneſday the 11th, Mr. Connolly moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the prince of Wales, requeſting him to take on himſelf the government of that kingdom as regent, during his majeſty's incapacity. This motion gave riſe to a long and violent debate, in which the attorney general, Mr. Fitzgibbon, now chancellor of Ireland, eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to the motion. It was ſupported by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Curran, and other eminent ſpeakers; and was ultimately carried without a diviſion.

On Monday the 16th, the houſe of lords being met purſuant to their laſt adjournment, a motion for a further adjournment was made, and rejected. The earl of Charlemont then moved for an addreſs to the prince of Wales, ſimilar to that voted by the commons; which, after ſome debate, was carried by a majority of nineteen. A proteſt was entered, ſigned by ſeventeen lords *.

On Thurſday the 19th, both houſes waited upon the lord lieutenant with their addreſs, and requeſted him to tranſmit the ſame. With this requeſt his excellency refuſed to comply; returning for anſwer, that under the impreſſions he felt of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not conſider himſelf warranted to lay before the prince an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal highneſs with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before he ſhould be enabled by law ſo to do; and therefore was obliged to decline tranſmitting their addreſs to Great Britain.

Upon the return of the commons to their own houſe, and the anſwer of the lord lieutenant being reported to them, Mr. Grattan obſerved, that in a caſe ſo extremely new, it would be highly improper to proceeed with hurry or precipitation; the houſe was called upon to act with dignity, firmneſs, and deciſion; and therefore, that due time might be had for deliberation, he would move the queſtion of adjournment; the queſtion was put and carried without oppoſition.

On the day following Mr. Fitzherbert moved, that the lord lieutenant's anſwer be entered on the journals.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he was ſatisfied to let the anſwer be entered on the journals, in order to make way for ſome reſolutions which he intended to propoſe, as neceſſary to carry the intention of the two houſes into effect, and as a vindication of their honour and conſtitutional conduct.

The anſwer being entered on the journals, Mr. Grattan moved, "That his excellency the lord lieutenant having thought proper to decline to tranſmit to his royal highneſs George prince of Wales, the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this houſe to preſent the ſaid addreſs to his royal highneſs."

The queſtion on Mr. Grattan's

* See State Papers.

motion

motion was then put, and paſſed without any diviſion; whereupon he moved, "That Mr. Connolly do attend the lords with the ſaid reſolution, and acquaint them, that this houſe requeſts them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of the commons in preſenting the ſaid addreſs."

This alſo paſſed without any diviſion; and Mr. Connolly went up to the Lords accordingly.

The meſſage received in reply was, "that the lords had concurred "in the reſolution of the commons, "and had appointed his grace the "duke of Leinſter and the earl of "Charlemont to join with ſuch "members as the commons ſhould "appoint to preſent the addreſs of "both houſes to his royal highneſs "the prince of Wales."

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that "the right honourable Thomas "Connolly, right honourable J. "O'Neil, right honourable W. B. "Ponſonby, and J. Stewart, Eſq; "ſhould be appointed commiſſion-"ers on the part of the commons, "for the purpoſe of preſenting the "addreſs to his royal highneſs the "prince of Wales;" and they were appointed accordingly.

Theſe motions having paſſed, Mr. Grattan then moved, "that "the two houſes of parliament "had diſcharged an indiſpenſable "duty, in providing for the third "eſtate of the Iriſh conſtitution "(rendered incomplete through the "king's incapacity) by appointing "the prince of Wales regent of "Ireland."

The motion was oppoſed principally on the ground of its being conſidered as the foundation of a vote of cenſure on the lord lieutenant; and after a long debate, the houſe divided; for the queſtion 130, againſt it 71.

Mr. Grattan, after ſome comments on the preceding debate, and the deciſion of the houſe, made another motion, in purport, "that it "is the opinion of this houſe, that "the anſwer of his excellency the "lord lieutenant to both houſes, in "refuſing to tranſmit the ſaid ad-"dreſs, is ill-adviſed, and tends to "convey an unwarrantable and un-"conſtitutional cenſure on the con-"duct of both houſes."

The attorney general moved, as an amendment, to preface this reſolution with the following words, "that this houſe, uninformed of "the motive that impreſſed his "excellency's mind, and unac-"quainted with his private inſtruc-"tions, or the tenor of his oath," &c.

The houſe being divided on this amendment, there appeared for it 78, againſt it 119.

Capt. Burgh then propoſed an amendment, to add the following words to the original reſolution, "Inaſmuch as the ſaid lords and "commons have proceeded to ap-"point his royal highneſs, &c. il-"legally and unconſtitutionally." This amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Grattan's original motion of cenſure was then put; on which the houſe divided; and there appeared for the motion 115, againſt it 83.

On the 25th the report of the ſeveral reſolutions of the committee of ſupply being brought up, and that which provides for the payment of the intereſt of the national debt, the annuities, and eſtabliſhments, being read, Mr. Grattan propoſed, that the words "for "two

" two months, ending the 26th of " May 1789," be added.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. Brownlow obſerved, that though no party man, he thought it neceſſary to proceed with caution. Some difference had ariſen between his excellency the governor and the two houſes. He ſhould never forget the affair of lord Townſhend, who prorogued the parliament, and proteſted againſt their proceedings, for the commons exerciſing a right of originating bills of ſupply; a right in which lay the eſſence of all their privileges. What lord Townſhend did, lord Buckingham might do, if they paſſed the ſupply for a year; nay, he might and perhaps would diſſolve them, and then how could they look at their conſtituents; who would ſay, " You have " deſerved all this; for when we " put our purſe in your hands, you " fooliſhly let go the ſtrings?"

The attorney general ſaid, that he recollected the event referred to by the honourable gentleman; and remembered too, that the houſe voted an addreſs of thanks when they next met, which addreſs coſt the nation half a million of money.

On the queſtion put, there appeared for the amendment, Ayes 104, Noes 85.

Mr. Grattan then moved, that the army be provided for but to the 25th of May; which was likewiſe carried, Ayes 102, Noes 77.

The committee of the two houſes arrived in London on the 25th, and the day following preſented their addreſs to the prince of Wales at Carlton Houſe. As the convaleſcent ſtate of his majeſty's health was at this time apparent, his royal highneſs, after returning his warmeſt thanks for the addreſs, and expreſſing the ſatisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days, he hoped, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming his government would enable him to give them a final anſwer, and make it only neceſſary for him to repeat thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.

On the 14th of March the lord lieutenant went in ſtate to the houſe of peers; and having acquainted the two houſes with the king's recovery, addreſſes of congratulation were immediately voted to his majeſty.

On the 23d, the members of the committtee appointed to wait upon the prince of Wales, being returned to Dublin, reported to the two houſes the final anſwer of his royal his royal highneſs [See State Papers, p. 315.]; which was ordered to be inſerted in their journals, and an addreſs of thanks was voted.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

New commiſſion iſſued in conſequence of the king's recovery. Speech of the commiſſioners to the two houſes. Addreſſes of thanks and congratulation. Mr. Fox's obſervations upon the addreſs of the houſe of commons. Addreſſes to the queen. Debate on the ordnance extraordinaries. Queſtion of fortifying the Weſt India Iſlands diſcuſſed; plan oppoſed by general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan; ſupported by Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps. Mr. Beaufoy's bill for commemorating the revolution, paſſes the houſe of commons, rejected by the lords. Mr. Fox moves for the repeal of the ſhop tax; agreed to by Mr. Pitt. Preamble to the bill of repeal objected. Reſtrictions on hawkers and pedlars taken off. Meſſage from the king relative to the public thankſgiving day, and the reſolutions of the houſe of commons thereon. Mr. Beaufoy's motion for repealing the corporation and teſt acts, ſupported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Fox, and oppoſed by lord North and Mr. Pitt; loſt by a majority of only 20. The earl Stanhope's bill for repealing certain penal ſtatutes rejected on the ſecond reading. The conſideration of the ſlave trade poſtponed to the next ſeſſions. Mr. Grenville made ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Henry Addington ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. Budget opened. Animadverſions thereon. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for a new committee of finance. The report of the committee of 1786 defended by Mr. Grenville. Plan opened by Mr. Pitt for transferring the tobacco duties to the exciſe. Strong oppoſition made to it by the manufacturers, and in both houſes of parliament. Extraordinary conduct of the chancellor. Indian budget opened by Mr. Dundas; animadverted on by Mr. Francis. Bill paſſed to enable the company to add one million to their capital. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Haſtings. His petition to the houſe of commons, complaining of Mr. Burke; proceedings of the houſe, and reſolution moved thereon. Libel on the houſe of commons, ordered to be proſecuted. Application from the French government for the exportation of flour, voted inadmiſſible. Seſſions prorogued.

March 10. ON this day the commons, with their ſpeaker, being at the bar of the houſe of lords, the lord chancellor informed them, that his majeſty, not thinking fit to be then preſent in his royal perſon, had cauſed a commiſſion to be iſſued, authorizing the commiſſioners, who had been appointed by former letters patent to hold that parliament, to open and declare certain farther cauſes for holding the ſame. The commiſſion being read, the chancellor addreſſed the two houſes in the name of the commiſſioners, and acquainted them, that his majeſty being recovered from his late ſevere indiſpoſition, and enabled to attend the public affairs of his kingdom, had commanded them to convey his warmeſt acknowledgments for the additional proofs which they had given of their affectionate attachment to his perſon, and of their zealous concern for the honour and intereſts of his crown, and the ſecurity and good government of his dominions.

That

That they were likewiſe ordered by his majeſty to acquaint them, that, ſince the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, he had concluded a treaty of defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia, copies of which would be laid before them; that his majeſty's endeavours were employed during the laſt ſummer, in conjunction with his allies, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the extenſion of hoſtilities in the north, and to manifeſt his deſire of effecting a general pacification; that no opportunity would be neglected on his part to promote this ſalutary object; and that he had, in the mean time, the ſatisfaction of receiving from all foreign courts continued aſſurances of their friendly diſpoſitions to this country.

The houſe of commons were then told, that the eſtimates for the current year would forthwith be laid before them; and that his majeſty was perſuaded of their readineſs to make the neceſſary proviſions for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

An addreſs of congratulation and thanks was moved in the houſe of lords by the earl of Cheſterfield, and ſeconded by the earl of Cathcart; and in the houſe of commons by earl Gower and Mr. Yorke, and voted *nem. con.*

Some doubts were expreſſed by lord Stanhope, reſpecting the regularity of their proceedings, and their not having his majeſty's recovery aſcertained in the manner provided in the regency bill, which were over-ruled by the lord chancellor.

In the lower houſe, Mr. Fox obſerved, that though the praiſe beſtowed in the king's ſpeech upon the late proceedings of the two houſes, appeared deſigned to prevent his joining in the addreſs, yet he ſhould readily do ſo, conſidering it merely as the miniſter's eulogium on himſelf. That it was to be conſidered in no other light he was confident, becauſe it fell to his lot to know from authority, that thoſe who could alone inform his majeſty of the reaſons and grounds of the different opinions and doctrines which had been formed and maintained, had not an opportunity of giving him any ſuch information; and he knew his majeſty's ſenſe of duty and regard to juſtice too well, to believe, that, without any explanation on the ſubject, his majeſty would give a decided opinion. At the ſame time he remarked, that on ſuch a day as that, he conceived, at leaſt, that the right honourable gentleman might have been kept in the back ground, in order to let his majeſty ſtand forward as the only prominent figure.

An addreſs of congratulation to the queen was alſo propoſed by the earl of Moreton and lord Hawkeſbury, and by the marquis of Graham and Mr. Hamilton in the lower houſe, and voted unanimouſly.

March 18. The firſt ſubject of debate that occurred in the houſe of commons, was a motion for a ſum of 218,000l. to be granted for the extraordinaries of the ordnance. This demand was made in conſequence of a plan formed by the maſter general for fortifying, to a certain extent, the Weſt India Iſlands. In ſupport of the plan it was urged, that the iſlands, in their preſent ſtate, were expoſed defenceleſs to the ſudden attack of an enemy; and that for the want of ſuch fortifications, ſeveral of them, during the laſt war, were captured even while our fleets were ſuperior in thoſe ſeas; which captures would have

been prevented, had the iſlands been in a ſituation to have held out for a ſhort time. It was allowed that the iſlands muſt ultimately depend upon the fleet, but that the combined ſtrength of a fleet, and of forts, would add much greater ſafety to them than could poſſibly be expected from a fleet alone, which could not be preſent every where at the ſame time.

On the other hand it was ſaid, that in iſlands where there were but few landing-places, fortifications might be neceſſary in order to guard, at the beginning of a war, againſt ſurpriſe; but that fortifications were no defence againſt the enemy, ſo as to preſerve thoſe iſlands during a courſe of war, and might prove a diſadvantage rather than an advantage. For inſtance, ſhould an enemy on landing threaten a commander of a garriſon, that if he did not capitulate, they would ſet fire to the iſland and burn the whole of it: in ſuch a caſe, it was much to be doubted whether the clamour of the planters, their threats to join the enemy ſooner than have their plantations deſtroyed, and a variety of other circumſtances, might not oblige the beſt officer to capitulate. But ſuppoſing an iſland was taken, what would a French officer ſay, when called upon to capitulate, and threatened with the deva ſtation of the iſland? His anſwer would be, "In the name of miſchief burn away!" He would know, that at the end of the war in all probability the iſland would be reſtored by France to Great Britain, and therefore the leſs valuable it was rendered, the better. Fortifications, therefore, would in effect prove a diſſervice to us, and an advantage to the enemy, becauſe it was evident we could not uſe the ſame means of regaining an iſland as the enemy might reſort to for the purpoſe of obtaining its ſurrender.

The plan was further objected to, on account of the uncertainty of the expence attending it, and the number of additional troops it would require. The chancellor of the exchequer had ſtated the amount of the expence at about 180,000 l.; but he had at the ſame time ſaid, he could only gueſs that it would be about the ſum that he had mentioned, but it was impoſſible for him to aſcertain it. Before they proceeded to vote ſo enormous an expence, they ought to have the eſtimates upon the table, and ſhould be prepared to vote next year an increaſe of men to double, perhaps to treble, the number now voted for the defence of the Weſt India Iſlands; not to mention that the climate of that country was ſo unhealthy, that it was generally deemed the grave of the Britiſh ſoldier; it often happening that one third of the troops ſent there died within three months, another part were in the hoſpital, and not more than a third were capable of anſwering the muſter roll and doing duty.

In reply to theſe objections it was urged, that fortifications were admitted to be of uſe againſt a *coup de main*, in iſlands where there were but few landing-places, and that this was the caſe in almoſt every iſland in the Weſt Indies. Few of them had landing places but on one ſide of the iſland, in conſequence of the trade winds, which blew ſo ſtrong in thoſe ſeas, that ſhips could not make the ſhore on the leeward ſide, and the more eſpecially, as the coaſt of moſt of thoſe iſlands was exceedingly rocky and dangerous. As a farther proof

proof of the uſe of fortifications, the circumſtances of the capture of the iſland of Martinique, during the courſe of the war before the laſt, was mentioned. That iſland had then been attacked by 15,000 men, and it was almoſt a year before they could obtain a capitulation, tho' garriſoned by only 800 men. With reſpect to the devaſtation of plantation, if the planters were ſo little our friends as to wiſh to go over to our enemies, the fortifications were of uſe, by enabling the commander, even in ſpite of the planters themſelves, to hold out, and preſerve the iſland till aſſiſtance could be given by our fleets.

The unhealthineſs of the climate had been inſiſted upon; but this circumſtance, it was ſaid, furniſhed an argument in favour of preſerving ſtationary garriſons in thoſe iſlands: becauſe, much depended on the ſeaſoning of the troops there employed. The 60th regiment, for inſtance, which was kept there, and by long habit was fully ſeaſoned to the climate, was found infinitely more ſerviceable than twice the number of other troops. As to the number that might be required in the whole, it was ſufficient to anſwer, that during peace the preſent eſtabliſhment would be ſufficient; and that in caſe of war, a ſmaller number, with the advantage of fortifications, would doubtleſs be more ſerviceable than a much larger without.

The ſpeakers in ſupport of the plan of fortification, were Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps; in oppoſition to it, general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan.—The reſolution for granting the ſum demanded was voted without a diviſion.

On this day, a motion was made by Mr. Beaufoy, for leave to bring in a bill, March 24. "To eſtabliſh a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving to Almighty God, for having, by the glorious revolution, delivered this nation from arbitrary power, and to commemorate annually the confirmation of the people's rights."—After a long eulogium upon the revolution, Mr. Beaufoy added, that if the Houſe ſhould approve of the motion, he would propoſe that the bill ſhould contain that brief but comprehenſive abſtract of the rights and privileges of the people, which is exhibited in the bill of rights, and ſhould be annually read in our churches as a part of the ſervice of the day.

The motion was ſeconded by lord Muncaſter, and oppoſed by ſir Richard Hill as unneceſſary, that event being expreſsly commemorated in the form of prayer appointed for the fifth of November. The motion, however, was agreed to, and the bill paſſed, and was carried to the lords; where it was rejected on the firſt reading, after a ſhort converſation, in which the biſhop of Bangor pointed out the ſeveral parts of the ſervice of the fifth of November, which had been added and altered for the purpoſe of commemorating the revolution.

On the ſecond of April, April 2. Mr. Fox renewed his annual motion for the repeal of the ſhop tax. He began with remarking, that in the various debates that had taken place upon it year after year, the enemies of this tax and its ſupporters met each other on this fair iſſue. The latter contended that it was not a tax which was ulti-

mately to fall upon the ſhop-keepers, but upon their cuſtomers; whilſt the former maintained that it was actually a perſonal tax, which could not poſſibly be drawn from the cuſtomers, and which muſt of courſe fall upon the ſhop-keepers. Both ſides admitted that according to the principle on which the tax was impoſed, the ſhop-keeper was to pay it in the firſt inſtance, but was afterwards to reimburſe himſelf by charging it on the goods ſold by him to his cuſtomers. Both ſides differ upon the matter of fact, whether the ſhop-keeper could in reality reimburſe himſelf at all; one ſide inſiſting that he could, the other ſtrenuouſly maintaining that he could not.

Mr. Fox then ſaid, that he conſidered the perſeverance of the ſhop-keepers in praying for a repeal of it, as a ſtrong preſumption that the tax lay entirely upon them; for men would not give themſelves and parliament ſo much trouble, to ſeek relief from the burden of a tax, which it was in their power to throw upon the ſhoulders of others. The ſhop-keepers of London, Weſtminſter, and of Southwark were moſt liable to the oppreſſion of this tax, and, conſequently, beſt enabled to judge whether they felt it to be oppreſſive or not; and they had unanimouſly, ſteadily, and unremittingly oppoſed the tax, on the ground that it was oppreſſive to an intolerable degree.

Amongſt other objections to the tax, he ſtated that, after three years continuance, it did not appear to be a growing tax; on the contrary, it was evident, from the papers before the houſe, that the produce of the tax in Weſtminſter alone, for the laſt year, fell four thouſand pounds ſhort of the produce of the tax in Weſtminſter for the preceding year.

The chancellor of the exchequer then roſe, and ſaid, that though he conſidered it to be his duty, generally, to reſiſt any attempt to decreaſe the revenue by the repeal of taxes, objected to by perſons who were moſt likely to be affected by them, and though, in the preſent caſe, as far as argument went, he had heard nothing to induce him to change his own ſentiments, yet, when he found thoſe ſentiments contradicted by the poſitive aſſertions of thoſe who had tried the effect of the tax during the ſpace of three years, and obſerved the general concurrence of all of that deſcription, he thought it no longer proper to oppoſe to their feelings and experience any opinions of his own mind founded on theory, and therefore he ſhould not reſiſt the motion.

The bill for the repeal of the ſhop tax, being brought in by Mr. Fox, the preamble, in which that tax was ſtated to have been found partial and oppreſſive, and contrary to juſt principles of taxation, was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who moved that thoſe words ſhould be left out, and the following inſerted in their room, "whereas it is expedient to repeal." Mr. Fox remarked upon this oppoſition, that he believed the words objected to, or words to that effect, had been uſed by the right honourable gentleman himſelf; that however he ſhould not preſs for a diviſion of the houſe upon the ſubject.

In conſequence of the repeal of the ſhop tax, the additional tax and reſtrictions which had been laid upon hawkers and pedlars were alſo, upon a motion of Mr. Dempſter's, taken off.

Mr.

8th April. Mr. Pitt acquainted the houſe, that he was commanded by his majeſty to inform this houſe, that his majeſty has appointed Thurſday, the 23d of this inſtant April, to be obſerved as a day of public thankſgiving to Almighty God, for that ſignal interpoſition of his good providence, which hath removed from his majeſty the late illneſs with which he hath been afflicted; and for the greater ſolemnity of that day, his majeſty will go to Saint Paul's church, to return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy which hath been extended to him; and his majeſty hath been pleaſed to give the neceſſary orders for providing convenient places in the ſaid cathedral for the members of this houſe. Upon which it was reſolved, "That the humble thanks of this houſe be returned to his majeſty, for his majeſty's gracious favour in communicating to this houſe his intention of going to Saint Paul's church upon the day of thankſgiving appointed by his majeſty, and for having been pleaſed to give orders for providing convenient places in the ſaid cathedral for the members of this houſe."

Ordered, "That the thanks of this houſe be returned to his majeſty, by ſuch members of this houſe as are of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council."

Reſolved, "That this houſe will attend, as an houſe, in Saint Paul's church, upon the day appointed for a public thankſgiving."

Ordered, "That a committee be appointed to conſider of the manner of this houſe going to Saint Paul's church, on Thurſday the 23d day of this inſtant April, and of ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary to be obſerved for the preſervation of order upon that occaſion."

And a committee was appointed accordingly.

On this day Mr. Beaufoy moved the houſe for a committee to take into conſideration ſo much of the Teſt and Corporation acts as related to proteſtant diſſenters. 8th May. He opened his ſpeech with an account of the reaſons which had induced the diſſenters to renew their applications to parliament; and with a few remarks on the temperate conduct which had diſtinguiſhed their proceedings. He was perfectly aware, that among them, as in all large ſocieties, intemperate individuals might be found; but that to impute to diſſenters the unauthoriſed language and unſanctioned aſperities of ſuch men, would be as abſurd as to expect that in a large multitude no man of a peculiar caſt of mind, who meaſured all opinions by a ſtandard of his own, was ever to be found. It is only by the tenor and general ſpirit of their conduct that large ſocieties can ever be juſtly tried; and meaſured by that ſtandard, whether as faithful and affectionate ſupporters of his majeſty's illuſtrious houſe, or as citizens zealouſly attached to the conſtitution, or as proteſtants who, in doubtful and difficult emergencies, have proved themſelves friends to the eſtabliſhed church, the diſſenters, he ſaid, would be found on a level with the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their fellow ſubjects. He then proceeded to ſtate the ſame arguments in favour of a repeal of the acts complained of, which he had before urged in the year 1787, and which, having already given the ſubſtance of them, it is unneceſſary for us now to repeat.

Mr. Beaufoy's motion was oppoſed in a long and able ſpeech by lord North, and ſupported by Mr. Smith (member for Sudbury) and by Mr. Fox; the latter of whom, in anſwer to the argument, that the admiſſion to offices of truſt and power, of perſons entertaining opinions contrary to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, might endanger its eſtabliſhment, contended with great ingenuity that it was unjuſt and tyrannical to infer the future conduct of men from the ſpeculative opinions they entertained; and ſtill more ſo, to make that inference the ground of previous puniſhment. Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Fox, and argued, that government had a right to prevent any civil inconvenience which ſuch opinions might produce, without waiting till by their being carried into action, the inconvenience had actually ariſen. He conſidered the eſtabliſhed church as a part of the conſtitution of the country, and the acts in queſtion as juſtifiable on the principle of ſelf-defence. They had now exiſted for above a century, and had ever been looked upon as one of the props and bulwarks of the conſtitution. He ſpoke of the great quiet that obtained at preſent relative to religious differences; and ſaid, if there was any thing that could interrupt the harmony and moderation which ſubſiſted between ſects, once contending with great virulence and aſperity, it would be by awakening a competition, and re-kindling the ſparks of ancient animoſity, which mutual forbearance had almoſt ſtifled and extinguiſhed.

The houſe at length divided; when there appeared for the motion 102, againſt it 122.

Soon after this debate, the earl Stanhope, in the upper houſe, moved for leave to bring in a bill "for relieving members of the church of England from ſundry penalties and diſabilities, to which by the laws now in force they may be liable, and for extending freedom in matters of religion to all perſons (papiſts only excepted), and for other purpoſes therein mentioned."

As the foundation of this bill be laid before their lordſhips an account of all the penal laws, whether exiſting, obſolete, or repealed, which had been enacted from the earlieſt times, upon matters of religion, ſorcery, and various other ſubjects; and urged the injuſtice as well as diſgrace of ſuffering them to remain any longer amongſt our ſtatutes.

The bill, which was rejected on the ſecond reading, beſides repealing all the afore-mentioned ſtatutes, enacted, that all perſons (papiſts, on account of their perſecuting and dangerous principles only excepted) ſhall have free liberty to exerciſe their religion; and by ſpeaking, writing, printing, and publiſhing, or by all or any of the ſaid ways or means, to inveſtigate religious ſubjects; and by preaching and teaching to inſtruct perſons in the duties of religion, in ſuch manner as every ſuch perſon reſpectively ſhall judge the moſt conducive to promote virtue, the happineſs of ſociety, and the eternal felicity of mankind.

The bill was oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Bangor, St. Aſaph, and St. David's. They admitted that a reviſion of the penal acts in queſtion might be neceſſary; but they objected to the bill, on account of the extent to which it went, and the wide door it opened to every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs and irreligion.

The

12th May. The consideration of the slave trade, which in conformity to a resolution passed by the house of commons last year, ought to have been resumed early in the present sessions, was, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the times, deferred till the 12th of May. A large and elaborate report from the privy council was laid upon the table, and several petitions, both for and against the proposed abolition of the trade, were presented to the house. As this subject has since undergone a more complete investigation, than the materials then in the possession of the house enabled them to accomplish, and will consequently come again under our notice, we shall beg leave to refer our readers for the present to the twelve resolutions which were presented by Mr. Wilberforce to the house, and which they will find in the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 268. These resolutions were founded on the report of the committee of the privy council, and were introduced by Mr. Wilberforce in a speech of extraordinary merit. The house afterwards sat for some days in a committee, to hear the evidence offered by the petitioners interested in the slave trade; and after some progress therein, adjourned the further consideration of the matter to the next sessions. The bill brought in by Sir William Dolben, for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West India islands, was by another act continued and amended.

Early in the month of June, lord Sydney resigned the office of secretary of state in the home department, and Mr. Grenville was immediately appointed in his room. This again occasioned a vacancy in the chair of the house of commons, which was supplied by Mr. Henry Addington. Sir Gilbert Elliot was again proposed for that high office, and his claims supported not without some remarks on the overbearing influence of the minister, and the youth and inexperience of Sir Gilbert's competitor. The house divided on the question; when there appeared for Mr. Addington 215, for Sir Gilbert Elliot 142.

On the 10th of June the chancellor of the exchequer opened the budget for the year. He stated the total of the supplies voted for the current year to be 5,730,000l. exclusive of the annual account of renewed exchequer bills. As ways and means to provide for this supply, he took the land and malt tax at 2,750,000l.; a loan of 1,000,000l.; profits on a lottery, 271,000l.; by short annuities, 191,000l.; from the consolidated fund, 1,530,000l. — making in all 5,742,000l.

The first question that naturally occurred upon this statement, was, whether the consolidated fund was equal to the payment charged upon it? He said, the average produce of the two last years of all the taxes was 12,478,000l. The year preceding those had indeed fallen short 300,000l. but that this was to be accounted for from peculiar circumstances; and there was no doubt that the present and future years would exceed that average. The permanent charges on this fund, consisting of the interest of the national debt, charges of management, civil list, and a million to be laid out in purchase of stock, amounted to 11,278,000l. leaving a surplus of 1,700,000l.

Mr. Pitt then applied these facts to the two objects which the committee of finance, in 1786, had particularly

ticularly under conſideration; firſt, whether we could pay the extraordinary expences which muſt accrue before we arrived at a regular peace eſtabliſhment, without a loan? —and next, whether the revenue was equal to the ſum ſtated by the committee of accounts as neceſſary to pay the annual eſtabliſhments, and the intereſt of the public debt, and to have a ſurplus of one million annually towards its liquidation?

From 1786 we had raiſed no money by loan; it was now propoſed to raiſe one million; and we had ſince that time increaſed the navy debt 500,000l. But what had been the extraordinary expences ſince that time? We had paid 3,500,000l. above the average peace eſtabliſhment: we had paid, beſides, 852,000l. to the loyaliſts; 216,000l. for the prince of Wales's debts; 210,000l. for the debts of the civil liſt; and 253,000l. for the expence of the armament laſt year: which ſums, taken together, were equal to the additional navy debt incured, and the million now to be borrowed. So that although in three years 3,500,000l. had been paid above the calculation of the committee, and 3,750,000l. for the reduction of the national debt, with which above four millions of debt had been actually paid, and 120,000l. brought annually to the ſinking fund, had it not been for thoſe unforeſeen expences we ſhould not only have been able to provide for the extraordinary million wanted this year without any additional burden on the people, but we ſhould not even have wanted a ſubſtitute for the ſhop tax. Under thoſe circumſtances, he might congratulate the country, that the hopes which he had entertained were well founded, and that the calculations of the committee had been verified to a degree of accuracy ſeldom to be expected in ſuch calculations.

His next ſtatement was that of the permanent income. It had been declared by the ſame committee, that 15,500,000l. revenue was neceſſary to defray the annual expences, and leave one million to be applied to the reduction of the debt. How did it ſtand at preſent? On an average of the laſt two years it appeared to be (including the land and malt tax) 15,578,000l. nearly exceeding by 100,000l. what the committee had thought to be neceſſary. There was, therefore, no diſappointment with regard to the permanent income. It was not then neceſſary to ſay much to convince the committee that the finances were in as good a ſituation as there ever had been any reaſon held out to expect? he had neither been acceſſary to deceiving the public, nor been deceived himſelf; and the new burdens to be impoſed ought to be borne with as much cheerfulneſs as any which were impoſed on fair grounds, and for neceſſary purpoſes.

The million to be raiſed by loan he meant to borrow upon annuities with benefit of ſurvivorſhip; by which means, in time, it muſt extinguiſh itſelf, and no addition be made to the public debt. Calculating on the moſt approved tables of lives, and reckoning the intereſt of money from the three per cents. at about four per cent. he had found that the intereſt on the whole would be about 4l. 10s. per cent. The perſons who agreed for the whole, had allowed a ſmall premium of 2,500l. It was part of the terms that no more than 1000l. a year

ſhould

ſhould ever be received on the ſum of 100l. a matter not of much conſequence perhaps, but as it might guard againſt any uncommon length of ſurvivorſhip, ſo far it was in favour of the public. The ſubſcribers were divided into ſix claſſes, and it was computed that an equal ſum would be ſubſcribed by each; but as more of one might offer than of any other, the contractors were not to be confined on this head. The intereſt, therefore, could not be preciſely aſcertained till the ſubſcription was full, but might be taken at 44,750l. To re-place the ſum lent from the civil liſt, he meant to raiſe 191,000l. * by ſhort annuities, which the inſtalments received in payment would anſwer; and in doing this he had made an economical bargain for the public.

During the courſe of the preceding year the ſhop tax had produced about 56,000l. which, with the tontine annuities, would make nearly 100,000l. to be raiſed by new taxes. To do this he propoſed an augmentation of certain ſtamp duties. 1ſt. An additional halfpenny on every newſpaper, which would produce 28,000l.; ſixpence additional on each advertiſement, 9000l.; ſixpence additional on cards and dice, 9000l.; an additional duty on probates of wills, in proportion to the ſum bequeathed, 18,261l.; on legacies to collateral relations, 5000l.; making in all, by ſtamp duties, 69,261l. On horſes and carriages. —On one carriage an additional of one eighth of the preſent duty; on two an additional of one pound for the firſt, and of two for the ſecond; on three or more, one pound for the firſt, and three for all the reſt: on two horſes no addition for the firſt, but five ſhillings for the ſecond; on three, four, or five horſes, ſeven and ſixpence for all above one; on more than five, ten ſhillings; making in all, with the additional ſtamp duties, about 111,000l.

To this ſtatement of the finances many weighty objections were made —It was urged in general, that the neceſſity they were then under, of having recourſe to new loans and new taxes, after a period of ſix years peace, was itſelf a ſufficient proof that our finances were not in the condition they were repreſented to be. The unforeſeen contingencies of expence, which had been alledged as the cauſe of the preſent difficulty, could not be calculated at more than 600,000l., that is, for three years, 200,000l. a year; for the loyaliſts had been paid by lotteries, and the 3,500,000l. ſtated to be the exceſs above the regular peace eſtabliſhed, only proved that the original eſtimate was deluſive, and that the eſtabliſhment was taken too low—It was boaſted that three millions of the national debt had been diſcharged—But on the other hand, beſides the increaſed navy debt of 500,000l. one million of additional exchequer bills had been iſſued, another million was now to be borrowed, and two millions had been received from the Eaſt India Company. So that with the aſſiſtance of four millions, the miniſter had ſucceed in the notable attempt of paying three millions of national debt.—Mr. Sheridan pledged himſelf that theſe facts would be found true, if Mr. Pitt would conſent that

* This ſum had been lent to the Dutch government, and was to be repaid by inſtalments.

the whole buſineſs ſhould be referred to a new committee, ſuch a one as might eaſily be obtained in that houſe, of independent members, choſen indifferently, and not ſuch a committee as made the report, upon which the miniſter founded all his arguments in his own favour, and to which, upon all occaſions, he retreated for protection.

The ſubject was ſome time after reſumed by Mr. Sheridan, upon a motion for the appointment of ſuch a committee as he had before deſcribed. In a long and able ſpeech on this occaſion, he undertook to prove the four following propoſitions:—That the report of the committee, appointed in 1786, founded in fact, nor verified by experiment—That, for the three laſt years, the expenditure has exceeded the income two millions, and may be expected to do ſo for three years to come—That no progreſs has hitherto been made in the reduction of the public debt—That there is no ground for rational expectation, that any progreſs can be made without a conſiderable increaſe of the annual income, or reduction of the expences.

In ſupport of the firſt propoſition, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that the committee had declared it to be their opinion, upon a fair compariſon between the extraordinary expenditure and the extraordinary means, that the latter would be adequate to the ſupply of the former, without a loan. A loan had, however, actually taken place.—The committee had further declared that the annual income, excluſive of land and malt tax, would be 12,794,000l. Now upon an average of three years, which included the deficient year preceding the commercial treaty with France, and the productive year which ſucceeded it, the income would be found to fall ſhort of this calculation about 30,000l.—This deficiency was not great, but it was not the whole deficiency. The committee calculated on the then ſubſiſting taxes; and ſince that time ſome open, and much greater clandeſtine, additions had been made to them. By the amount of all theſe additions, added to 30,000l. did the revenue fall ſhort of the calculation. The chancellor of the exchequer had openly laid taxes to the amount of 100,000l.; and he had had recourſe to other taxes which he did not avow, but which, under the ſpecious name of regulations, were as much levied on the ſubject as if the ſame ſums had been raiſed by new taxes under a new name.—Theſe taken together, and added to the deficiency of the land and malt tax, amounted, he ſaid, to 500,000l., and conſequently ſo much was the eſtimate of the committee erroneous.

Upon the ſecond propoſition, he ſtated, that the average of the expenditure for the three laſt years, was 15,930,000l. a year. Of the various articles compoſing this ſum the only one in which a reduction appeared probable, was that of miſcellaneous ſervices. This, on the ſame average, was 649,000l. a year. Did it ſeem likely that it would ever fall ſo low as 74,000l. the ſum it was ſtated at by the committee? He recapitulated the various items which compoſed this article, commenting on each, and aſking which of them was likely to be leſs for ſeveral years to come?

But this was not all: the floating

navy debt had been increaſed in the laſt three years 600,000l. If, to the average expenditure before ſtated, was added one-third of this encreaſe of the navy debt, and the ſum iſſued to the commiſſioners for the reduction of the public debt, the whole annual expenditure would amount to 17,130,000l. exceeding the average income by more than 1,940,000l. Such was our preſent ſituation! The expeuce of the current year was ſomething above this eſtimate, and the next could not be expected to be much leſs.

Upon this head he entered into a variety of calculations, the reſult of which was, that ſince the year 1786 we had paid of the funded debt three millions, and that we had borrowed, by exchequer bills, 750,000l.; by anticipation of the ſinking fund, one quarter 628,000l.; by increaſe of navy debt, 600,000l.; by a tontine, 1,002,500l.; making together about as much as the ſum paid off. If the 900,000l. navy bills bearing intereſt, which he had omitted, were added, the ſum borrowed would exceed the ſum paid by almoſt a million; and if the intereſt of the debt contracted were compared with that of the debt paid, it would exceed it in the ſame proportion. Such was our preſent ſituation, and ſuch was our proſpect for the year 1790, when we had been told that every thing was to be reduced to a firm eſtabliſhment.

The report of the committee of 1786 was defended by Mr. ſecretary Grenville, who had been the chairman of it.—Upon the firſt of Mr. Sheridan's propoſitions, he remarked, that the years from which the average of the annual income ought to be taken, was the chief point of difference in iſſue between them. Thoſe who agreed with him, that the unproductive year preceding the commercial treaty ought to be left out of the account, and that the average of the two following years, which amounted to 15,578,000l. was a fair eſtimate of the probable future income, muſt decide for the committee; which had eſtimated the probable annual income in the year 1791 only at 15,500,000l. In counterbalance to the additional income alledged to have been derived from the impoſition of new, and the regulation of old taxes, Mr. Grenville ſtated ſeveral deficiencies ariſing from alterations made for the ſake of public accommodation, and the reduction of duties in conſequence of the commercial treaty.

With regard to income, therefore, he thought he might pronounce, that the committee had already paſſed their trial, and it was decided in their favour, the amount already conſiderably exceeding what was eſtimated to be its amount by the year 1791. As to the expenditure, they were ſtill on their trial; but he had no doubt that they ſhould come off equally victorious. He begged, however, to have it recollected, that neither he in the name of the committee, nor the committee, had pledged themſelves that the ſeveral ſervices ſhould not, in point of expence, exceed the amount of each ſtated; from the beſt information the committee could procure, they truſted there would be no occaſion for a larger peace eſtabliſhment than the eſtimate ſtated. It was true, that this year was an addition of 100,000l. to the army; but, if it was thought

right

right to have foreign alliances, he truſted that a neceſſary degree of expence would not be grudged, occaſioned by an addition to our army, to enable us to fulfil our engagements in conſequence of our treaties with foreign powers. That 100,000l. he conceived, would be permanent. Other expences of the preſent year would not be permanent. The navy had certainly coſt more than had been eſtimated in 1786; but when it was conſidered what an account they had lately heard of the preſent condition of our navy, and of the quantity of ſtores in our dock-yards, from the higheſt authority, he was one of thoſe who were ſo far from repining at the extraordinary expence, that he profeſſed himſelf to be happy and glad that the money had been ſo expended. With regard to what their general peace eſtabliſhments would be, the houſe muſt recollect, that they were not arrived at the period when the committee had eſtimated that their peace eſtabliſhments would find their level; when that period ſhould come, they would, doubtleſs, judge of the exigencies of the times as at preſent, and govern their eſtabliſhments accordingly.

Upon the two laſt propoſitions Mr. Grenville remarked, that between three and four millions of the national debt had in fact been diſcharged, and that a million annually was appropriated to the ſame purpoſe. This could not be denied; and with reſpect to the loan of the preſent year, and the additional navy debt, it was never contended that ſuch operations of finance might not be neceſſary, but it was thought proper firſt to ſecure a permanent ſurplus for the reduction of the national debt, and this had been effected.

Mr. Sheridan's motion was then negatived without a diviſion. This ſubject was again diſcuſſed, and upon the ſame ground, in the houſe of lords, by lord Rawdon and the duke of Richmond.

On this day the chancellor of the exchequer, purſuant to notice he had given upon the opening of the budget, ſubmitted to the houſe his plan for repealing the exiſting duties upon tobacco, and ſubſtituting duties of exciſe. 16th June.

The article of tobacco, he ſaid, was a conſiderable object of the revenue; and under the preſent regulations and duties, a great article of ſmuggling: indeed, it was the only important article that could be conſidered as the ſmuggler's ſtaple, ſince the regulations that had of late years taken place in regard to teas, wines, and ſpirits. Mr. Pitt ſummarily ſtated the great inducements that were held out to the ſmuggler to deal in this article, ſuch as the very low price of its prime coſt, compared with the amount of the duty, &c. which afforded an ample premium to illicit traders, and enticed them to carry on their traffic to a very great extent, to the material detriment of the revenue, and the equal injury of the fair trader. At leaſt one half of the tobacco conſumed in the kingdom was ſmuggled. It had, he obſerved, been computed, when the alteration was propoſed on teas, that the quantity of tea annually imported in Great Britain, amounted to twelve millions of pounds; but it had ſince turned out that much more was the real amount of the quantity imported. It had generally been thought that the

the quantity of tobacco was nearly the ſame with that of tea; and upon enquiry, it turned out to be the fact. The merchants of Glaſgow, who were intelligent men, and converſant on the ſubject, were of opinion, that not leſs than twelve millions of pounds of tobacco were annually imported into the kingdom; and upon application to the ſeveral traders in that article in London, they had thought that the importation was much greater, and that it amounted to nearly ſixteen millions, but to fourteen, at leaſt. The actual legal importation had been on the average eſtimated at ſeven millions, ſo that there was from five to ſeven millions of tobacco extraordinary uſed every year, without the payment of any duty, and to the injury of the revenue, to the amount of nearly three hundred thouſand a year.

Such being the ſtate of the caſe, it had appeared to him, that, the moſt probable means of effecting the end propoſed, would be to change the greater part of the duty upon tobacco from cuſtoms to exciſe, and to ſubject the manufacturers of tobacco to the ſurvey of exciſe. The peculiar benefit of this plan had been exemplified in a recent inſtance, in the article of wine. The quantity of wine which paid duty, antecedent to the exciſe regulation, was 13,000 tons; after the regulation had taken effect, 18,000 tons; and ſince the duties on wines were lowered, 22,000 tons. He then touched upon the objections which might poſſibly be made to the regulations he ſhould propoſe, by the manufacturers; and ſaid, though he hoped that the majority of thoſe who called themſelves fair traders would chearfully acquieſce; yet there were probably ſome manufacturers whoſe characters and conduct were not clear of ſuſpicion, and others whoſe prejudices, founded in ſelf-intereſt, might induce them to object to the regulations, and to deſire to be heard againſt them. If any ſuch application ſhould be made, the houſe undoubtedly would liſten to every thing that could be urged with patience and with candour; but they would recollect, that arguments coming from perſons, circumſtanced as he had deſcribed, ought to be received with ſome allowances; and that the allegations of thoſe moſt likely to be maſters of the whole ſubject, were not always to be relied on implicitly; ſince, when the regulations on wine were propoſed, they had men at the bar, who had ſaid confidently and roundly, that, under the reſtrictions, they could not carry on their trade. The houſe, at that time, thought their reaſoning inſufficient, and tried the experiment; and the reſult had been, that the trade had encreaſed to an aſtoniſhing degree.

This plan occaſioned a general alarm amongſt the manufacturers of tobacco; petitions were preſented againſt it from various quarters, and an attempt was made to excite, but without much ſucceſs, that conſtitutional abhorrence of the extenſion of the exciſe laws, which had often, on former occaſions, ſo ſtrongly manifeſted itſelf amongſt the people of England.—Beſides this general ground of objection, the manufacturers, who were heard for ſeveral days by their council at the bar, endeavoured to eſtabliſh the peculiar impropriety and hardſhip of ſubjecting their manufactures to the

the inſpection of the officers of exciſe, and the total loſs, which might follow, of the trade itſelf.

They proved that the variations in the weight of tobacco, during the proceſs of its manufacture, were ſo inconceivably great, and at the ſame time ſo uncertain, that it would be impoſſible for the officers of exciſe to take any account of ſtock during that proceſs, which might not ſubject them either, on the one hand, to a ruinous exceſs of duty, or, on the other, to fines and forfeitures, which would be equally ruinous.—But this was not all; the ſecrets poſſeſſed by different manufacturers of tobacco and ſnuff were of the greateſt value; ſome had been ſold and purchaſed at the price of 10,000l. and upwards; theſe would inevitably be expoſed to the diſcovery of exciſemen, amongſt whom there might be perſons (and ſuch a temptation would doubtleſs be a ſufficient inducement for men ſkilled to enter into the exciſe for the expreſs purpoſe) capable of availing themſelves of the opportunities they would enjoy. It was urged, that theſe difficulties and hardſhips might drive the manufacturers, whoſe intereſts principally conſiſted in the ſecrets they poſſeſſed, into other countries, and thus occaſion to this country the entire loſs of the manufacture.

A clauſe was offered by Sir Watkin Lewes, giving the manufacturer a right of trial at common law, if he was diſſatisfied with the deciſion of the commiſſioners of exciſe. To this it was objected, that ſuch a partial grant, under the preſent bill, would not be fair and equitable; that it ought to be given to all perſons ſubject to the operation of the exciſe laws, or none.—Mr. Beaufoy ſaid, that though he conceived the trial by jury might ſafely be granted, under certain regulations, to perſons aggrieved by the execution of the exciſe laws, yet in the preſent inſtance he was bound to oppoſe the clauſe. The privilege, he remarked, which the clauſe will give to the ſubject is not a right of regular appeal from the determination of the board of exciſe, but a right to proſecute, as a treſpaſſer, every exciſeman, who, on any ground, however legal, has ventured to make a ſeizure. It gives to the diſhoneſt tradeſman, however atrocious his frauds, a right to bring an action for damages againſt the officer, who, in the name of the crown, has taken poſſeſſion of the articles on which the legal duties are withholden, and in that action it empowers him to include the officer's aſſiſtants, and to make them defendants in the ſuit. Thus, it enables the importer, and the diſhoneſt manufacturer, to diſqualify from being witneſſes in the trial the only perſons, generally ſpeaking, who are able and willing to prove the exiſtence of the fraud. It deprives the crown, in moſt caſes, of its only evidence; and at the ſame time impoſes upon it the burthen of the legal proof. If ſuch a clauſe were made general, it would bring with it ſecurity to the ſmuggler, ruin to the fair manufacturer and the honourable merchant, and ultimate deſtruction to the moſt productive revenues of the ſtate.

The bill, in its paſſage through the houſe, was altered and modified in ſuch a manner as to remove the principal of the objections made to it by the manufacturers. The debates upon it were frequent and

and animated, but thinly attended. Several reſpectable members, who uſually ſupported the miniſter, took a ſtrong and decided part againſt it, and even reproached the other ſide of the houſe with the languor of their oppoſition. Upon one of theſe occaſions Mr. Fox, after an able ſpeech, in which he took a general political view of the effect of exciſe laws, of their great extenſion under the preſent adminiſtration, of the indifference with which that extenſion had been beheld by the people, and of the prevailing diſpoſition which he ſaw of ſacrificing the conſtitution to revenue, adverted to the complaint we have above mentioned. He had not, he ſaid, attended the bill ſo cloſely as he might have done, becauſe he plainly ſaw, that all oppoſition would be fruitleſs; but ſurely gentlemen on the other ſide had no right to expect that, on every occaſion, when the intereſt of their conſtituents, or ſome perſonal motive to themſelves, induced them to wiſh the meaſure of the miniſter oppoſed, that he, and thoſe who acted with him, would be at their command, and ready to act as perpetual adverſaries of the miniſter and his meaſures, whether thoſe meaſures ſhould appear to them to be well or ill founded. Were they to be conſidered as the ſtanding counſel againſt the crown in that houſe, ever to be reſorted to in the moments of difficulty, and therefore as neceſſary to exiſt as adminiſtration? What was this but ſaying, "We have "put you into the moſt humiliating "ſituation; you ſhall have no ſhare "of the power, no ſhare of the "honours, or emoluments of office; "but we expect to command your "public ſervices, to profit by what- "ever abilities you may poſſeſs, "to be joined by you and your "friends, whenever we want the "aſſiſtance of either?" Was it not, in other words, ſaying, "We have "raiſed one man to a degree of "power which makes all oppoſition "uſeleſs. By our falſe clamours "againſt you, and our deluſions re- "ſpecting him, we have taught "the public to look up to him as "ſomething more than man: hence "his meaſures, however miſchiev- "ous, however fatal, are ſcarcely "to be reſiſted; but remember, we "look to you to watch him. Do "you take care that he does no "miſchief in his ſituation. It is "your office to ſound the alarm, "when danger lurks beneath a "plauſible pretext; and to oppoſe "yourſelves to the occaſion, ſo that "the evil may be in time averted." Having deprived them of the means of reſiſtance with any hopes of ſucceſs, by putting them into ſo uſeleſs a ſituation, to call upon them to oppoſe, to check and to ſtop the miniſter's meaſures, was neither more nor leſs than directly laughing in their faces, and adding inſult to injury.

In the upper houſe, the bill was again oppoſed by the manufacturers at the bar, who were ſtrenuouſly ſupported by lord Stormont and lord Loughborough. The lord chancellor too, though he expreſſed his approbation of the principle of the bill, yet treated the enacting part of it with an high degree of mixt aſperity and contempt. He ſaid, that the vexatious precautions and preventive ſeverity of the exciſe laws, were unneceſſarily extended to the ſubject in queſtion; that a fit attention had not been paid to the eſſential intereſts and property of the manufacturers;

nufacturers; that the greater part of the enacting clauſes were abſurd, contradictory, ungrammatical, and unintelligible. He expreſſed his wiſhes that the houſe of commons, if they meant to perſevere in their claim of having money bills returned from that houſe unaltered, would not inſult them, by requiring their adoption of laws that would diſgrace ſchoolboys. His lordſhip (notwithſtanding the danger which the miniſter's propoſition thereby run of being defeated for the ſeſſion, for it was now the beginning of Auguſt) moved an amendment, upon which the houſe divided; contents 7, non-contents 10. Another amendment was afterwards moved by the duke of Richmond, and carried, upon a ſuppoſition that the commons would not object to it. But upon the third reading of the bill, which was on the morning of the prorogation of parliament, the amendment was withdrawn.

July 1. On the firſt of July, Mr. Dundas opened what has been called the Indian Budget. As the long train of calculations which he went through would be unſatisfactory to our readers, without the voluminous documents and authorities to which they referred, we ſhall content ourſelves with laying before them the reſult of the whole, collected from the ſeventeen reſolutions which he moved upon that occaſion, and which were agreed to by the houſe. From theſe it appeared,

	£. Ster.
That the annual revenues of the company, in the provinces of Bengal and its dependencies, for the year 1787-8, amounted to -	5,182,000
And that the charges defrayed in the ſaid provinces in the ſame year, amounted to -	3,046,000
Leaving a net revenue of	2,136,000
That the annual revenues of Madras, and its ſubordinate ſettlements, for the ſame year, amounted to -	1,082,000
And that the charges defrayed amounted to	1,347,000
Leaving a deficiency of	265,000
That the annual revenues of Bombay, and its ſettlements, for the ſame year, amounted to -	131,000
And that the charges defrayed amounted to -	475,000
Leaving a deficiency of	344,000
That the net revenues of all the company's poſſeſſions in India amounted to -	1,527,000
That in addition to this, as part of the Indian funds, the import ſales and certificates amounted to 321,000l. making in all - -	1,848,000
That the total of debts owing to the company in the Eaſt Indies, excluſive of the bills drawn on the court of directors at home, amounted to 7,604,000l.; that of this ſum 5,776,000l. bore intereſt, the annual amount of which was -	480,700
Conſequently, that the nett revenue applicable to the diſcharge of this debt, and the purchaſe of inveſtment, amounted to - - -	1,367,300

Upon this ſtatement of the affairs of the company in India, Mr. Francis made ſeveral obſervations. Amongſt

Amongſt other omiſſions of expence, he inſtanced the intereſt on the bond debt of Bombay, the commercial eſtabliſhments in Bengal, and the charge of the four new regiments ſent to India. He concluded with remarking, that as long as theſe facts exiſted, viz. that the debts abroad were not diminiſhed, and thoſe at home were increaſing, the right honourable gentleman's budget could afford no ſatisfactory proof of the proſperity of the company. Major Scott followed Mr. Francis, and contended that whatever merit was to be derived from the preſent flouriſhing condition of the company, was to be aſcribed to the wiſe and vigorous meaſures that had been adopted during the government of Mr. Haſtings.

Soon after, a petition was preſented from the company, praying that they might be permitted to add one million to their capital ſtock. This petition was ſupported by Mr. Dundas, who affirmed, that upon a ſuppoſition of the final extinction of their charter in 1794, their effects in Europe would overbalance their debts by the ſum of 350,000l.; and that with reſpect to their debts in India, they would go along with the territory, and be very readily undertaken by thoſe into whoſeſoever hands the poſſeſſion of that territory might come. A bill to enable the company to carry the prayer of their petition into effect was brought in, and carried through both houſes with little oppoſition.

Soon after the opening of the ſeſſions, on the third of February, Mr. Haſtings preſented a petition to the houſe of lords, in which, after recapitulating the proceedings which had already been had from the commencement of the impeachment, he ſtated the great hardſhips to which its extraordinary duration had and was likely ſtill further to ſubject him. Amongſt theſe, he mentioned the deceaſe of ſeveral of his judges, the detention of witneſſes neceſſary for his defence, the probability of his being deprived of many of them by various accidents, his health impaired, and his fortune waſted. He reminded them, that two articles only, out of twenty, had as yet been gone through by his accuſers, that his expences had already exceeded 30,000l. and conſequently, that ſhould his life be continued to the cloſe of the trial, he might find himſelf deſtitute of the means of defence, and even of ſubſiſtence, and run the dreadful chance of having his character tranſmitted on their records blaſted with unrefuted criminations. He therefore prayed that they would enable him to make his innocence, and he hoped his deſerts, apparent, by proceeding without delay upon his trial.

The intervention of the circuits of the judges rendered it impoſſible for the lords to proceed upon the trial before the 20th day of April, when the court was reſumed, and ſat, during the remainder of the ſeſſion, 17 days. The charge brought before them, and opened by Mr. Burke, was that relative to the corrupt receipt of money. In the courſe of his ſpeech, Mr. Burke had occaſion to remark upon the conduct of Mr. Haſtings towards one of his accuſers in India, called Nundcomar; and after relating other acts of injuſtice and cruelty, he added that he had, at laſt, murdered that perſon, by the hands of ſir Elijah Impey —A few days after the charge had been thus opened, major Scott preſented a petition from Mr. Haſtings

Haſtings to the houſe of commons, in which he ſtated that Mr. Burke, in ſupporting the charges exhibited againſt him at the bar of the houſe of lords, had accuſed him of ſundry heinous crimes not laid in the articles of impeachment. He inſtanced the charge of having been concerned in a plot for aſſaſſinating the Shahzada, and in another plot for putting to death the ſon of Jaffier Ally Khan; of being acceſſary to certain horrible cruelties alledged to have been committed by one Debi Sing; and laſtly, of having been guilty of the murder of Nundcomar. He therefore prayed the houſe either to bring forward and proſecute thoſe charges in ſpecific articles, and thereby give him an opportunity of vindicating his innocence, or to grant him ſuch other redreſs as to their juſtice and wiſdom might ſeem fit.

A motion being made, that the petition ſhould be brought up, Mr. Fox roſe to warn the houſe of the miſchievous tendency of receiving ſuch a petition, and of the diſgrace they would incur by acting upon it. The ſubject matter of the complaint conſiſted of words ſaid to have been uſed by one of their own members in the proſecution of a charge preferred by themſelves. Would they ſuffer the culprit to come forward, and object to the mode of proceeding againſt him; the accuſed to arraign the conduct of his accuſers? Would not this have the ſtrongeſt appearance of prevarication; and that inſtead of ſupporting and countenancing their own cauſe, they were more inclined to cavil as an adverſe party at the conduct of their managers? And to whom was the complaint made? Not to the court which heard the offence complained of, and which was competent to have redreſſed the complainant at the moment, but to that houſe, the accuſer, for the purpoſe of making it the inſtrument of the reſentment and malice of the accuſed againſt one of their own managers. He reminded the houſe, that ſome of the expreſſions complained of had been uttered above a year before; and he aſked, whether they could think it poſſible, if the managers were to be ſubject to a perpetual litigation with the accuſed before that houſe, whenever he choſe to bring forward a complaint, that they could carry on the proſecution at all. He ſtated the many and peculiar difficulties which the managers of the preſent impeachment had to encounter, and their ſtrong claim to the fair and liberal protection of the houſe; and he beſeeched them, if they were weary, or repented of what they had done, that they would openly retract their reſolutions, and not act the double part of being, at the ſame time, the accuſers and the defenders of Mr. Haſtings. He concluded with remarking, that as he could have no doubt that the real drift of this buſineſs was to diſguſt his right honourable friend by a perſonal inſult, ſo he was confident that the artifice would be vain and fruitleſs.

Mr. Burke, after declaring that on the preſent occaſion he ſhould receive the deciſion of the houſe, whatever it might be, without any other emotion than what he ſhould feel for the honour and reputation of the houſe itſelf, proceeded to explain the argument which had led him, in the courſe of it, to advert to the murder of Nundcomar, and to impute it to Mr. Haſtings. The power of proſecuting and enforcing the

the charges againſt Mr. Haſtings, under an injunction not to uſe one extraneous word, he compared to the giving Shylock the power of taking a pound of fleſh, upon condition of his not ſpilling one drop of blood; a taſk which neither Jew nor Chriſtian could perform. He added, that if the houſe was diſſatisfied with his conduct, they ought to remove him, and not oblige him, in the midſt of his accuſation, to turn ſhort about at the pleaſure of the culprit to defend himſelf, to-day an accuſer, to-morrow a perſon accuſed. The drift of ſuch an artifice was obvious enough; and if the houſe ſhould give it their countenance, and make him one day ſtand his trial there, and ſend him the next to Weſtminſter Hall as the proſecutor of Mr. Haſtings, it could not fail to cover them with ridicule and diſgrace.

Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Marſham, and ſeveral other members, inſiſted ſtrongly on the glaring impropriety of receiving the petition, of its being totally unprecedented, and groſsly diſreſpectful to the houſe of lords, whoſe protection the complainant ought to have ſought, and who were alone competent to interfere on the occaſion. Mr. Pitt, however, and ſome other members, having declared themſelves for receiving the petition, on the ground that Mr. Haſtings, though the object of their accuſation, did not ceaſe to be the object of their juſtice, and therefore ought not to be deprived of the right belonging to every ſubject, of preferring a petition, and ſtating a grievance to that houſe for its conſideration and diſpoſal; the motion was agreed to without a diviſion.

On the Thurſday following, a motion, in conformity to the uſual practice of the houſe on ſimilar occaſions, was entered on the journals, purporting, "that a petition having been preſented by Warren Haſtings, Eſq. againſt the managers of his impeachment, and the name of the Right honourable Edmund Burke being mentioned in the ſaid petition, notice is given to that gentleman, now being in his place, that the houſe will to-morrow take the matter of the ſaid petition into conſideration." April 30.

On that day Mr. Montague having read, as a part of his ſpeech, a letter written to him by Mr. Burke (ſee Appendix to the Chroncle) the firſt difficulty that occurred relative to the mode of proceeding was, whether they ſhould go into proof of the truth or falſehood of the particulars which were complained of by Mr Haſtings as being falſe as well as irrelevant. The affirmative was contended for by the managers, as the petition contained a charge upon them of having aſſerted direct falſehoods. But the maſter of the rolls having given his opinion, that the averment of the falſehood was no more than a proteſtation or formal plea of not guilty, on the part of the petitioner, and that therefore it was not neceſſary to go into the proof, the houſe acquieſced in his opinion.

The next difficulty that occurred, was the mode of aſcertaining the words ſpoken. The notes of the ſhort-hand writers, who attended the trial, being contended for by ſeveral members, Mr. Fox and ſir Grey Cooper objected to their being produced, as contrary to the uniform

practice of parliament. There did not exist in the proceedings of that house an instance of any words, delivered by a member, being ever permitted by that house to be noticed by any but a member of the house, and that too at the moment when the words were uttered; nay, the custom of parliament observed a still stricter rule, for the words must not only be noticed at the moment by a member of the house, but they must also be taken down at the moment, and the objection must then be stated, for the purpose of allowing to the person uttering the words an opportunity of explaining his meaning; and this the honourable baronet illustrated by instances, where the house had been very careful in seeing that no surprise should ever ensnare into an unintentional offence. They were now, for the first time, about to call in third persons as witnesses of words spoken in their own presence; a precedent that, though innoxious in the present instance, might lead to the most serious consequences.—These objections appeared of so much importance to the house, that a committee was appointed to search for precedents.

May 4. The committee reported, that there were no precedents of any complaint of words spoken by managers in Westminster-hall to be found.—The managers again urged their objections to the examination of any short-hand writer; but the favourers of the petition, insisting upon the duty of the house to govern itself in such cases by what should appear most likely to promote the ends of substantial justice, prevailed; and after a division of 115 to 66, the short-hand writer was called in.

The next question was, whether all the particulars complained of by the petitioner should be enquired into, or whether the house might select what part they pleased. Mr. Pitt and others were of opinion, that the house ought to pay no attention to the words said to have been spoken in the former year, as the complaint had been so long deferred; and they should confine themselves to the words relative to Nundcomar. This was also objected to by the managers, as an arbitrary proceeding, but finally agreed to by the house.

Another debate then took place upon the extent of the examination, as restricted to the case of Nundcomar. The managers contended that the whole of that part of Mr. Burke's speech ought to be produced, as necessary to elucidate the nature of the words complained of; the other side were of opinion, that it was only necessary to ask the witness if Mr. Burke had made use of those express words. After much altercation, in which Mr. Fox complained in strong and pointed terms of the indignity and injustice with which the managers were treated, it was agreed that some part of the speech preceding the words should be read; which being done, and the offensive words ascertained, the marquis of Graham rose, and moved, "that the said words were "not authorized by any proceed-"ings of that house." Mr. Fox declared, that he could have no objection to this motion, as it conveyed no censure; it being undoubtedly true, that the words read were not authorized by the house, any more than the speeches or expressions used by any other manager, in substantiating the charges committed

committed to them by the houſe. On the other ſide it was ſaid, that though no direct cenſure was meant to be conveyed, yet it implied, that the manager had exceeded the powers with which he had been entruſted by the houſe. Upon this ſeveral of the managers roſe, and entreated the houſe to deal with them with more openneſs and candour. If they meant to cenſure their conduct, they ought alſo to remove them. The houſe could not, conſiſtently with its own honour, continue them in the management of the impeachment; nor were they ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honour and dignity, as to remain in a ſituation, however elevated, under an imputed cenſure of their conduct. On the other hand, if the motion meant nothing more than the words conveyed, they ſhould feel no heſitation in purſuing, upon any ſimilar occaſion, preciſely the ſame mode of conduct.

In conſequence of theſe declarations lord Graham moved, that the words "and ought not to have been "uſed," ſhould be added to his former motion. This produced another long debate in which Mr. Fox endeavoured to prove both the relevancy of Mr. Burke's words, and the impropriety and injuſtice of the interference of the houſe; and was anſwered by Mr. Pitt and col. Phipps. The houſe at length divided; when there appeared for lord Graham's motion 135, againſt it 66.

In conſequence of this vote ſome difference of opinion is ſaid to have ariſen in the committee of managers, relative to their continuance in that ſituation.—It was, however, reſolved to proceed; and accordingly the next day of trial, Mr. Burke began his ſpeech by commenting on the relative ſituations of himſelf and of the priſoner at the bar, and on the deciſion of the commons with reſpect to their proceedings.

It was his duty, he obſerved, as a manager on the part of the commons, to illuſtrate and enforce, by every proper means, the guilt of Mr. Haſtings. He had, in the purſuit of juſtice, laboured to the beſt of his power and judgment; but in conſequence of a recent proceeding of thoſe by whom he had been delegated, he was to inform their lordſhips that certain expreſſions of his, charging Mr. Haſtings with the murder of Nundcomar, through the agency of Sir Elijah Impey, had been diſavowed by the commons as unauthoriſed by them. He did not mean to arraign the juſtice of this deciſion—he would not even complain that it wore not the complexion of ſupport to the managers whom they had appointed. The deciſion went of courſe to narrow the line of their proceeding, yet ſhould not reſtrain their efforts to uſe their remaining powers with the utmoſt vigour and effect.

But ſtill ſome explanation was due from him to their lordſhips, to members of the houſe of commons, and to ſo reſpectable an auditory.—He had undoubtedly charged Mr. Haſtings with the deſtruction of a witneſs whoſe evidence was neceſſary to the preſent charge; and which the priſoner had, of courſe, endeavoured to invalidate. In ſtating this, however, he had ſaid no more than what he really believed, and what, if neceſſary, he truſted he ſhould be able to prove. He had uſed the word *murder*, not, perhaps, in the ſtrictly legal, but in its

moral and popular ſenſe, to denote a crime, which ſtood, according to his conception, on the ſame line of enormity, but which the poverty of language did not afford him another word to expreſs.

Soon after the concluſion of this buſineſs, a complaint was made to the houſe, by Mr. Marſham, of a paragraph in a public news-paper, in which it was ſaid, "that the "trial of Mr. Haſtings was to be "put off to another ſeſſions, unleſs "the houſe of lords had ſpirit "enough to put an end to ſo "ſhameful a buſineſs." — After ſome obſervations upon the ſcandalous licentiouſneſs of the preſs, a motion was made, and carried unanimouſly, for proſecuting the printer of the paper. In the courſe of the converſation which this motion gave riſe to, Mr. Burke read, from one of the public prints, a curious paper, purporting to be a bill of charges made by the editor upon major Scott, for ſundry articles inſerted in the paper on his account. They chiefly conſiſted of ſpeeches, letters, paragraphs compoſed by him, and amongſt the reſt was this ſingular article, "For attack-"ing the veracity of Mr. Burke, "3*s.* 6*d.*"

A ſhort time before the concluſion of the ſeſſion, an application had been made by the French government to permit 20,000 ſacks of wheat flour to be exported from England, for the relief of the inhabitants of their northern provinces. As the price of corn, at this time, in Great Britain exceeded the exportation price, the matter was neceſſarily brought into parliament. A committe was appointed to enquire into the caſe; who reported, that from a comparative view of the prices of wheat flour in France and in England, they were of opinion, that 20,000 ſacks of flour ought not to be exported.

On the eleventh day of Auguſt the ſeſſions was prorogued by commiſſion; the lord chancellor acquainted the two houſes, that he had his majeſty's commands to thank them for the ſupplies granted, and to aſſure them of the ſatisfaction he felt from the ſituation of affairs abroad, which continued to promiſe to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace. 11th Aug.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

State of the contending armies on the borders of the Danube and the Black Sea. Imperialists. Marshal Haddick, to supply the Emperor's absence, appointed to the command of the grand army. Ottomans in a much worse situation than they had been in the preceding campaign. Fatal consequences of the loss of Oczakow, and the slaughter of their bravest men. Grand Vizir tried at Constantinople, on the double charge, of not providing for the preservation of Oczakow, and of causelessly evacuating the Bannat. Honourably acquitted of both, he returns to the command of the army. Death of Abdul Hamet, the Grand Signior, the greatest misfortune, at that critical period, which could have fallen upon the Turkish empire. Character of that excellent sovereign. Selim, his nephew, soon shews how unworthy he is of being his successor. The wealth of the Grand Vizir, Jussuf Pacha, dooms him to be the first victim to his avarice and cruelty. His destruction followed by that of many others on the same base motives. New Sultan changes all the plans for conducting the war which had been formed by his predecessor and by the late Grand Vizir. Precipitancy, weakness, and rashness, along with rapacity and cruelty, the characteristics of the present reign. Turkish commanders and troops lose all their wonted spirit, hope, and vigour, a misfortune which soon produces the most fatal consequences. Small but severe war carried on between the Russians and Turks through the winter in Moldavia, as well as in the Budziack. Young Tartar prince, son to the Khan, killed in an action near Bender. Humane and honourable conduct of general Kamenskoi, with respect to the body of the prince, and in restoring it to his father. Grateful acknowledgments of the Khan to the Russian general for his generosity and compassion, and the pious consolations with which he endeavours to sooth his own grief. War renewed with great animosity along the frontiers by the Turks and Austrians upon the expiration of the armistice. Empress of Russia exceeds even her usual magnificence in the rewards and honours which she bestows upon the conquerors of Oczakow. Has not yet given up her designs on Egypt, where the Baron de Thorus, late Russian consul at Alexandria, being sent in disguise, and furnished with powers to make great proposals to the Beys to induce them to enter into a treaty, and excite new commotions in the country, the Baron is seized by Ismael Bey, and sent bound, with his credentials and papers, to the Turkish Basha, who commits him close prisoner to the castle of Grand Cairo. Desperate and ferocious valour displayed by the Bosniacs, fighting entirely on their own account, in defence of their estates, families, and country, against the Austrians. Turkish spirit sinks totally before the Russians. General Dorfelden's victory on the banks of the Sereth; pursues his success, attacks the Turkish strong camp at Galats; forces the camp; seizes the whole as a spoil; and routs, disperses, or destroys the enemy's army. War rages in Transylvania and the Bannat. Marshal Laudohn, with the Austrian army on the side of Croatia, makes preparations for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, where he had been foiled the preceding year.

That place, the grand outwork to Belgrade, and hitherto famous for its repeated ſucceſsful reſiſtance, ſtrangely abandoned upon receiving a bombardment. The Marſhal immediately commences his preparations for the ſiege of Belgrade. Prince of Saxe Cobourg has the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Auſtrian arms, by obtaining the firſt victory of any moment which they gained in the courſe of the war. Totally defeats and ruins an army of 30,000 Turks, under the command of a Seraſquier, in the ſtrong fortified camp of Fockzan, in Wallachia. Prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, with a part of Kamenſkoi's army, defeats a body of Turks who were going to the relief of Bender, and takes the whole convoy. New Grand Vizir, with a vaſt army, totally defeated at Martineſti, by the prince of Saxe Cobourg and general Sawarow, with very inferior forces. Grand Turkiſh army totally diſperſed and ruined. Belgrade beſieged and taken by Marſhal Laudohn, who grants favourable conditions to the garriſon and inhabitants. Grand admiral, Haſſan Pacha, quits the fleet in the Black Sea, and takes the command of the army in Beſſarabia, in the hope of ſaving Bender; but, forſaken now by his uſual good fortune, is totally defeated, after an obſtinate battle, by the Princes Potemkin and Repnin, at Tobak. Bender taken after a long ſiege. Bialagrod and Kylia Nova, likewiſe taken by the Ruſſians. Auſtrians no leſs ſucceſsful, take Bucharest and other places, until the noble defence made by the garriſon of Orſova put a ſtop to their farther progreſs.

THE loſs of health and total ruin of his conſtitution, which were the unhappy effects the Emperor experienced from his unfortunate campaign on the Danube, in the year 1788, produced no remiſſion to the Ottomans on that ſide, in the ſucceeding year, from a renewal of thoſe inceſſant aſſaults which they had ſo ſucceſsfully withſtood in the preceding. On the contrary, his generals being freed by that event, from his continual interference in their conduct and deſigns, and ſeveral of them being men of great experience and ability, they now, when left to themſelves, acted with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that it ſeemed difficult to believe they commanded the ſame troops, who had ſo lately been repeatedly baffled and diſgraced.

The ſovereign himſelf ſeemed, however, apprehenſive, that his abſence from the army could not eaſily be ſupplied with effect, and in his anxiety to procure a proper ſubſtitute, thought it neceſſary to draw forth the old field marſhal Haddick from his retirement, as it might be conſidered, at the head of the war department in Vienna, and to place him at the head of the grand army. This general had undoubtedly great and long experience; perhaps exceeding in that reſpect any other in Europe. For he had been highly diſtinguiſhed as an able and moſt active officer, in the earlieſt wars of the late empreſs Maria Thereſa. But he had long lain dormant, and his great age ſeemed a full manumiſſion from all farther active ſervice. The prince de Ligne was appointed ſecond in command under marſhal Haddick. The prince of Saxe Cobourg, whoſe military reputation had riſen very high ſince the commencement of the war, commanded on the ſide of Moldavia,

via, Wallachia, and the Buckowine, and generally acted in concert with the Ruſſians under general Suwarow and others. The prince of Hohenloe, commanded in Tranſylvania, where he had nearly a conſtant ſmall war to maintain on the frontiers. The army expected and intended to be moſt effective, was that commanded by marſhal Laudohn on the ſide of Croatia, who was aſſiſted by the generals Rouvroi, Mitrowſki, and others.

The very bad ſucceſs of the former campaign, along with the unexampled waſte of treaſure and of men with which it was accompanied, and a feeling ſenſe of the heavy ſubſidies which muſt be provided for its continuance, had, however, ſerved, both at Vienna and in the provinces, effectually to cure the people of all ſtomach and inclination for the war. The ſplendid dreams of conqueſts, glory, and the ſpoils of ruined and vanquiſhed nations, were now vaniſhed, and the people, inſtead of thirſting for the wealth or blood of others, would have thought themſelves happy indeed if they could preſerve their own. Though this temper produced complaints and remonſtrances from the provinces, they had no effect upon the court; the emperor's tarniſhed glory, muſt by ſome means, though it were only by deputation, be reſtored to its luſtre, and this could only be done by a ſucceſsful campaign. In a grand council held at Vienna, ſoon after the opening of the year 1789, it was accordingly determined to ſupport the war, in all its parts, with the utmoſt poſſible vigour; heavy ſubſidies were of courſe demanded, and of neceſſity granted; the thinned ranks of the different armies were completely filled up; hope, deſign, and intended action were viſible in every department; and it ſeemed rather the opening of a new war, than the proſecution of an old.

If the ſituation of the Ottomans was by no means mended in their conteſt with the Emperor, they ſtood much worſe with reſpect to their other potent and moſt determined enemy, than they had done at the commencement of the war. The fatality by which, contrary to all reaſon and probability, they had loſt Oczakow, was irrecoverably ruinous. It ſeemed, indeed, an irreſiſtible blow of Providence, deſtined entirely to cruſh a ſinking empire; and to be actually realiſing thoſe old prophecies, by which they fancy themſelves doomed, ſooner or later, to become the victims of that northern people. Such a tradition, and an opinion ſo founded on both ſides might produce no ſmall effects, even without the aid of predeſtination, in nations much leſs ſuperſtitious and more enlightened, than either the Muſſulmans or Ruſſians.

By that fatal blow, beſides the ſlaughter of ſeveral thouſands of their choſen and beſt troops, and including a large proportion of their braveſt and moſt adventurous officers, and by the loſs of Choczim (which could not, however, have been preſerved) the Ruſſian armies were now in the heart of their dominions, both on the ſide of the Black Sea, and in their Danubian provinces. Thus they were to open the campaign under the greateſt diſadvantages, rather waiting the direction of the enemy in their attacks, than being able to purſue any comprehenſive plan of their own

for active service and offensive war. They had likewise lost the flower of their troops in other places besides Oczakow, during the bloody service of the last campaign; and it was perhaps the greatest fault that could be justly imputed to the conduct of the grand vizir, and indeed there could not be a greater, that he had been too prodigal of the lives of his men. Nor could this loss be supplied with effect. The innumerable new levies by which every part of the empire was now indiscriminately drained, being far inferior to those brave men who came forward in the fullness of confidence and enthusiam to the defence of their country at the opening of the war.

On the other hand, the armies of their combined enemies were now in such positions, as would easily admit of their junction if that should be found necessary, and consequently had a free choice of acting jointly or separately, as the occasion might offer, and advantage point out. Their vicinity likewise excited that emulation between the nations which produces such wonderful effects in war. The Austrian, who felt that the military character, and, as he conceived, honour of his country, had been tarnished in the last year, besides that powerful motive for exertion, was farther, and it might be said irresistibly impelled by the consideration, that he was acting immediately under the eye of the victorious and insulting Russian, whose constant triumphs led him to hold the enemy cheap, and to regard those with contempt who were less successful than himself.

We have shewn in our last volume, the clamour that was raised at Constantinople against the grand vizir, on account of his conduct in abandoning the Bannat. A violent faction was likewise formed against him in the divan, which supported, and probably encouraged the intemperance of the populace. This might have been, perhaps, withstood without much difficulty, but the loss of Oczakow blew up a flame which it seemed scarcely possible to extinguish. Nothing could exceed the rage of the people upon receiving the account of that misfortune. All the blame was laid upon the unfortunate general; it was in vain to shew that he had provided amply and excellently for the defence of the place, and that no wisdom, or care could guard against accident, or prevent misfortune. All argument and reason was lost, and an ignorant and barbarous rabble thirsting for blood, thought that nothing could tend so much to the preservation of the empire, as the making a sacrifice of the only man who had shewn himself capable of retrieving its fortune.

It seemed so far fortunate for the grand vizir, that he had not arrived at the capital, at the time the news was received of the loss of Oczakow. In that case, nothing could have saved him from the fury of the multitude. The Grand Signior was almost his only friend, and almost the only person who would acknowledge a due sense of his merit, abilities, and service; but in these points he was inflexible, and neither violence without, nor cabals in the council, could bend him to the sacrifice of his minister and general. It, however, required not only all the sovereign's authority, but no small portion of management and address to save him; at least without exasperating the people in too

too dangerous a degree. On the grand vizir's return to the capital, he was arreſted at ſome diſtance, and brought priſoner under a very ſtrong guard to Conſtantinople. As every body now conſidered him already as a dead man, it ſerved much to allay the rage of the people, as the time ſpent in the forms and delays of a trial (which was publicly announced, and conducted with great parade) contributed ſtill farther to dull the edge of their fury. The novelty of a trial, under a government where ſtate puniſhments are almoſt always ſummary and arbitrary, could not but greatly attract the public attention, and divert it from other matters. The reſult was, the honourable acquittal of the grand vizir from the two capital charges, of his having cauſeleſsly evacuated the Bannat, and of having, through neglect or ill-conduct, been the cauſe of the loſs of Oczakow. The Captain Baſha is ſaid to have had a great ſhare in the management of this affair; and the grand vizir being now freed from apparent danger, was glad to depart from an ungrateful capital, and, truſting to his fortune, and to the friendſhip and firmneſs of his royal maſter, reſumed the command of the army (where he was adored) and made every preparation for ſupporting the war with vigour and firmneſs.

But the Ottoman empire was now to experience a domeſtic misfortune, more fatal, perhaps, than any it could have received from without, and which ſeemed deſtined in its conſequences to obſcure, if not to ſink the Creſcent for ever. This was the loſs of its excellent ſovereign, Abdul Hamet, who being taken ſuddenly ill in the ſtreet, dropped down, and, notwithſtanding the aid of medicine, expired early the following morning. His diſorder ſeems to have been a kind of apoplexy, though his death, as is cuſtomary in ſuch circumſtances, with reſpect to princes, was attributed to poiſon. He was immediately ſucceeded by his nephew Selim, who, with the greateſt integrity and honour, he had moſt carefully bred up and educated for that purpoſe, in prejudice to his own iſſue, but in a pious conformity with the laſt requeſt of his dying brother and predeceſſor. April 7th, 1789.

Abdul Hamet had departed entirely from that intolerable haughtineſs and arrogance, thoſe unjuſt and cruel maxims of policy, and that ſtern ferocious diſpoſition, which had rendered ſo many of his predeceſſors the objects of dread and abhorrence to mankind. Humanity, beneficence, and juſtice, were the leading traits of his character; and he ſeemed a new graft upon the Ottoman ſtock. He had received his education in the ſeraglio at Scutari, near the capital, where, beſides the learning common to his country and religion, in the Turkiſh, Arabic, and Greek, he had been early initiated in the ſciences and languages of ſeveral of the countries of Chriſtendom; he ſpoke the Italian, Spaniſh, and French languages with tolerable fluency, but read and underſtood them all perfectly. This facility of converſation, undoubtedly contributed to render him ſo fond as he was of the company of intelligent Europeans; a gratification which ſeemed to form one of his moſt pleaſing amuſements. He read much, but gave a decided preference to hiſtory and politics, beyond all other ſtudies. Though ſcrupuloufly

loufly exact in his obfervance of all the Muffulman religious rites and duties, yet he was fufpected of being a Freethinker; which perhaps proceeded from his never having been known to condemn, or to treat with ridicule or contempt, the religious rites or opinions of any of the various fects, whether Chriftian or other, which were fpread through the wide circuit of his dominions. On the contrary, he appeared the common father of them all, not only protecting them, as far as his intelligence could reach, from the oppreffion of the Turks, but becoming himfelf occafionally the compofer of their religious feuds, and the mild reftrainer of their violence.

With refpect to government, he faw perfectly, and deeply lamented, the incorrigible vices and abufes which prevailed in every part of the empire, and which were fo clofely entwined in the conftitution itfelf, as not to afford a hope of his being able to eradicate, or even to reform them in any effectual degree. He abhorred the Janizaries, as an ill-governed, turbulent, and moft dangerous body. Their entire diffolution, and the eftablifhment of the military force of the empire upon European principles, were the great objects of his wifhes through the courfe of his reign; and if it had not been his ill-fortune to have lived in '*evil days*,' and in a bad neighbourhood, he might poffibly have gone greater lengths towards their attainment than may be now eafily imagined. He was fond of peace, becaufe it fuited his views, in training his fubjects to the purfuit of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as the means to render them rich and happy, and to which he gave them every encouragement. But he fufficiently fhewed that he was not afraid of war, when neceffity required that fatal decifion.

We have the teftimony of the celebrated count de Vergennes, late prime minifter of France, and formerly ambaffador at the Porte (who can be confidered as no incompetent judge) that Abdul Hamet was one of the fineft gentlemen he had ever feen. Europeans were aftonifhed when they heard him difcourfe with intimate knowledge, of the ftate of the arts, of the amufements, and of the parties in their refpective countries; when they heard him talk like a connoiffeur of the mufic, operas, and paintings of Italy, of the French and Engliih theatres, and ftill more, when he ftated the political views and intereffs of the greater nations, and talked familiarly of the French intrigues in England and Holland, and of the factions which they formed or nurfed in thofe countries. His favourite and happieft parties were formed with the Chriftian miniffers at the Porte; and of thefe, the marquis de Choifeul Gouffier, and fir Robert Ainflie, the French and Engliih ambaffadors, feemed to hold the firft place in favour. In thefe private parties, all aflumption of ftate and dignity was laid afide; a perfect equality appeared, and the moft unreferved freedom of converfation took place. He was fond of wine, and was faid, upon thefe occafions, fometimes to indulge it to excefs. It was in thefe moments of hilarity that he laughingly faid, "if "he were to become an infidel, he "fhould aflfuredly embrace the Ro- "man Catholic communion, for "that all the beft European wines "grew in their countries; and in- "deed, that he had never heard of "a good

" a good Proteſtant wine."—Upon the whole, Abdul Hamet, the morning before his death, might have been ſafely claſſed among the beſt ſovereigns then exiſting.

His ſucceſſor Selim, of whom great hopes ſeemed to have been formed, as if deſtined to reſtore the fortune and greatneſs of the empire, ſoon ſhewed himſelf equally unworthy of the education which he received, and of the inviolable integrity which his uncle had diſplayed in his favour. The opening of his reign was ſullied by avarice and rapacity, and his throne deeply ſtained by cruelty and blood. The wealth of the grand vizir Juſſuf Pacha, which was eſtimated at about a million ſterling, pointed him out as one of the firſt objects for the gratification of theſe ſordid and inhuman paſſions. Inſtead of accepting his wealth as the price of his life, his blood was doomed to be ſacrificed to his treaſure.

This great miniſter and general was ſeized at the head of the grand army at Ruſhchiouk, and being conveyed priſoner to Conſtantinople, was ſentenced to baniſhment, and to the forfeiture of his treaſures; but this puniſhment being, upon reflection, thought too mild, he was murdered on the way to the place of his exile, and his head being brought back in triumph, was hung up to ornament the gates or walls of the ſeraglio. Confiſcations and executions were now become faſhionable, and their terror was leſſened by their frequency; while diſtance or obſcurity could only afford protection againſt the rapacity and cruelty of the new ſultan. The violent ſpirit of caprice and innovation with which he was poſſeſſed, was ſtill perhaps more ruinous to the empire, than even this vile ſyſtem of government. He ſeemed acting the part of Rehoboam. Every thing his uncle or the late grand vizir had done or eſtabliſhed, was altered or overthrown, and, excepting the captain pacha, or grand admiral, every man was diſpoſſeſſed of his office who was qualified to hold it.

The conſequences might have been eaſily foretold, for they could ſcarcely have been other than what they actually were. Fortune totally abandoned the Turkiſh ſtandard. The troops loſt their accuſtomed confidence and valour, and, along with zeal and hope, the ſpirit of enterprize had fled from the commanders. It accordingly fell out, that, from the time the cauſes which produced this fatal change had taken full effect, diſmay, defeat, diſgrace, and ruin, were the conſtant concomitants of the Ottoman armies; until, through a long ſeries of loſſes and miſcarriages, and a continual failure of all their hopes and deſigns, the empire was reduced to ſo abject and deplorable a ſtate, as to owe its exiſtence, in any form, to the intervention of thoſe European powers, who were intereſted in preventing its total downfal.

The baſha of Widin was appointed grand vizir, and only ſerved in that ſtation to ſhew, how totally unqualified he was to ſupply the place of his illuſtrious though unfortunate predeceſſor, and the egregious want of wiſdom that operated in the change. The whole ſcheme of the campaign, as it had been formed by the late ſovereign and his general, was now, like every thing elſe, entirely changed; and in particular, it was deſigned, upon the new ſyſtem, to conduct the war offenſively againſt

againſt Ruſſia, and defenſively with the emperor.

In deſpite of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſome ſmall but ſevere actions had taken place in the courſe of the winter in Moldavia, between the Ruſſians and Turks, where though the former were generally ſucceſsful, the latter by no means ſhewed any lack of that vigour and reſolution which they had diſplayed in the preceding campaign. A petty war of the ſame nature was carried on in the Budziack, and the borders of Bender, between the Ruſſians and Tartars. In one of theſe actions, the death of the young Tartar ſultan, eldeſt ſon of the khan, who lay on the field covered by a heap of his friends, who periſhed bravely in his defence, and in endeavouring to ſave his body from inſult, afforded an opportunity to general Kamenſkoi, to diſtinguiſh himſelf by an act of humanity which did him more honour than the victory.

He had the body carefully ſought out, and all thoſe relics which could ſerve to confirm its identity recovered, from the rapacity of the ſoldiers, and ſent by a deputation of the neighbouring Greek prieſts to the unhappy father, accompanied with a letter of condolence, tenderly commiſerating his ſituation, declaring the deepneſs of his own regret for the misfortune, and lamenting the calamities of war, with that fatal neceſſity, which thus compelled brave men to be the deſtroyers of each other. The khan's letter of acknowledgment in anſwer, may be conſidered as a model in miniature, of natural, pathetic, and unaffected eloquence. The tender but dignified ſenſations of gratitude in which he acknowledges his obligation to the Ruſſian general, the religious piety and philoſophy, with which, though evidently ſtruck to the heart, he endeavoured to conſole his grief, by a due ſubmiſſion to the will of Heaven, and a reflection on the uncertainty of human condition, as well as on the fatal events of war, render it truly affecting, and pleaſingly melancholy. It may be thought remarkable, that the Tartar prince ſeeks no relief in the uſual Greek and Roman conſolation, that his ſon had died bravely: it ſeems as if that circumſtance was too much a matter of courſe, either to excite obſervation, or to afford ſolace; we ſee the man and the father naked and confeſſed, without the aſſumption of an unnatural firmneſs, or the artificial diſguiſe of vanity.

Upon the expiration of the armiſtice between the Auſtrians and the Turks, a petty, but ſevere and deſtructive war, was commenced, and conducted with great animoſity on both ſides, all along the frontiers, both on the ſide of Tranſylvania and of the Danube. In all theſe quarters the Turks ſhewed great vigour at the opening of the campaign.

The empreſs of Ruſſia, fully ſenſible of the value of thoſe great events which hung upon the taking of Oczakow, exceeded even her own uſual magnificence in the rewards which ſhe beſtowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Prince Potemkin, beſides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals ſtruck to eternize his glory, received a ſtaff of command, entwined with laurel, richly ornamented with diamonds, and a preſent in money of a hundred thouſand roubles. The generals, prince Repnin and Suwarow, received magnificent gold-hilted ſwords,

ſwords, richly ſet with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat. Eſtates, lots of peaſants, and ſums of money, were diſtributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted ſwords were ſhowered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant colonel and major; the widow of an artillery colonel, who was ſlain in the attack, was, with her children, conſoled by a good eſtate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower order, and even the non-commiſſioned ſubalterns, and common ſoldiers who were concerned in that affair, were ornamented with ſilver medals.

Neither the diſappointment which the empreſs had experienced in the preceding year, in not being able to ſend a fleet to the Mediterranean, nor even the probable continuance of the war with Sweden, had been ſufficient to induce that great and enterpriſing woman entirely to relinquiſh her deſigns upon Egypt. The baron de Thorus, formerly Ruſſian conſul at Alexandria, who had been deeply engaged in the rebellion of the turbulent Beys, and in the deſolation which conſequently overſpread that rich and fertile country, before the expedition of the grand admiral had reduced them to ſome degree of reaſon and order, was, in the latter part of the preceding year, ſent ſecretly thither again, in order to excite new commotions. For this purpoſe he was furniſhed with ample powers for concluding a permanent treaty with the two moſt powerful and ruling Beys; inſuring to them the ſovereignty of the country in perpetuity, upon condition that they entirely threw off the Ottoman yoke, and placed themſelves under the protection of the empreſs, whoſe fleets and armies would be ready effectually to ſupport them.

The baron, thus provided, having landed ſecretly at Alexandria, and proceeded with the ſame caution up the Nile, preſented himſelf to his old acquaintance, Iſmael Bey, in his camp, for he was one of the great Beys to whom his commiſſion was directed, and commanded the army in Lower Egypt. But this man, moſt unfortunately for the baron, had totally changed his political principles, or at leaſt his diſpoſition with reſpect to the Ruſſians; he accordingly ſent the envoy bound, with his credentials and papers, under a ſtrong guard to the Turkiſh baſha at Grand Cairo, who committed him to a cloſe impriſonment in that caſtle. We are not acquainted with the ſubſequent fate of the baron.

While fortune ſeemed yet wavering in the ſmall frontier war between the Auſtrians and Turks, and that the Boſniacs (appertaining to the latter, but fighting for themſelves) diſplayed acts of the moſt deſperate and ferocious valour, the Ruſſians carried every thing before them in Moldavia; the Ottoman genius and courage ſeeming to ſink ſo entirely in the face of that enemy, that their troops did not ſeem to bear the ſame character with thoſe who were otherwiſe engaged. Habitual ill ſucceſs, predeſtinarian principles, ſuperſtition, and the terror excited by the ſlaughter at Oczakow, ſtruck officers and men with ſuch a panic, that they expected nothing but defeat, and were already beaten in idea, before a blow was given. While cauſes in every thing directly oppoſite, operating with no leſs force on the other ſide, the Ruſſian advanced upon

upon his enemy in all the pride and ſecurity of aſſured triumph and eaſy victory.

In the laſt days of April, general Dorfelden gained a conſiderable victory over a body of Turks on the banks of the river Sereth, where ſeveral hundreds were killed, many driven into the river and drowned, and along with the loſs of their artillery, the baſha who commanded, with ſeveral of his principal officers, and a number of ſoldiers, were made priſoners. The principal Turkiſh force in the province was poſted in a ſtrongly fortified camp near Galats, and this ſucceſs encouraged Dorfelden to march incontinently to their attack. On the firſt of May, after an action of three hours, the camp was ſtormed in different quarters, and nothing but rout, terror, and ſlaughter enſued. About 1,500 Turks were killed; a baſha of three tails who commanded, with ſeveral inferior baſha's, an unuſual number of officers, and above a thouſand ſoldiers, had the fortune to eſcape the ſabre, and to become priſoners. The camp, with its artillery, magazines, ſtores, trophies, and whatever elſe it contained, became a prey to the victors.

The war raged on the borders of Tranſylvania, between the Turks and Auſtrians, through the month of April, the climate there admitting of early ſervice; the latter were ſatisfied to act on the defenſive in that quarter, where their poſts and paſſes in the mountains were too ſtrong to admit of the enemy making any great progreſs. The Turks had an eye ſtill upon the Bannat, into which they made an irruption pretty early in the ſeaſon, which was deemed ſo ſerious, that we find marſhal Haddick with the grand army encamped at Weiſkirchen towards the middle of the ſummer. Nothing of conſequence was, however, done on either ſide in that province; and it had been ſo entirely ruined in the preceding year, that it could not ſuffer much in the preſent.

In the mean time marſhal Laudohn, with the executive army, was on the ſide of Croatia, making the neceſſary preparations for the ſiege of Turkiſh Gradiſca, which had ſo manfully and repeatedly withſtood the Auſtrian attacks in the paſt year, and was now expected to make a very vigorous, if not long defence. Having brought forward a prodigious artillery, both of mortars and battering cannon, and without waiting to break ground or to incloſe the fortreſs, he commenced his operations with a moſt violent cannonade and bombardment. This, however, which could only have been done with a view to diſpirit the garriſon and to ſhatter the houſes, produced an effect which the marſhal had little reaſon to expect; for on the morning of the ſecond day's bombardment, the Turks evacuated the fortreſs, on the ſide that was open towards the mountains, and marched off bag and baggage in good order, without interruption, the conquerors ſeeming too well ſatisfied with their cheap ſucceſs, to attempt diſturbing their retreat. June 20th.

It is difficult to determine the motive, or to account for the principle, which could have induced the new grand vizir, or whoever conducted the war under him in that quarter, to have given up this fortreſs ſo eaſily. Beſides its ſtrength, the garriſon had been trained up in a ſuc-

a ſucceſsful courſe of defence, and were in the habit of baffling their enemy. Laudohn himſelf, notwithſtanding the rapid ſucceſs of his arms in taking other places, had been foiled before this in the preceding year, the winter having obliged him to abandon it after a ſiege of conſiderable length. But it was otherwiſe a place of the utmoſt importance. For it might be conſidered as the great and principal outwork of Belgrade; it being the only fortreſs now left, which could have rendered the ſiege of that place difficult, if not impracticable; and the whole time ſpent before the former would have been ſo much gained to the ſecurity of the latter; for if the ſiege of Belgrade had been procraſtinated to a certain ſeaſon, the rivers would have fought in defence of the town upon the approach of winter. This was ſo well underſtood by marſhal Laudohn, that as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of Gradiſca (by the Turks called Berbir) he immediately commenced, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, his preparations for the ſiege of Belgrade.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg had the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Auſtrian arms, by obtaining the firſt victory of any moment which they had gained in the courſe of the preſent war. A Turkiſh ſeraſquier at the head of an army of 30,000 men being encamped near Fockſan in Wallachia, which town he had fortified, and formed great magazines in it, the prince of Cobourg, with a much inferior force, attacked him in his camp, and gained a moſt complete victory. The ſeraſquier himſelf, with a number of his principal officers, were taken priſoners, above 5,000 of his men killed or taken, the whole army diſperſed and ruined, while the artillery and ſpoils of the camp, with the town of Fockſan, and all its magazines, fell into the hands of the victors. It was ſo new a ſpectacle at Vienna to behold any marks of ſucceſs or triumph ariſing from this hitherto unfortunate war, that the arrival of the expreſs upon this occaſion, preceded by a number of horns, and diſplaying a few of the moſt portable trophies of victory, diffuſed an exceſs of joy beyond all deſcription among the inhabitants; and if the unfortunate emperor's ſtate of health had not been too deplorable to admit relief, it is not to be doubted, but this, along with the ſucceeding fortunate events which were ſoon to take place, might have contributed much to his recovery.

The grand vizir, who, among his other vain-glorious aſſumptions, had boldly pledged himſelf for the recovery of Oczakow, made many preparations and movements which indicated a deſign of endeavouring to fulfil his promiſe; but a dreadful ſcarcity of proviſions which ſorely diſtreſſed his army, along with the watchful eye of the Ruſſians upon all his motions, and above all, the torrent of ill fortune which now began to overwhelm him from every quarter, not only eraſed all traces of that deſign, but ſoon convinced him, that even the preſervation of Bender was not within the compaſs of his power or fortune.

We have already ſeen that general Kamenſkoi, who commanded the Ruſſian forces in Beſſarabia, had poſted them in ſuch a manner through the winter, as, without forming a regular blockade, greatly to incommode the garriſon of Bender, by cutting

cutting off their communications and intercepting their ſupplies. This being not only continued, but the evil augmented in the fine weather of ſummer, the garriſon was reduced to great diſtreſs, and its relief became a matter of neceſſity. The prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, who had gained great renown at the taking of Oczakow, and now commanded a detachment of Kamenſkoi's army, derived an opportunity, from this ſtate of things, of adding new laurels to the former. He had the fortune, near Cauſchan, on the Nieſter, to fall in with a ſeraſquier, at the head of ſeven or eight thouſand ſpahis, or Turkiſh cavalry, who were conducting relief to the garriſon of Bender. Though the prince was inferior in force, he inſtantly attacked the Turks, and ſeems to have had no great difficulty in totally routing and diſperſing them, their convoy, and every thing they poſſeſſed, falling into his hands, and the ſeraſquier himſelf being made priſoner.

But defeats were now to become ſo common with the Ottomans, as to afford no matter of ſurpriſe either to themſelves or others. As none of the contending parties are in the habit of giving any preciſe detail of their military movements or tranſactions, we can only acquire a knowledge of events of ſome notoriety as they occurred, without any information as to the previous ſteps, cauſes, or motives which led to them. Thus, in the preſent inſtance, we find the grand vizir, not long after the battle of Fockſan, with his whole army, in the heart of Wallachia, without any account how or where he paſſed the Danube.

In whatever manner he entered that province, this enterprize proved fatal to his army, and nearly ſo to the Ottoman empire. The combined forces of Auſtria and Ruſſia, under the prince of Cobourg and general Suwarow, eſtimated only at about 30,000 men, had the hardihood to attack the grand Turkiſh army, ſaid Sept. 22d. to conſiſt of between ninety and a hundred thouſand, near Martineſti, where they gained, with little difficulty or loſs, one of the moſt ſignal and extraordinary victories known in modern times. We have no particulars of the mode of attack, of the nature of the ground, nor any of the circumſtances that led to this cheap victory. Nothing is related but the rout, ſlaughter, purſuit and diſperſion of the grand Turkiſh army, as if theſe had been matters of courſe, and the inevitable conſequences of their meeting.

Above 5,000 Turks were killed on the ſpot, and about 2,000 in the purſuit; and nothing but the blunted ſwords, the wearied arms, and the tired horſes of the purſuers, could have checked the ſlaughter. Few or no priſoners were made, the rage and indignation of the Turks being excited in ſuch a degree by the ſhamefulneſs of their defeat, (which, as uſual, they attributed entirely to their general) that they diſdained to accept of quarter. The whole camp as it ſtood, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors. 300 camels, 400 oxen, 5,000 loaded waggons, 8,000 tents, 6 mortars, 17 pieces of heavy cannon, 64 field pieces, near 100 ſtandards, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and ſtores, were among the ſpoils and trophies of victory. A few hundred men in killed and wounded, was the whole loſs of the victors.

The

The fugitives having croſſed the little river Rimini, continued their flight, without intermiſſion, towards the borders of the Danube, which they paſſed as they could, with the utmoſt precipitation, rending the air with exclamations and curſes againſt their general. The grand vizir had the ill fortune to eſcape; he was deſtined, beſides the loſs of his head, which at the end of the campaign was the cloſe of his military career, deſervedly to endure the taunts, ſcoffs, and reproaches of the populace, which he incurred by his ſtupid arrogance and blind contempt of his warlike enemies, in cauſing an immenſe quantity of iron chains to be made, when he took the command of the army, in order to manacle the legions of Auſtrian and Ruſſian priſoners, who he vainly expected to drive before him to Conſtantinople as monuments of his triumph. He was evidently a headſtrong, ignorant man, deſtitute of every quality neceſſary for a general, excepting thoſe merely of enterprize and courage; and it ſeemed as if nothing leſs than the ill fortune incident to a falling empire, could have induced the choice of ſuch a ſupporter for the tottering fabric.

This great and ſplendid victory raiſed the prince of Saxe Cobourg nearly to the pinnacle of military renown, and the emperor, along with other marks of his favour and gratitude, promoted him immediately to the rank of field marſhal. The empreſs of Ruſſia likewiſe conſidered this victory of ſuch great importance with reſpect to her views upon Bender, that, along with great compliment and praiſe, ſhe, in her uſual magnificence, preſented the prince with a magnificent gold ſnuff box, ſo richly ornamented with diamonds, as to be valued at 16,000 roubles.

We have before ſeen that marſhal Laudohn had early commenced his preparations for the ſiege of Belgrade, and theſe were carried to an extent, and occaſioned a waſte of time, which, if we may be allowed to form any opinion from the event, neither the magnitude nor difficulty of the ſervice rendered neceſſary. In particular, a fleet of armed veſſels was formed on the Danube for that purpoſe, which was, indeed, practiſed in former ſieges; but in thoſe days the enemy had an equal force on the river; ſo that the naval conteſts on the Danube emulated thoſe of other nations on the ocean. But in the preſent inſtance, it does not appear that the Turks had any force whatever on the river. Cuſtom and precedent are, however, matters of conſideration in all German tranſactions, and a general being under the controul, in a conſiderable degree, of the council of war at Vienna, finds it neceſſary to comply with eſtabliſhed forms, even where they militate with his own opinion.

On the 12th of September, the ſeveral diviſions of Laudohn's army united, without oppoſition, at the heights of Dedina, near Belgrade, where they encamped, having a full command of the old lines of circumvallation conſtructed by prince Eugene, in the celebrated ſiege of 1717: a circumſtance which could not but greatly facilitate their operations; as theſe lines, from whatever cauſe or negligence it proceeded, had in no degree been ſufficiently eraſed.

We do not find that the beſiegers met with any great interruption from the garriſon in their approaches, ſo that the trenches were ſpeedily

opened, and batteries conſtructed on the ſide of the heights, where marſhal Laudohn commanded, againſt the upper town, and by the prince de Ligne, on the borders of the Saave, oppoſite to Semlin, againſt the lower. The fatal defeat which the Turks received at Martineſti, on the 22d, could not but produce its effect on the ſpirit and hope both of the beſieged and beſiegers. It was poſſibly a ſenſe of its operation which induced M. Laudohn, after a terrible cannonade and bombardment, to aſſault at the ſame time, early on the morning of the laſt day of the month, all the ſuburbs and outworks of the place, which were all carried ſword in hand.

The body of the place being thus left naked, and all relief hopeleſs, it could not be expected to hold out long, and the Turkiſh governor accordingly, in about a week, liſtened to a capitulation. By this time the Auſtrians had nearly filled up the ditch with faſcines, had chaſed the beſieged out of the covered way, had advanced their batteries within 150 yards of the body of the place, had deſtroyed the beſt houſes in the town, and among the reſt the governor's palace, by their ſhells and red-hot balls; to complete the impoſſibility of farther defence, their prodigious artillery, with the weight and nearneſs of their unintermitting fire, had diſmantled moſt of the cannon upon the works, at the ſame time that they had mines ready to ſpring under two principal baſtions and a ravelin, which would have laid the place entirely open.

Oct. 8.

In this ſtate of things Oſman Pacha, the governor, requeſted an armiſtice for 16 days; a compliance, with which it was not poſſible he could have ſeriouſly expected. This being peremptorily refuſed, and only a few hours allowed for drawing up and ſigning the capitulation, the governor was obliged to ſubmit to the neceſſity of his ſituation. Laudohn, upon this occaſion, as upon all others, acted the part of a ſoldier and a man of honour. Satisfied with the important and great conqueſt he had made, and the glory he acquired, he diſdained to oppreſs the unfortunate, or to trample upon the fallen. This was the more praiſeworthy, as the obſtinacy with which the governor rejected all his propoſals, even after the outworks and ſuburbs were taken, would, in the opinion of other commanders, have warranted no ſmall ſeverity of treatment. Yet, notwithſtanding, he was ſatisfied with giving the governor a gentle rebuke for his contumacy, at the ſame time that he granted the moſt favourable and honourable conditions. The garriſon and inhabitants were ſecured in all their property and effects of every ſort; and even the merchants, who had ſtocks of proviſions on their hands, were allowed to ſell them at the beſt price they could get; and, to prevent all impoſition and fraud, the marſhal himſelf deſired, that four Turkiſh commiſſaries ſhould be left behind to manage the ſales. The garriſon, with their women, families and effects, were to be conveyed, in the beſt manner, by water to Orſova, under the care of an Auſtrian eſcort, for whoſe good conduct and behaviour the marſhal rendered himſelf anſwerable. The inhabitants, of all religions, with their effects, were to be conveyed in the ſame manner; and full ſecurity was granted to all, for any property which they had not time or opportunity to diſpoſe of before their departure. There was a ſpecial

a ſpecial article, that the Jews and Chriſtians of Servia ſhould be treated with every degree of indulgence in their conveyance. It is ſingular, that the uſual honours of war are not mentioned on either ſide.—About 300 pieces of heavy artillery, with an immenſe quantity of ſtores and ammunition, were found in the place.

It ſeemed as if the emperor, who conſidered himſelf as ſo little a favourite of fortune in the fore part of his life, that he once, in a fit of vexation, recommended the following inſcription as the proper one for his monument: "Here lies ———, who never ſucceeded in any of his undertakings," was now deſtined, near its cloſe, to be overwhelmed with her favours. He had ſcarcely time to ruminate upon and enjoy the glad tidings of the great victory at Martineſti, when general Klebeck, in the habit of a courier, and preceded by 24 poſtilions ſounding their horns, arrived with the more intereſting and important news of the taking of Belgrade. The ſick and exhauſted monarch quitted his bed to receive the joyful news. The former ill ſucceſs, had prepared the people for the moſt extravagant joy on this extraordinary reverſe of fortune. All the evils of the war, and all the diſtreſſes of the people through taxation and military conſcription, were at once forgotten, and the rejoicings now at Vienna had not probably been exceeded, ſince the famous John Sobieſki had ſaved that capital from the Turks in the year 1683. The emperor ſent his own diamond ſtar, of the order of Maria Thereſa, to marſhal Laudohn; an honour the more diſtinguiſhed, as he had hitherto admitted of no companions, excepting the princes of his own family, in that order.

Even the emperor's health ſeemed to derive ſome benefit from the preſent tide of good fortune; though his conſtitution was too far gone to admit of a permanent reſtoration. The evil habit of his body had added to his primary diſorders, of a pulmonary conſumption, with a ſlow fever, which terminated finally in a hectic, that moſt painful cauſe of complaint, a fiſtula; for which he had been obliged to undergo, beſides an exceſſive loſs of blood, more than one manual operation. He appeared now, however, to approach ſo far towards a recovery, that he diſmiſſed, with the moſt liberal and princely rewards, an eminent phyſician, and a ſurgeon of the ſame rank, who it had been thought neceſſary to call in to the aſſiſtance of his uſual medical attendants. It happened unfortunately, that this gleam of hope was tranſient and illuſive.

It was about the time that Belgrade was taken, that the grand admiral, Haſſan Pacha, thinking, perhaps, that the ſingular good fortune which had attended him through life might ſtill continue, and enable him to reſiſt that torrent of ruin which was overwhelming the empire, thought fitting to quit the command of the fleet in the Black Sea, (where ſome indeciſive actions only had taken place during the preſent ſeaſon) and to endeavour to ſave Bender, by taking the command of the army in Beſſarabia, and committing every thing to the dangerous deciſion of a battle with the grand Ruſſian army, under the princes Potemkin and Repnin, trained up, as it was, in a conſtant courſe of conqueſt and victory.

The hoſtile armies met at Tobak

in Beſſarabia, not far from Bender, where the Turks ſeemed, under the auſpices of Haſſan Bey, to have recovered their former confidence and courage. But the grand admiral's fortune was now to deſert him; and, after a hard-fought battle, for ſeveral hours obſtinately maintained, his army was totally defeated, with the loſs of ſeveral thouſand men, and of the greater part, if not the whole, of their artillery. We have had various opportunities of ſeeing, that one of the moſt fatal as well as the moſt common conſequences of the Turkiſh deficiency in diſcipline and tactics is, that they are incapable of drawing an army off from a field in the face of the enemy, or of conducting a retreat properly; ſo that their battles admitting of no medium, abſolute victory or total defeat are the only alternatives. This battle decided the fate of Bender; before which prince Potemkin immediately ſat down; but notwithſtanding the long diſtreſs it had already undergone, it was not ſurrendered until the middle of November.

Every thing now, either fell before or fled from the arms of the combined powers, and it ſeemed as if nothing leſs than the winter could have prevented the ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire, at leaſt in Europe; its exiſtence afterwards muſt have been ſhort indeed! The Turks were now ſo ſunk and diſpirited, that they could no longer bear the ſight of their enemy, and any ſmall Auſtrian or Ruſſian detachment was ſufficient to diſperſe any number of thoſe that attempted to form a body. The Aſiatics, ſtruck with horror at the idea of being compelled to endure an European winter, could not be retained any longer, by entreaty or force, but marched off, without leave or notice, in great bodies to the Helleſpont. And while the Porte was thus overborne on the ſide of Europe, her ancient and implacable enemies, the Perſians, hoping to profit by her preſent diſtreſs, ſeemed for a time to forget thoſe mutual animoſities which ſeemed incurable, and began to direct thoſe ſwords, which had for ſo many years been drenched in civil blood, againſt her eaſtern frontiers. To render her ſituation ſtill more deplorable, and even hopeleſs, anarchy and inſurrection prevailed in ſeveral of the beſt provinces of the empire.

The Ruſſians purſued their conqueſts to the Black Sea, where the ſtrong port town of Bialogrod, more generally known of late years by the Turkiſh name of Ackirman, ſituated at the mouth of the Nieſter, fell without much difficulty into their hands; ſuch being the preſent ſtate of hopeleſſneſs and diſorder, that the garriſon was not competent to its defence. Kylia Nova, another fortreſs, lying on the northern mouth of the Danube, and which in better times would have been deemed a conqueſt of difficulty, became now likewiſe an eaſy prey.

The Auſtrians were likewiſe carrying every thing before them; Buchareſt, the capital of Wallachia, the ſtrong fortreſs of Czernitz, with the greateſt part of that fine province, notwithſtanding the unconquerable ſpirit and indefatigable exertions of prince Maurojeni, (who of all their chriſtian ſubjects was diſtinguiſhed for never ſwerving from his faith and loyalty to the Ottomans) fell incontinently into their hands. On the ſide of Servia they were no leſs ſucceſsful; having taken Cladova, the places of leſs ſtrength

ſtrength and conſequence ſurrendered without oppoſition, and they overrun the province to the walls of Orſova. There, however, their progreſs was ſtayed, by the virtue and unexpected firmneſs of the garriſon; who, at a time when all hearts were ſunk in diſmay and terror under the preſent torrent of misfortune, boldly roſe to oppoſe the danger, and, diſdaining to liſten to any terms of accommodation, prepared for the moſt obſtinate defence.

The ſiege of Orſova was commenced with all the expedition, and the operations conducted with all the vigour, which a ſenſe of the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and ſtrong reſentment for the confident preſumption of the garriſon, could poſſibly induce. A terrible bombardment, with ſhowers of red-hot balls, and all the other modern methods of accelerating the deſtruction of fortreſſes, were accordingly recurred to with unceaſing violence. But the minds of the beſieged were not eaſily ſubdued; and they covered and maintained their works with ſuch deſperate valour, that the impreſſion made on them bore no proportion to the fury with which they were aſſaulted. By this means the progreſs of the Auſtrians was protracted, until the ſeverity of the winter, operating as a powerful auxiliary, compelled them to raiſe the ſiege; and thereby afforded that meed of honour to the garriſon which their unequalled bravery ſo highly merited. This diſappointment was the more felt, as it was well known in the army, that the emperor ſet his mind particularly upon the taking of Orſova, and could not at all regard the ſucceſs of the campaign, great as it was, complete without.

It is but juſtice to Selim (whoſe conduct upon his acceſſion we reprehended with not more ſeverity than juſtice) to acknowledge, that he bore this unexampled torrent of ill fortune with the greateſt conſtancy and firmneſs, and that, inſtead of ſinking in deſpondency, or of perſevering in a vain reliance on his native powers, he had judgment enough to perceive that they were totally incapable of preſerving the empire, and ſpirit enough to ſeek for other reſources wherever they could be found. With this view he reſumed the policy of his uncle, and looked to Europe as the only quarter which could afford a counterpoiſe to the exorbitant power and ambition of the two domineering empires. Sweden had already done all that ſhe could, and more than ſhe could bear; but the diſproportion of force was ſo vaſt, that while ſhe ruined herſelf in the attempt, the effect which it produced in the operations of Ruſſia againſt the Porte were ſcarcely perceptible. Other alliances were then to be ſought, and, as France was now out of the queſtion, the king of Pruſſia, and the maritime powers, were the only object of hope; and indeed the only European ſtates who were capable of interfering with effect in checking the progreſs of the combined empires. He accordingly laid himſelf out with the greateſt aſſiduity to cultivate the friendſhip of theſe three powers, and to enter into the cloſeſt poſſible alliance and connection with them; thus reſting his hope of preventing the downfal of the Creſcent, and the overthrow of Mahometaniſm, upon chriſtian aſſiſtance, inſtead of the aid of his prophet.

CHAP. VIII.

Difficult and embarraſſed ſtate of the king of Sweden's affairs at the cloſe of the year 1788, *notwithſtanding the armiſtice with the Danes, and the retreat of their army out of the kingdom. Situations in which the moſt daring and hazardous meaſures become prudent and neceſſary acts. Guſtavus heroically determines to overcome his difficulties, and thereby retrieve his affairs, or to periſh in the encounter. Fortunately, notwithſtanding ſome intervening jealouſies, the three lower claſſes of the people ſtill continued much attached to him. Incurable animoſity of the equeſtrian order. Diet ſummoned to meet at Stockholm. King calls a meeting of the magiſtrates, accompanied by fifty of the moſt ancient and reſpectable citizens of that capital, to whom, as to a grand council of ſtate, he communicates, in a moſt eloquent ſpeech, the whole ſtate of his affairs; ſhews how his inveterate foreign enemy had, by inſidiouſly practiſing upon his own diſaffected ſubjects, rendered them the inſtruments of fruſtrating all the well-laid deſigns, and blaſting all the fair hopes of the preceding campaign. Aſſembly encourage the king to the proſecution of the war, and engage to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies. Diet meets. Equeſtrian order ſoon ſhew their indiſpoſition to ſtand upon good terms with the king. They firſt cavilled about the body of free Dalecarlians, which had joined the king with ſo much zeal in the preceding ſeaſon of danger, being garriſoned in Stockholm. This the nobles reſented with much ill-humour, on the double account of its being an infraction of the freedom of the diet, and of its being a direct affront to their order, from its implying a ſuſpicion of their loyalty and honour. But being totally unſupported by the other orders, their ill-humour on this ground comes to nothing. The king having appointed count Lowenhaupt to be marſhal of the diet, the nobility, on that account, inſult him ſo groſsly, that he abſents himſelf from diſcharging the duties of his ſtation under ſuch public diſhonour. The king, finding himſelf ſecure in the attachment of the three other orders, goes to the diet to demand reparation for the inſult offered to himſelf through the marſhal. High words and very harſh language between the king and the nobles, until he throws out a charge of diſaffection and treaſon, without naming particular perſons, when they all quit the aſſembly in a body. King makes a ſpeech to the remaining ſtates, which is received with ſatisfaction. Three days after, their houſes being ſuddenly ſurrounded by detachments of the guards and of the armed burghers of Stockholm, 25 of the principal nobility of the kingdom are ſeized, and ſent priſoners to the caſtle of Fredericſhoff. Mutinous commanders and officers in Finland already arreſted, and on their way, as priſoners, to Stockholm, to be tried for their lives. Ordered to prepare for their trials. Names of ſeveral of theſe unfortundte gentlemen. King's conduct meets ſuch general approbation, that the ſmalleſt commotion is not produced by theſe violent meaſures. Numberleſs reſignations take place; ſpirit and ſtrength of the equeſtrian order entirely broken. Dangerous precedent eſtabliſhed againſt the nobility, of carrying on the public buſineſs in the diet without them. New privileges granted to the peaſants. Senate entirely aboliſhed, and a new court appointed to ſupply its place. King's ſpeech to the diet. Act of confederation. King, triumphant at home, prepares for the proſecution of the war, by ſea and land, with the utmoſt*

utmoſt vigour. Severe ſentences paſſed on the Finland officers, conſiderably mitigated through the king's lenity. Succeſsful efforts of Mr. Elliot, in behalf of the allied courts, to induce the court of Copenhagen to agree to a ſtrict neutrality, relieves the Swediſh ſovereign from all apprehenſion on that ſide. War in Finland. Rough face, and ſavage nature of the country, little calculated for rapid ſucceſs or brilliant action. A number of ſmall but ſevere and bloody actions take place. Encounter between the Ruſſian fleet, and the Swediſh commanded by the duke of Sudermania, terminates without deciſion or effect. Baron Stedink defeats the Ruſſian general de Schultz. This ſucceſs counterbalanced by the haſty and dangerous retreat which the king was obliged to make out of Ruſſian Finland. King expoſes his perſon like a common volunteer. Takes Hogfors, where he is joined by his fleet of gallie , and other light veſſels, which are ſpeedily attacked by the prince of Naſſau, with a ſimilar armament. Unuſually hard-fought, deſperate, and bloody action, between the hoſtile fleets. Swedes worſted, and obliged to retire under the cannon of Sweaburg. Great ſuperiority of the Ruſſians in point of number, could not be compenſated by any exertions of valour. This action deciſive with reſpect to the fortune of the campaign. King again retires, with much difficulty and danger, from the Ruſſian territories, and his garriſon at Hogfors narrowly eſcapes being cut off. Ruſſians, while the weather permits, become maſters of the ſea, and ſpread terror every where. Winter puts an end to the campaign, and the king returns to his capital.

WE ſaw in our laſt volume the exceedingly embarraſſed ſtate of the king of Sweden's affairs, and the more than common perſonal and political dangers with which he was environed in the latter part of the year 1788; and, though theſe were much leſſened by that powerful interpoſition which, towards the cloſe of the year, obliged the Danes to withdraw their invading auxiliary army, and to conclude an armiſtice for ſix months, yet he was ſtill involved in ſuch difficulties as rendered his ſituation extremely critical. For the conſequences of his being overborne in war, by an enemy too mighty for his contention with any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs, formed only a part of the evils and dangers which he had to apprehend. That enemy, by her influence and cabals with his own ſubjects, had found means to ſhake his authority in the very ſeat of his power. He had already experienced the ſingular misfortune, of a well-diſciplined and undaunted army, not only queſtioning his orders, but heightening the diſgrace to him and to themſelves, by refuſing, in the field, and in the view of a foreign enemy, to draw their ſwords in his behalf. The army's entering afterwards into a convention, and aſſuming the authority of concluding an armiſtice with the ſame enemy, and that without conſulting the king's approbation, or ſeeking his conſent, could not add much to the effect of their former conduct, with reſpect either to military ſubordination, or to the point of allegiance. Thus the nature of the war was totally changed, and inſtead of any queſtions upon that ſubject, the only ſtate problem now ſeemed to be, whether the king ſhould continue to reign in any form.

He had indeed difficulties to en-

counter, which would have required all the fortitude and all the abilities of either the firſt, or the great Guſtavus to ſurmount. In this ſtate of affairs, peace muſt have been of all things the moſt deſirable to the king, and the moſt ſuitable to his circumſtances. But his potent enemy was too haughty, and too implacable in her reſentments, to liſten now to peace upon any terms of equality. She had beſides too intimate a knowledge of his affairs, and too clear a view of the difficulties and dangers with which he was ſurrounded, not fully to comprehend the advantages that were to be derived from them: ſo that political intereſt and perſonal animoſity were equally indicative of the courſe to be purſued. The king ſaw that peace could not be hoped for upon any conditions, which would not be in the laſt degree diſgraceful at preſent, and totally ruinous to the rights and intereſts of the crown in future. That he muſt have ſigned a charte blanche, to be filled up by his mortal enemy: that the immediate and inevitable conſequence would have been, his return to that wretched ſtate of thraldom under which his father had languiſhed through life, and which reduced him to the hard neceſſity of determining to relinquiſh a crown, rather than to bear the name of it, ſubjected to the affronts and mortifications which he continually experienced.

There was no alternative but that of putting every thing, crown and exiſtence, to the hazard, in an heroic endeavour to overcome the difficulties and ſurmount the dangers that ſtood in his way. It was a ſituation as new as it was dangerous; involved in war with a ſuperior enemy, and diſtracted by internal diſſention, to attempt a reform of government, and the new-modelling and puniſhment of a mutinous army, under the eyes of that enemy, and which had itſelf been the author both of the diſſention and mutiny. Highly emulous of the glory of the moſt renowned of his predeceſſors, Guſtavus felt his mind equal to the magnitude of the difficulty and danger; and, in the worſt event that could happen, he determined rather to periſh in the generous encounter, than to ſink into the obſcurity and inſignificance to which, in the preſent circumſtances, he muſt have been condemned by the degrading conditions of ſuch an inglorious peace as he could now only obtain.

It happened very fortunately for the king, that through his reign, and even during his father's life, he had highly gained the opinion, attachment, and affection of the lower claſſes of the people. The order of peaſants was generally devoted to him, and the burghers in no ſmall degree; we have heretofore ſeen more than one inſtance, of the ſtrong attachment which the citizens of Stockholm, in particular, bore to his perſon, and of the advantages which he derived from it. It is true, that one act of his reign, as well as ſome ſubſequent duplicity with which he was charged relative to it, contributed not a little to leſſen his popularity. This was the monopoly of brandy, the making and ſale of which was ſeized by the crown, and no private diſtilleries admitted. No impoſition could have been more grievous in ſo poor a country, where ſuch immenſe quantities of that commodity are of neceſſity conſumed, and where every man that pleaſed was before his own diſtiller. In conſequence of great complaints and ſtrong remonſtrances on the ſubject,

ject, the peasants understood at a former diet, that the king had agreed to relinquish the monopoly. But it was so productive a source of ready-money revenue, that the king could not easily bring himself to forego the benefit which he derived from it, and this non-compliance being considered as a breach of faith, could not but occasion much discontent. But notwithstanding this jealousy, the influence which the king had obtained with the three lower orders of the state could only be weakened, and he still possessed a greater portion of it than usually fell to the lot of sovereigns.

On this popularity, and on his own dexterity and courage in its application, now rested all hope of the king's being able to subdue, or even to counteract, the incorrigible obstinacy of the equestrian order; the principals of whom were so implacable in their resentments on account of the revolution, that, after a lapse of so many years, no favours, preferments, honours, or even apparent ties of friendship, seemed capable of curing their animosity. Some of them, however, stood upon more honourable ground, and seemed, independent of party or faction, to act up to what they deemed their public duty, and to the true principles of patriotism. This was particularly exemplified by some of those commanders, who had acquired the greatest glory, and performed the most signal service, in the bloody naval action of the preceding year against Russia. Having, when involved in the occasion, filled up with applause all the duties of men of honour and gallant officers, the same nicety of principle which operated in service, forbade them any farther to support a war, which they held to be unconstitutional and illegal; they accordingly resigned their commissions, as soon as the campaign was closed, and the fleet safely laid up: thus voluntarily tearing away the laurels which they had so nobly attained.

The king had summoned a diet to meet at Stockholm early in the year 1789; and upon his return from Gottenburgh to that city, thinking it necessary, in order to maintain and increase his influence with the inhabitants, and as usefully preparatory to the execution of those measures which he had determined to adopt, he called a meeting of all the magistrates, to which he likewise invited fifty of the most respectable and ancient citizens. Nothing could be more flattering than the importance and distinction which they seemed thus to attain; while the king, looking clearly into the minds of men, gave it full effect, by treating the assembly as if it were a grand council of state, in whose breasts the fate of nations was concentered. After expressing the most grateful sense, and in the most flattering terms, of the readiness with which they accepted, and the fidelity with which they had discharged, the great trust he reposed in them, of being the protectors of every thing that was most dear to him during his absence, he then laid before them the whole state of public affairs; shewed the fair prospect which he had had in the preceding year of a most successful campaign, and of retrieving the glory of Sweden, when he was arrested in the midst of his hopes and pursuit, by the insidious intrigues of their inveterate enemy, which were, unhappily, too well seconded by the disaffection of a number of his own subjects, which extended so far as to contaminate

contaminate his army, and led it to the disgraceful and fatal excess of a mutiny, in the presence of their sovereign, and in the face of a foreign enemy. On this subject, and on the unexpected and insidious attack of the Danes, in the midst of his troubles, and procured by the same enemy, he expatiated with all the usual force and effect of his eloquence; impressing his auditors with the fullest conviction of every thing he wished to establish, and rendering them individually parties in his grievances. The immediate consequence was, their unanimous declaration for the continuance of the war, with a warm assurance of their lives and fortunes being devoted to his service.

Thus confirmed and secured in the opinion and affections of his capital, the king waited with confidence for the meeting of the diet, and felt himself more assured in the prosecution of his designs. He likewise made every possible preparation for carrying on the war with the greatest vigour both by sea and land.

The diet met on the 26th of January 1789, and, after some days spent in preparatory forms, was opened by the king in a long speech to the four orders, after which the secretary of state read a paper, stating those matters which were particularly urged for their consideration, including more especially what related to the prosecution of the war. Although the usual congratulations and compliments were passed by all the orders, yet it was soon perceived, that the nobles were not only far from being disposed to coincide in the king's views, but that they paid very little regard to the terms upon which they were to stand with respect to him.

The first ground or pretence of squabble was, the king's having drawn the body of free Dalecarlians, who had joined him with so much zeal in the preceding season of danger, into Stockholm, as a garrison. This was resented with much ill-humour by the order of nobles (and by them alone) on the double account, of its shewing a distrust of their honour and loyalty, and of its being an infraction of the freedom of the diet, and calculated to influence or overawe their deliberations. This was carried so far, that several of the more violent party used it as a pretext for absenting themselves for several days from their duty at the diet.

The second ground of dispute was the king's appointment or nomination of count Lowenhaupt (a name memorable in the reign of Charles the XIIth) to be marshal of the diet. This nobleman's being a particular and intimate friend of the king's of many years standing, was a sufficient motive for rendering him in the highest degree obnoxious to the opposite party, who formed a vast majority in that order. The consequence was soon apparent; the marshal was treated with a degree of contempt, and coarseness of behaviour, without example in his situation; and every proposal that came through him from the throne, relative to the public business, was instantly rejected, without any regard to the common forms of deliberation or debate. At length the marshal was so grossly insulted, that he felt it incompatible with his honour to attempt any farther, under such circumstances, the discharge of the duties annexed to his station, and he absented himself entirely from the diet; a measure which rendered that order incapable of acting.

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The king had by this time the ſatisfaction to find that he poſſeſſed all the influence he could wiſh with the three other orders, and that the peaſants and burghers, upon whom the expences of the war were principally to fall, had determined upon ſupporting it with great unanimity and ſpirit. This concurrence of the other orders had rendered the oppoſition of the nobles in fact nugatory; and all the public buſineſs might have been done without them, however deſireable their ſanction would have been, and however the conſtitution might ſeem to halt, if the firſt order did not act with the other three.

He had probably made up his mind before the meeting of the diet, to the critical and hazardous taſk, of endeavouring, at all events, to break the ſpirit of that dangerous combination which ſubſiſted among the principal nobility. Their extraordinary refractorineſs ſince, would have been ſufficient to inſpire that reſolution, if it had not before exiſted, and could not fail to quicken and bring it into act if it did. The inſult offered to the marſhal was conſidered as a direct and perſonal affront to the king himſelf; they had likewiſe, upon more than one occaſion, treated his own name and character not only with great diſreſpect, but with a virulence, and an affectation of contempt, which were inſupportable; but by the forms of the conſtitution, he was not to be ſuppoſed to know any thing farther of their proceedings, than what was laid officially before him.

Under all theſe circumſtances, encouraged particularly by the favourable auſpices which appeared in the other orders, and a complaint having been (we ſuppoſe) lodged by the marſhal, the king went in perſon to the diet, and demanded ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to count Lowenhaupt, and which had laid that nobleman under a neceſſity of deſerting the duties of his important ſtation. This produced a violent altercation between the king and the nobles, in which the latter ſhewed ſo little temper, as to throw out ſome very pointed and ſevere reproaches directly againſt him, until the king put an end to the contention, by riſing from his ſeat and declaring, that there were men among them, who in their hearts would rather wiſh to ſee the Ruſſians at Stockholm, and an ambaſſador from that country dictating laws to Sweden, than ſacrifice their own ambitious views, and their thirſt for revenge, to the good and preſervation of their country. Upon this ſevere charge, the whole order of nobles immediately aroſe, and quitted the aſſembly in a body, leaving the king and the other ſtates together. Feb. 17th.

The king then made a ſpeech to the remaining ſtates, in which he diſclaimed, in the moſt ſolemn terms, all intention of aiming at, or wiſhing for abſolute ſovereignty; and declared, that if even the continuation of the preſent diſorders ſhould compel him for a ſhort time to its exerciſe, it ſhould laſt no longer than while the occaſion prompted the neceſſity; but he concluded by declaring with firmneſs, that it was a duty which he owed to his country, as well as to himſelf, not to permit thoſe who would wreſt the ſceptre from his hands to paſs unpuniſhed; and that he would not ſuffer a faction to favour the

the views of the enemy, by the interruption which they endeavoured to give to the public buſineſs, and to the means of the public defence.

For three days Stockholm was in a ſtate of great diſorder and tumult, the people were ſo ſanguine in the king's favour, and ſo highly incenſed againſt the nobility, that it required attention and care to prevent their proceeding to acts of outrage. Thus every thing conſpired to further the king's wiſhes, and to encourage him in the

Feb. 20. proſecution of his deſigns. On the morning ſucceeding this period of confuſion, the ſovereign received a deputation from the three remaining ſtates of the diet, to whom he imparted the meaſures which he intended to purſue with the nobility. But at the very time that he made the communication, theſe meaſures were carrying into execution; for a party of the light cavalry of the king's body guard, ſupported by a body of the armed burghers of the city, ſurrounded, at the ſame inſtant, the houſes of ſeveral of the principal nobility, whoſe perſons being arreſted, they were ſent priſoners to the caſtle of Fredericſhoff.

This violent meaſure was carried into execution with ſuch regularity and diſpatch, and accorded ſo much with the temper of the people, that it did not occaſion the ſmalleſt diſturbance. Twenty-five of the nobles were thus ſeized and impriſoned, and that number included thoſe of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families in the kingdom, men of the greateſt fortune and moſt extenſive connections, and ſeveral who had filled the higheſt offices of the ſtate and government. The vigour of the king's meaſures were not confined to the capital. He had previouſly taken thoſe that were neceſſary for arreſting and bringing up for trial, the principals of thoſe refractory and diſobedient commanders and officers, who had been moſt active in exciting the mutiny of the army in Finland. Theſe were ſo far advanced, under a ſtrong guard, on their way, that they arrived in Stockholm ſpeedily after the arreſt of the nobles. They were immediately committed to cloſe and ſtrict impriſonment, and ordered to prepare for their reſpective trials. The general charges of diſobedience, diſaffection, mutiny, and treachery, were laid againſt all, and particular charges of treaſon, treachery, and a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, applied more directly to ſome individuals than to others.

Among the unfortunate gentlemen who were involved in this hard and dangerous predicament, we find the following names; Lieutenant General Baron d'Armfield, Major General d'Hartfater, with the Colonels de Montgomerie, d'Otter, de Stedink, de Haſleſko, and de Klenſparre. The Majors de Kleck, and de Jogenhorn, had the fortune to ſave themſelves by flight, and found refuge under the Ruſſian protection. To the former number were afterwards added the Brigadier and Colonel Haſtfehr, the Lieutenant Colonels Baron de Kothen, Baron Leymſtedt, and Enghjelm, Captain Willebrandt, and a number of ſubalterns.

The number of reſignations which took place upon theſe arreſts of the nobles and officers, was perhaps without example in any convulſion of government which did not amount

to

to an entire ſubverſion. They extended to every department of the ſtate and government, both civil and military, and to all the provinces; ſo that the apparent effects of the revolution in 1772 bore no proportion to the magnitude of thoſe which now ſtruck every beholder. But however alarming theſe appearances might ſeem to others, the king ſteadily purſued the ſyſtem of political conduct and government which he laid down for himſelf, without being in the ſmalleſt degree diſturbed by them.

The ſpirit and ſtrength of the equeſtrian order was, by theſe vigorous meaſures, entirely broken; and all diſpoſition to faction was abſorbed in the immediate apprehenſion of perſonal danger. Many of the nobles, perhaps moſt, encouraged by the lax nature of the government, as well as by the licenſe which had been ſo long prevalent in Sweden, and prompted either by private views, ambition, or what they deemed patriotiſm, had undoubtedly gone unwarrantable lengths in their connections and correſpondence with Ruſſia. An unexpected ſeaſon of ſevere enquiry and retribution ſeemed to be now arrived; and ſuch even as had not tranſgreſſed in that point were yet alarmed, as there was no foreſeeing how far the treaſon laws might in their conſtruction be extended.

The precedent ſo dangerous to the nobles, and ſo ſubverſive of their ancient rights, that the public buſineſs might, in general, be carried on in the diet by the other ſtates, without their concurrence, was now eſtabliſhed. The king exerted, moſt ſucceſsfully, all his uſual addreſs to ſecure and confirm the confidence and attachment of the remaining three orders of the ſtates. To that of the peaſants, he granted ſeveral new privileges; and, well aware of the great effect produced in certain caſes, by matters ſeemingly of little importance, upon the death of Olaus Cloſſen, their ſpeaker, he ordered a ſumptuous public funeral for him at his own expence. Nor did he neglect paying ſuch attentions to the orders of the clergy and burghers, as were ſufficient for the purpoſes he intended.

Guſtavus was not of a diſpoſition to ſuffer the preſent ſeaſon of advantage to paſs without producing its full effect. He followed the blow, before the metal cooled, with as much ſpirit as it had been firſt given; and, profiting by the conſternation and diſmay which now prevailed, he ventured upon the bold meaſure of totally aboliſhing the ſenate, which had ſo long been a ſore thorn in the crown, and which, notwithſtanding the modelling it had undergone at the late revolution, ſhewed diſpoſitions not more favourable to his intereſt and deſigns, than its predeceſſors had done to thoſe of former kings. To ſupply the place of the ſenate, he inſtituted a new commiſſion or court, the model of which he is ſaid to have taken from the *La Cour Pleniere*, which had been ſo much oppoſed and at length rejected in France. This new board, or whatever other name it is known by, was endued, in certain caſes, and under certain circumſtances, with conſiderable powers; but theſe were all ſubjected to the king's immediate controul.

The king, after the arreſt of the nobles, made a long ſpeech to the diet,

diet, in which he expreſſed the regard and eſteem which he held for the equeſtrian order in general, notwithſtanding the ill conduct and evil deſigns of ſeveral individuals among them, which he, however, ſhould not in any degree impute to the whole order. He exhorted the ſtates to unanimity and to reciprocal confidence; reminded them, that he had ratified with them about ſeventeen years before, in that very chamber, thoſe conſtitutional laws which laid the foundation for their liberties and his rights, and which reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom; and obſerved, that the country had then been convulſed by circumſtances ſimilar to thoſe, which, with a more rapid progreſs, had ariſen upon the preſent occaſion. That the ſame enemies without had then laid for them in ſecret the artful ſnares which they now do openly; and that the ſame views within, which then undermined and afflicted the body of the ſtate, ſeemed now to have rallied and acquired freſh vigour.

He enquires into the cauſes of thoſe violent ſhocks which they all ſo ſenſibly feel, after tranquillity had been reſtored, and all ancient diſſentions appeared to be ſtifled. Theſe he charges to views of ſelf-intereſt, and to falſe explanations and confuſed opinions of ſundry privileges claimed by or appertaining to reſpective orders, which excite diſtruſt and jealouſies among them. Theſe effects he deprecates, and propoſes to remove their cauſes, by exactly defining the privileges and rights of each order, and eſtabliſhing them on ſuch firm ground, and placing them in ſo clear a light, as would equally ſecure their ſtability, and preclude the poſſibility of their being liable to future miſconception or doubt.

But the king's grand ſpecific or noſtrum, which was to cure or prevent all preſent and future evils and diſorders of the ſtate, was his act of confederation, union, and ſurety, by which he and all true Swedes were to be mutually bound, in the moſt firm and ſolemn manner, not only to common defence, but to the preſervation of their reſpective rights, and of the preſent conſtitution and laws, againſt all impugners, whether foreign or domeſtic. We have not ſeen this document, but it ſeems probable that it was at firſt only intended as an aſſociation of individuals, who were to bind themſelves by oath or ſubſcription to the defence of the king's perſon and government. This is the more likely, as it was firſt propoſed to and adopted by the late meeting which the king held, of the magiſtrates and ancient citizens of Stockholm. In this ſtate, perhaps little more was intended, than the power of diſtinguiſhing thoſe who were attached to the king from the diſaffected.

But the king ſeems afterwards to have enlarged the idea, and, having moulded it into the form of a law (probably containing ſome abſtract of that conſtitution which was to be defended) he ſet his heart much upon having it paſſed in that form by the diet. This was oppoſed by the nobles with greater violence than even any other of his meaſures; and, as their concurrence was abſolutely neceſſary to the paſſing of a new law, their preſent ſeceſſion from the diet ſeemed to render the affair hopeleſs. But the king felt himſelf now

now too powerful, to suffer his designs to be impeded by any common difficulties; if he could not untie the knot, he knew how to cut it. The law being passed by the other orders, count Lowenhaupt, the marshal of the diet, was rendered the instrument of its ratification, by signing it in the name of the equestrian order, who were not present. So broken was the spirit of the nobles at this juncture, that this open violation of the constitution, and outrage on their order, would have passed without any public reprehension or notice, if the gallant count Wachtmeister, acting with the same honour and intrepidity by which he had been so much signalized, when fighting against his own opinion and political principles in the preceding year, had not singly entered a striking protest against the measure.

Thus triumphant at home, sedition entirely quelled, all opposition broken down, the murmurs of dissent or discontent faintly, if at all heard, and the necessary funds being provided by the diet, the king applied his thoughts to the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour by sea and land. He had, early in the diet, as soon as he felt the disposition of the burghers and peasants to support the war, by agreeing to its expence, ordered cloathing for 51,000 men to be prepared with the utmost expedition; nor had he since slackened in his diligence with respect to any other necessary article of preparation, while the Ottoman ready money gave new life and vigour to all the operations of the state. As the business of the diet grew towards a conclusion, the king released the 25 nobles who were imprisoned in the castle of Fredericschoff, who retired immediately (and undoubtedly in great disgust) to their respective country seats.

Thus had Gustavus the singular fortune of living to the accomplishment of two great and complete revolutions in his country; each of them accompanied with or liable to infinite hazard and danger; but the present being perhaps more arduous than the former, from the circumstance of his being now involved in a doubtful war with a power far his superior in strength, and who was scarcely less interested in defeating his design, than he was himself in its success. In another respect, however, the season for the accomplishment of both had been admirably chosen, Russia being at each time deeply engaged in war with the Turk, and the objects of her ambition on that side being too fascinating, and too vast, to admit of their being easily resigned to, or exchanged for others of less temptation or magnitude. It is worthy of observation, that the same means and instruments which produced the great revolution in the sister kingdom of Denmark about a century ago, had now been twice used with equal success in Sweden. In both countries the lower orders had been gained over to crush the power of the nobles, and to transfer that power, with little security to themselves, to the crown. So that the tyrants were, in fact, only personally changed, while the tyranny continued the same. Such likewise has been the event of all the Asiatic revolutions of government recorded in history.

The trials of the unfortunate officers who had been arrested in Finland, and elsewhere, under the charges of mutiny or treason, were commenced

menced in the month of March, and continued for more than twelve months to their final concluſion. The ſentences were ſo ſevere that they were ſaid to be written in blood, and ſtruck the public in other countries than Sweden with horror; the more eſpecially as the diſobedience with which they were charged, if not entirely covered by, ſeemed, however, conſiderably ſheltered by the plea of attachment to the conſtitution of their country, and involved the nice, and perhaps doubtful legal queſtion, of the king's right, as the laws then ſtood, to commence a war without the conſent of the ſtates.

Of theſe, the lieutenant-general baron d'Armfeldt, the colonels Haſleſko, and baron d'Otter, with the lieutenant-colonel baron Klenſparre, were condemned to loſe their heads, their honour, and their eſtates. Colonel Montgomerie, and lieutenant-colonel baron Leymſtedt, to be ſhot. Lieutenant-colonel baron de Kothen, lieutenant-colonel Enghjelm, captain Willebrandt, and lieutenant Gadolin, to be beheaded. The brigadier and colonel Haſtfehr, was condemned to have his head cut off with peculiar marks of diſgrace and infamy. Some others of rank, and a number of ſubalterns, were condemned to die. As the king is, however, the reverſe of being cruel in his nature, the ſentences were more bloody in their deſign than effect, and the executions were not numerous.

But with all this ſucceſs at home, and the ſtrongeſt diſpoſition to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour againſt Ruſſia, Denmark ſtill continued a heavy clog upon the king's movements and deſigns. The term for which the armiſtice was concluded was nearly worn out, and the ſupporting of a war on his ſouthern frontier, againſt an enemy fully equal to himſelf in ſtrength and reſource, at the ſame time that he was involved in another ſtill more dangerous in the oppoſite extremity of his dominions, would have gone ſo far beyond his means and capability of acting, that all the greateſt exertions of courage, ſkill, and ability, muſt have ſunk undiſtinguiſhed under the overwhelming weight of power, and inevitable ruin muſt, in the common courſe of things, have been the immediate conſequence. The king's only hope of being extricated with honour and ſafety from this very alarming and dangerous ſituation, muſt then have reſted entirely with the great and friendly powers, whoſe timely interference in the preceding year had given ſo ſudden a check to the progreſs of the Daniſh arms, and procured that armiſtice which was not yet entirely expired.

The king had, however, good reaſon to believe that he ſhould not be diſappointed in this expectation. The friendſhip of the allied powers continued undiminiſhed; they were fully aware of the critical ſituation of his affairs; and Mr. Elliot, the Britiſh miniſter, whoſe ability and addreſs had produced ſuch eſſential and timely benefits in the foregoing year, who ſtill took the lead, on the part of the three allied courts, in all affairs relative to the northern kingdoms, was now at Copenhagen, exerting equal zeal in the ſame cauſe. After a long courſe of verbal repreſentation on the ſubject through the winter and ſpring, Mr. Elliot, at the requeſt of count Bernſtorff, the Daniſh miniſter, ſummed up and compreſſed the whole of the arguments and motives which he had

had hitherto assigned, for Denmark's observing a strict neutrality in the war between Sweden and Russia; in one written document, which he sent to that nobleman, rather in the guise of a private or confidential letter, than with the formality of a state memorial.

April 23d, 1789.

As this piece contains some particulars, relative to the conduct of the different parties, which were not before publicly known, and which could not otherwise with propriety have come within our discussion, we shall give an abstract of it, as throwing considerable light upon the subject.

Mr. Elliot first reminds the Danish minister, that at the very time the king, his master, had yielded up a great part of his land and sea forces as auxiliaries to Russia, he likewise applied to his Britannic majesty for his intervention in the re-establishment of tranquillity between Sweden and Russia. He also reminds him, that the empress of Russia rejected the mediation of the king and his allies; and that this refusal was the only cause of the continuation of hostilities, as the king of Sweden had accepted, in the most free and amicable manner, the mediation of the three allied courts, who were animated by no other motives in their proposal, than a desire to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to maintain the northern balance.

He then calls upon the Danish minister as a witness to the energy with which the king of Great Britain and his allies acted, in giving the most undoubted proofs that they considered the preservation of Sweden as a matter of the greatest importance; and glancing at their joint exertions in procuring a cessation of arms between Sweden and Denmark in the last year, does not seem to think the salutary effects which their endeavours produced by any means less an obligation to the latter than the former. He then states the sorrow with which the king his master sees, that since that epoch the offers of mediation and of service from him and his allies have not produced the desired effect; and that they could not incline the empress to agree to a mediation for restoring peace to the East or to the North of Europe.

That under these circumstances, when the continuation of hostilities results entirely from the refusal of Russia to accept of any mediation, his Britannic majesty and his allies cannot but consider the court of Denmark as entirely freed from every stipulation of a treaty merely defensive; and likewise to add, that in the present case, the joining of the Danish forces, either by land or sea, to those of Russia, must even cause Denmark to be considered as one of the powers at war, and would justify the king of Sweden in requiring speedy and efficacious assistance from the king of Great Britain and his allies, after having already accepted their pure and unlimited mediation.

The minister then staked that character of sincerity on which he valued himself, as well as those principles of attachment and friendship, which bound him personally, as well as on account of his master, to the interests of the court of Denmark, in a firm assurance, that the allied powers for whom he was acting would not give up that system which they had adopted, with the design only of maintaining the equal ba-

lance of the North: a balance no leſs intereſting to Denmark than to all maritime and trading nations.

He then proceeds to ſtate, that if the treaty with Ruſſia had been entirely of a different nature, if it had been even abſolutely offenſive inſtead of defenſive, and that their intereſts had in every thing been one and the ſame, ſtill that it would be an act of the greateſt imprudence and impolicy, and highly prejudicial to that common cauſe (ſuppoſing it ſuch) for Denmark, in the preſent ſtate of things, to take any part in the war. For that by ſuch an act, the interference of the three allied powers of Great Britain, Pruſſia, and Holland (who wiſhed for nothing but the reſtoration of peace and harmony in the North) would of neceſſity be brought on; new hoſtilities unavoidably commenced; and Ruſſia herſelf, for the misjudged aid of a ſingle friend, would have the encounter of three potent enemies to withſtand.

He concluded, by expreſsly intreating the Daniſh miniſter, in the name of his principals, to induce his court to refrain from granting any of its forces by land or ſea to take part in the war; but on the contrary to ſupport a perfect neutrality by ſea and land in all his dominions. He holds out this conduct as affording the certain means of procuring the reſtoration of peace to the North; in the attainment of which happy object, the king his maſter would be proud of the concurrence of his Daniſh majeſty; and he promiſes, in the name of all the allies, the moſt perfect ſecurity and indemnity by ſea and land from all conſequences that might poſſibly reſult from ſuch neutrality. He laſtly preſſes the Daniſh miniſter, in the moſt urgent terms, for a clear and deciſive anſwer on the intentions of his court with reſpect to the propoſed neutrality.

Such repreſentations, backed by ſuch power, could ſcarcely fail of effect. It was evident, at the firſt glance, that the aſſiſtance which Denmark could afford to her ally, would in no degree counterpoiſe the weight of power which the three allied courts might throw into the adverſe ſcale, ſo that her intended aid would prove a misfortune inſtead of a benefit to Ruſſia. Nor could the ableſt politician or wiſeſt ſpeculator foreſee, when the rancour of mutual injury and hoſtility had rouzed the animoſity of ſo many warlike and potent nations to its utmoſt extreme, what ſacrifices might be neceſſary to allay their fury, or at what point of violence their angry and vindictive paſſions might find leiſure to liſten to the voice of reaſon or humanity. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a ſituation and neceſſity ſo likely to take place as the preſent could have eſcaped the previous attention of the courts of Peterſburgh and Copenhagen; or that they ſhould not already have mutually determined upon the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued under ſuch circumſtances.

It was not, however, until after long heſitation that the court of Denmark was at length brought to aſſent to a perfect neutrality, and even then it was attended with ſome modifications. Theſe related to a Ruſſian ſquadron of ſix ſail of the line and ſome frigates, under admiral Deſſein, which had come round from Archangel to the Sound early in the war; and having ſince enjoyed the uſe of the port of Copenhagen as a friendly refuge from the effects of winter

winter and bad weather, had been a grievous check to the commerce of Sweden from Gothenburgh, as well as from ſome of the ports within the Sound. The junction of this ſquadron with the Ruſſian principal fleet at Cronſtadt was now wiſhed and wanted; but the Swedes lay with a ſuperior force in the way, which rendered the junction difficult and dangerous. The court of Copenhagen accordingly ſtipulated, that the Daniſh fleet ſhould take this ſquadron under its protection, in order to facilitate the junction, until its arrival at a certain defined diſtance or place of ſeparation, which was deemed ſufficient for the purpoſe, without this act being conſidered as any violation of the neutrality. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague, ſhould afford no aid whatever to the Swedes.

The king of Sweden being thus freed from interruption and danger on his ſouthern frontier, and the internal affairs of his kingdom being ſettled entirely to his wiſhes, was enabled to direct his whole attention and force to the proſecution of the war in Finland. But he had to do with an enemy which did not admit cauſes of triumph to be as eaſily attained on that ſide, as he had recently experienced at home. Ruſſia, notwithſtanding the numerous and inceſſant calls for her troops to ſupport the Ottoman war in ſo many parts of Europe and Aſia at the ſame time, had yet been able to form an army in Finland, rather ſuperior in point of number to that of Sweden. It is true that this army was by no means compoſed of her beſt and veteran troops, but the natural conſtitution, rough habits, bodily ſtrength, and inſenſibility of pain and danger, which ſo much diſtinguiſh that extraordinary people, together with that inexorable ſeverity of their diſcipline and puniſhments, which none but Ruſſians could endure, ſerve, all together, to render even their raweſt militia, if not formidable in active ſervice, at leaſt difficult to be ſubdued. Indeed this kind of paſſive valour was their characteriſtic in very early times, and we find, that when the ſavage and undiſciplined ſtate of their armies, occaſioned their exertions in the field to be treated with the utmoſt contempt by their warlike neighbours of Poland and Sweden, yet their unexampled obſtinacy in the defence of fortreſſes was acknowledged on all hands.

The rough and ſavage nature of the country which was the ſcene of action, was likewiſe little calculated for brilliant action or rapid ſucceſs. Covered with foreſts, encumbered with almoſt impaſſable rocks and mountains, interſected with ſuch a multitude of freſh-water lakes and deep inlets of the ſea, as is perhaps without example in any country of the old hemiſphere, Finland ſeldom affords open ground ſufficient for the drawing up of a moderate army in any regular order of battle. In a country of faſtneſſes, thus formed by nature for defence, two commanders, any thing equal in ſkill, temper and ability, might carry on a ſmall and unprofitable, but troubleſome and bloody war, conſiſting in the attack and defence of poſts, without any thing like deciſion taking place between them for a long ſeries of time; excepting only, that the marine on one ſide ſhould be much ſuperior to that on the other, which muſt be totally ruinous to the oppoſite army. For from the numerous inlets of the ſea which we have taken notice of,

the troops on both ſides muſt continually act as marines on board ſmall veſſels calculated for the purpoſe, and as much of the ſervice be performed by water as on land; ſo that a war in this country muſt, in every ſenſe, differ from moſt others.

The ſeverity of the climate could not reſtrain the mutual animoſity of the nations from commencing hoſtilities as ſoon as the armiſtice concluded by the Swediſh officers in the preceding year had expired. Several ſkirmiſhes took place on the frontiers towards the latter end of May, between the Ruſſians under the orders of count Mouſchkin Pouſchkin, and the Swedes under thoſe of general Mayersfeldt. The ſucceſs in theſe was various, but in all unproductive; ſome were ſevere and bloody, and the Swedes were frequently ſignalized by acts of the moſt extraordinary valour. But the ſeaſon was over in which theſe could produce any extraordinary effect; in the days of Guſtavus Adolphus and Charles the XIIth they would have been attended with conqueſt and glory. So great is the revolution which has taken place in military affairs and in the ſtate of nations!

The king arrived in Finland pretty early in June, and about the ſame time his brother, the duke of Sudermania, took the command of the fleet at Carleſcroon. The arrival of the former at the ſeat of action was ſoon ſignalized by a deſperate encounter, between a body of Ruſ-
June 28th. ſians conſiſting of 3,600 men, and a party of Swedes eſtimated only at 2,200. This action, in which the king ſerved as a volunteer, was fought at a place called Dainſtadt, in Finland, where the weaker party were the aggreſſors. The Swediſh left wing under general Platen, having attacked the right of the Ruſſians with great fury, the mutual eagerneſs of the combatants ſoon extended the action to every diviſion, and it may be ſaid to every man. The contention was obſtinate and bloody; but the ardour of the Swedes ſeemed irreſiſtible; the enemy, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, were every where repelled; and at length totally routed and their camp taken. It was reported, that the Ruſſians, after a long and terrible fire on both ſides, having ruſhed furiouſly with fixed bayonets on the Swedes, the latter ſhewed ſome ſymptoms of diſorder, and retired about twenty paces, but that the king throwing himſelf from his horſe, inſtantly rallied the infantry, and they ſoon drove the enemy before them.

The king, in a letter to his ſon, the prince royal, acknowledges that the enemy's troops fought well, but the Swedes, he ſays, better; and he holds this inſtance up as an incitement to the young prince, to render himſelf worthy of commanding ſo brave and ſo generous a people.

The Duke of Sudermania ſailed from Carleſcroon with the Swediſh fleet in the beginning of July. The Ruſſian fleet lay then at Revel, and the duke's object undoubtedly was to prevent its junction with the ſquadron which had been ſo long in the Sound, or at leaſt to bring it to a deciſive engagement in the attempt. As the hoſtile fleets could not well paſs each other, in ſo narrow a ſea, without an encounter, ſo, however contrary it was to the views of the Ruſſian commanders, they fell in with the Swedes on their way from Revel. July 26th. A diſtant and languid action commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon,

ternoon, and continued till eight in the evening, the Ruſſians conſtantly retiring, and having no other object in view but the continuation of their courſe; while the Swedes endeavoured in vain to ſtop their progreſs, and bring on a general engagement. The fleets loſt each other in the night, and the wiſhed-for junction with the Ruſſian ſquadron was ſoon after effected. As this flying action or ſkirmiſh afforded no matter of triumph to either of the parties, ſo no correct or circumſtantial account of it was publiſhed on either ſide; which ſerves to leave the public ſomewhat in the dark, how far the duke of Sudermania had fulfilled the part of an able commander in his efforts to prevent a junction, which had the untoward effect of affording a decided naval ſuperiority to the enemy through the whole campaign. The Ruſſian commanders ſeem to have diſplayed conſiderable addreſs in evading the action, and getting clear of their enemy.

Among the number of ſmall actions which now took place in Finland, one of the moſt remarkable was the defeat which the Swediſh Colonel Baron de Stedink, (who had lately been diſtinguiſhed, with a very inferior force, in an action with General Michelſon) gave to the Ruſſian General de Schultz. Of this action we have no account of the force on either ſide; nor of its nature or particular circumſtances; but are informed, on the whole, that the defeat was ſo complete, that the arms, baggage, tents and artillery, all were taken by the Swedes; that the general only eſcaped by throwing himſelf into a moraſs; that 600 Ruſſians were killed or wounded, of whom were 24 officers; and that the general's aid de camps were taken. The ſucceſs was undoubtedly brilliant, from the king's immediately promoting Baron Stedink to the rank of major general.

This ſucceſs was, however, ſoon counterbalanced, by the very haſty retreat, which the king, in perſon, was obliged to make out of Ruſſian Finland; into which his impetuoſity ſeems to have led him to penetrate too deeply, without maturely conſidering the great danger which he might run of being ſuddenly encloſed, in a country compoſed of difficulties and faſtneſſes. His ſituation was the more dangerous, as, having croſſed the Kymene, that deep river greatly increaſed the obſtacles to his return. The retreat was covered by Major General de Kaulban, who brought up the rear, and who, beſides ſuſtaining no ſmall loſs on the occaſion, had the farther misfortune of ſuffering much blame for his conduct.

Thus far the war had been conducted with various ſucceſs, and, if the Swedes gained no other advantage, they however ſecured their military honour, and even acquired new in almoſt every encounter. The king, with reſpect to his own perſon, expoſed himſelf on every occaſion, with the temerity rather of a volunteer than the caution of a general. He ſeemed to have the acts of the two moſt renowned of his predeceſſors conſtantly before his eyes, and not only endeavoured to emulate their greateſt actions, but wiſhed to unite in himſelf their different characters, and to temper the adventure and impetuoſity of Charles, by the judgment and ability of Guſtavus. Perhaps he made the former upon ſome occaſions too much his model. He could not avoid being inceſſantly goaded by the ſore and vexatious re-

flection, (which undoubtedly might have had ſome influence upon his conduct) that if the Swediſh army had entered into the war with the ſame alacrity in the preceding campaign as in the preſent, his ſucceſſes would have been great and his triumphs ſplendid. Vexation is not perhaps more ruinous to gameſters than to generals! and the great exertions which were now made without any correſpondent effect, were ſufficent to generate it without the operation of any prior cauſe.

On the other ſide, the fortune of Ruſſia ſeemed deſtined this year to predominate over all her enemies in every quarter; and the ſmiles which the uncertain goddeſs ſeemed to beſtow upon the Swedes in the beginning of the campaign, ſoon appeared to be meretricious and deluſive.

The contending powers had from the commencement of their hoſtilities, uſed great exertions, and gone to great expence on both ſides, in fitting out numerous fleets of gallies and light veſſels, calculated for the purpoſes of the war in Finland. Peter the Great had early trained his ſubjects to this ſpecies of amphibious ſervice, for which they ſeem peculiarly deſigned by nature, and they have to the preſent day continued unrivalled in its practice. It was with this novel mixture of land and marine force that he ſpread deſolation and ruin through every part of Sweden; and this was the kind of enemy, who, penetrating the bowels of the earth, hunted and deſtroyed the wretched miners in their deepeſt and moſt hidden caverns.

The king, after a courſe of ſkirmiſhes and actions of little moment, had again penetrated into the Ruſſian territories, and taken a fortified port town, called Hogfors, or Hogfort; which he ſeems to have intended to retain as a place of arms both for the land and the ſea ſervice.

He was about this time joined by his fleet of gallies, which acted ſeparately or in conjunction with the army, as the occaſion required. But the Ruſſian fleet of the ſame ſort was at hand, and in great force, under the command of the prince of Naſſau, who had quitted the Liman and the Black Sea for the purpoſe, where he had already rendered himſelf highly eminent by his conſtant ſucceſs in this peculiar ſervice. An action marked with ferocity and blood ſoon took place between the contending fleets, and, excepting only the difference occaſioned by the uſe of gunpowder, and its appropriate weapons, affording a picture of thoſe early naval engagements which took place between the ancient Grecians, Phœnicians, Romans, and Carthaginians. As in them, the men fought frequently hand to hand, with every inſtrument of deſtruction which rage, chance, or opinion preſented. Gallies were ſeen diſmantled and ſinking, the decks ſtrewed with the dead and dying, and the ſurvivors jumping into the ſea, to evade the more dreaded ſword of the enemy. To this exhibition of ancient naval tactics, was added the exploſions of gunpowder, and blowing up of veſſels. Aug. 25th.

No battle was perhaps ever fought, the accounts of which were ſo directly and totally contradictory as thoſe which related to this action. The contradictions were ſo glaring, that they drew a ſtrong letter of complaint

complaint and remonſtrance from the prince of Naſſau to the king upon the ſubject, ſoliciting and demanding a fair ſtatement of facts; and ſhrewdly obſerving, that veracity was one of the firſt principles of a man of honour and hero. The peculiar ſituation in which the king ſtood with his ſubjects, and the meaſures of opinion which he was obliged to obſerve with them, as well as the deſire of keeping up thoſe ideas of power and conſequence which he wiſhed to impreſs on his allies, ſeemed in ſome degree to lay him under a ſort of neceſſity of having recourſe to ſuch ſubterfuges, which were ſo inconſiſtent with, and ſo unworthy of other parts of his character.

It is evident upon the whole, that the Swedes, however unwilling to acknowledge it, were worſted; and that they were at length obliged to take refuge nnder the cannon of Sweaburg. The diſproportion of the two fleets as to number, was too great to be compenſated by valour. The Ruſſian fleet amounted to 70 veſſels, and the Swediſh conſiſted only of about 40. Yet notwithſtanding this inequality, the battle raged without intermiſſion, and with the greateſt fury, from ten o'clock in the morning till half paſt eight at night. In this violent encounter, acts of the moſt deſperate valour were ſo repeatedly performed, that they loſt their effect in their frequency. The Swediſh major, Hagenherſon, being boarded, and finding it impoſſible to ſave his veſſel, blew himſelf up along with his enemy. Several veſſels were ſunk, blown up, or driven on the rocks, on both ſides, but few, if any, taken by either. The carnage muſt have been extreme in ſo long and ſo dreadful an action; but we are in the dark as to the particulars.

This action was deciſive as to the fortune of the campaign. The king was obliged to abandon the Ruſſian territories, and encountered ſuch difficulties in gaining his own frontier, that he expoſed his perſon to equal danger with any common ſoldier. The garriſon of Hogfors was near being cut off in its retreat, through the activity of the Ruſſians in making a landing from their gallies; and was only ſaved by the ſuperior gallantry of a battalion of Weſt Gothland, which acquired and deſerved the higheſt honour upon the occaſion. But the nobleſt exertions of valour, when diſplayed in ſeaſons of ill-fortune, are apt to paſs unnoticed in a crowd of ſurrounding diſaſters; or at leaſt loſe much of their eſtimation and value with the public, whoſe thoughts are occupied only by their loſſes.

As the Ruſſians were able to keep the ſea for a conſiderable time after the late engagement, and were entirely maſters of it, they ſpread terror every where, ſo that the city of Stockholm itſelf was not a little alarmed under the apprehenſion of a deſcent; and adopted the moſt vigorous meaſures to repel ſuch an inſult. The early approach of winter in that northern climate, was a circumſtance at this time which could not be ungrateful to either of the contending parties. They had both ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes; they were both ſore with wounds, and crippled by hard ſervice; and they both wanted time for repoſe, recovery, and reparation. Neither had either ſide any great object in view, which came at all within the reach

of near attainment; so that hard blows, and mutual bloodshed, could be the only fruits of their farther contention at the present.

Under these circumstances, the hostile armies looked only to the security of their respective frontiers for the winter, and the king returned to his capital.

CHAP. IX.

New convention of Notables. Great questions relative to the organization of the States General, which agitate the whole kingdom of France. King resigns himself entirely to the advice of M. Neckar. That minister takes a decided part in favour of the double representation of the commons; but gives no opinion on other questions of great importance, which are left, in the event, to chance. Notables, as well as the parliament of Paris, strongly recommend, that the constitution of 1614 *should be the model for the new convention of the states; with which the scheme of a double representation directly militates. Parliament of Paris endeavour to recover their popularity by issuing an arret, which, if adopted, might be considered as the* Magna Charta *of French liberty. Treated with the utmost contempt by the popular parties, as falling short of their views. Violent jealousies and dissentions between the three orders which were to compose the states. Nobles, odious in the extreme. Dukes and peers offer to contribute a due proportion to the public expences; and a similar disposition seems general among the nobles; but this disposition appears too late to afford satisfaction. Nobility, goaded by numberless attacks, publish a declaration of their rights, which renders them still more odious. Divisions and jealousies among themselves at this critical period. Dissentions in the parliaments. Clergy as little united as the nobles. Curates, or parish priests, disposed to side with the commons, or third estate. Commons wish that the three orders should sit in one chamber, deliberate in common, and vote by heads, instead of voting by orders, according to former practice. Strongly opposed by the nobles. In the provincial assembly of the states of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy coalesce with the commons, and thereby establish a precedent contrary to the general sense of their orders. Differences between the nobles and commons of Britany rise so high as to carry the appearance of a civil war. Count d'Artois, with the princes of Conde, and Conti, (who are called the Triumvirate) present a memorial to the king, which increases the popular odium against them to the highest pitch. Measures pursued by the duke of Orleans to acquire popularity in Paris. M. Neckar blamed for not having used any means to reconcile the jarring factions, or to allay the national ferment, previous to the elections. He presents a memorial to the king, strongly urging the measure of double representation, and making himself responsible for its consequences. King accordingly issues a decree for that purpose; but leaves, undecided and open, the very important and critical questions, relative to the manner of voting, and to the sitting of the states in one, or in three chambers. Unfortunate and ruinous consequences of this omission of the minister's. Some well-intended schemes*

for

for amending the conſtitution, which were ſubſequently propoſed, but rejected. Ancient practice and nature of the Cahiers, *or inſtructions given by the electors to their deputies in the ſtates. Nobles bound by oath not to ſit or vote in one common aſſembly. Aphoriſtic ſtatement of the views of the different parties. Some farther particulars relative to them. Moſt of the deputies to the ſtates arrive at Verſailles, but the delays cauſed by the elections in Paris prevent their opening the aſſembly. Some explanation of the terms Primary Aſſemblies, and Primary Elections, with the manner of their application. Violent riot in Paris, and much blood ſhed.*

WE obſerved in our firſt chapter that Mr. Neckar had at the beginning of winter ſummoned a new convention of Notables, in order to receive their opinion and advice, on ſeveral ſubjects relative to the convocation of the States General. Two great queſtions were at iſſue between the three orders or claſſes from which that body was to be drawn, namely the nobles, the clergy, and the tiers l'etat, or commons; and theſe neceſſarily agitated the whole nation. The firſt was, Whether the deputies of the three orders of the ſtate ſhould meet together in one aſſembly, in which all the concentrated powers of the States General ſhould reſide? or, Whether they ſhould be divided, as they had been at the laſt meeting, in 1614, into three chambers, through each of which a reſolution muſt be carried (or at leaſt through two of them) before it became the acknowledged act of the ſtates? Voting by heads was the term applied to the firſt of theſe alternatives, and voting by orders, to the ſecond.

The next queſtion was, Whether the number of deputies from each of the orders ſhould be the ſame as in 1614, which was about three hundred of each? or, Whether, the clergy and nobles ſtill adhering to their former numbers, the third eſtate ſhould be allowed to ſend ſix hundred deputies, which would equal both in number?

This was called the double repreſentation of the people. And the gaining of this point was not only the great and principal object in view with the third eſtate, but united the wiſhes of the republican party, and of all the factious throughout the kingdom, under whatever denominations they were claſſed. This was deemed, even by moderate men, in ſome degree neceſſary, as it was generally taken for granted, and the court itſelf moſt unwiſely adopted the opinion, that the clergy and nobles, being privileged bodies, would coaleſce, and act nearly, if not entirely, together; ſo that forming two bodies to one, and amounting to about double in number, whether they voted by orders or by heads, it was ſuppoſed that they would carry every queſtion againſt the commons. But if the double repreſentation took place, the commons would then have 600 votes to oppoſe the 300 of each other order, and they were ſure of deſertions from each; particularly that many of the curates would join them; while they had nothing leſs than a certainty that the members of their own order would hold well together.

But to render the double repreſentation entirely effective, and the ſuperiority of the third eſtate complete

plete and laſting, another great point was to be gained, of ſcarce leſs importance than the former. This was the amalgamation, as it was called, of the three orders in one aſſembly; whereby, ſitting together, without any diſtinction, in the ſame chamber, they ſhould vote by heads, and the majority of votes, without any regard to orders, be of courſe concluſive. The real views in this deſign were very well covered, by a reference to the conduct of the ancient ſtates general, who, with very few exceptions, had been rendered totally uſeleſs to the nation, through the idle diſputes and ridiculous quarrels which continually took place between the different orders, relative to privileges and other matters of no public moment, whereby their time being waſted, and deliberations diſtracted, they at length became as odious to the people as to the crown itſelf; the former grudging the expence they were put to by convocations which they found by experience to be totally unprofitable. This evil, whether juſtly or not, was induſtriouſly repreſented to the public, and by men not deſtitute of ability, as proceeding entirely, from the ancient ſtates general being claſſed in different orders, and ſitting in different chambers: while they held out, that the ſyſtem of amalgamation would prevent the poſſibility of ſuch diſputes.

On theſe queſtions the king's abſolute authority was equally appealed to by all the parties for a final deciſion; the plenitude of his power not being yet openly queſtioned by any. On the other hand, the ſovereign reſigned himſelf entirely to the advice of Mr. Neckar in every thing relative to this ſubject, whoſe popularity he thought would afford a ſanction to whatever was covered by his name, and thereby prove the means of procuring him that quiet and eaſe in government which he wiſhed beyond all things.

That miniſter, whoſe real or ſuppoſed talents for finance and political œconomy had, along with a number of fortuitous circumſtances, raiſed him to a degree of public opinion and credit which has not often been equalled, found himſelf entirely out of his element when he became involved in the untried and difficult ſcience of political legiſlation. Surrounded and overawed by powerful and eager factions, unable to fathom their deſigns, and incapable even of ſuſpecting their inſidious views, he was liable to fall into every ſnare which was laid for him. As vanity poſſeſſed no ſmall ſhare in his compoſition, it laid him the more open to be played upon. Standing as he did, the miniſter of the people, and owing his elevation to them, that circumſtance alone, independent of education and habit, could not but give him a ſtrong bias to the popular party. Honeſt himſelf, and moderate in all his views, he ſeems to have built too much upon the rectitude of others, and not to have been aware that the deſigns of men often extended far beyond their preſent avowal or action.

With theſe diſpoſitions, Mr. Neckar wiſhed to make great conceſſions to gratify and ſatisfy the people, and to render their future condition happy; but he was at the ſame time equally intent to preſerve the prerogatives, rights, and authority of the crown undiminiſhed, in all things which were neceſſary to give effect and energy to good

good government. He probably did not wish that the crown should have the power of doing wrong in any essential matters; and he still less intended that the ancient rights of the sovereignty should be subverted. In the pursuit of this system, it is now evident, that he was deficient with respect to steadiness, courage, and sagacity, and nothing can be more clear than that he did not foresee the consequences of his own most favourite measures. Wishing to please all parties, he temporized, and lost the opinion and confidence of all; and while he earnestly endeavoured to establish order, good temper, and good government in the kingdom, he unfortunately, but unwittingly, became, in no small degree, the instrument of the mischief and confusion which followed.

With respect to the questions which now so much agitated the nation, that minister never gave any decided opinion upon the subjects, either of the states voting by heads or by classes; of their sitting in one chamber or in three; nor of their amalgamation; but with respect to the double representation of the commons, he took a most decided part in favour of that measure, and persevered in it with no small degree of pertinacity. The notables were of a directly contrary opinion. They recommended the constitution of 1614, as the model by which the present convocation of the states should be regulated, as that had been by the regulations and orders established by their predecessors. That the three orders should conduct their deliberations in separate chambers, as had ever been the case, since the third estate had been first admitted to these convocations by Philip le Bel, in the year 1302; and that the three orders should consist of something near equal numbers, amounting to about 300 each.

The notables, in giving this advice, only trod in the steps of the parliament of Paris, which had before given its unqualified opinion in support of the principle of convoking the states general according to the constitution of 1614. This conduct of the parliament, which in other seasons would have been productive of all the applause which usually attended their proceedings, upon this occasion produced a very different effect. The minds of men were now too much heated, and the new-fangled notions of government too widely spread, to admit of their being at all satisfied with those securities or concessions, which would before have occasioned the greatest joy and triumph. All the former popular acts of that assembly, all the arduous conflicts which they had sustained with the late administration, as well as that unconquerable courage and perseverance which ended only with its downfal, were now at once forgotten; and those distinguished members whose zeal and sufferings had ranked them among the heroes and martyrs of patriotism, were regarded, in the inflamed minds of the commons, as the contemptible tools of aristocracy.

This unexpected change in the public opinion was most sensibly felt by the parliament; who, in order to recover the affection of the people, assembled with more than usual formality early in December, inviting at the same time (to give the greater eclat to their proceedings) the attendance of the princes and peers. At this meeting they

they iſſued a piece, under the title of an arret on the preſent ſtate of the nation, containing a number of reſolutions, which ſeemed to include their ideas of the principal points of French liberty. It lays down, as a poſition not to be departed from, that no aſſembly could be conſidered as truly national, which did not aſcertain the following eſſential points in favour of the people, namely, The periodical return of the ſtates general:—No ſubſidy to be allowed, under any pretence, that was not granted by the ſtates:—No law to be executed by the courts of juſtice which the ſtates had not conſented to:—The ſuppreſſion of all thoſe taxes that marked a diſtinction between the orders; and their replacement by common ſubſidies equally impoſed on all:—The reſponſibility of miniſters:—The right of the ſtates general to bring accuſations before the courts of juſtice for crimes that intereſt the whole nation:—The protection of the liberty of citizens, by obliging every man, detained in a royal priſon, to be put into the hands of his proper judges:—And laſtly, the lawful freedom of the preſs.

Theſe proviſions for eſtabliſhing and preſerving the rights and ſecurity of the people, and the attainment of which, only a ſmall time back, would have been conſidered as preſenting a glorious Magna Charta of French freedom, and as forming a new epocha in the hiſtory of that country, were now received not only with indifference, but with the greateſt contempt. They fell ſo far ſhort of the ideas of liberty and equality now ſpread, that they could not be liſtened to with patience: the parliament of Paris was totally diſappointed in the hope of recovering that popularity which it ſo eagerly ſought; and from this time continued to dwindle day after day into ſtill lower degrees of inſignificance, until it was at length totally laid aſide, and all its paſt exertions and conſequence forgotten.

In the mean time the greateſt jealouſy and diſſention ſubſiſted between the different orders which were to compoſe the ſtates. The third eſtate, or commons, ſo far from being ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of the nobility to an equal taxation, and to contribute in future a due proportion in the raiſing of ſubſidies, would overthrow all privileges whatever; and would not conſider that as a conceſſion which they claimed as an abſolute right. This idea of extinguiſhing all claims founded upon ancient uſage, compact, or privilege was carried ſo far as to trench in ſome reſpects upon private property, and in one inſtance to affect the circumſtances of a numerous order of the ſtate, many of whom were among thoſe the leaſt able to bear ſuch a loſs. For many of the lords had ages ſince, whether upon principles of kindneſs or mutual utility, releaſed their peaſants from that ſtate of vaſſalage in which they were then held, and received certain fixed rents from them as a compenſation for their lands; but, under the preſent ſcheme and philoſophy of general equality, it was taught to be an intolerable grievance and oppreſſion, to pay a price for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and goods of nature to which every man was, as ſuch, equally entitled. Several feudal rights and ſervices were likewiſe ſtill retained in moſt or all lordſhips or manors, ſome of which were

were commuted for in money, and others, perhaps more, discharged in kind. The loss of these rents and services would be very severely felt by the smaller nobility, who were very numerous, and who being obliged to support a certain degree of rank in very straitened circumstances, could expect nothing less than utter ruin and misery to their families, when to this defalcation from their narrow incomes, was to be added the share which they were in future to afford to the common taxation.

For the nobility, who, most fatally to themselves, had in the year 1787 held so tenacious a grasp of their pecuniary exemptions that they would not coincide in affording the smallest aid to extricate their sovereign or the public from the emergencies in which they were involved, and thereby opened the way to all the degradations which the monarch had since undergone, as well as to all the disorder and ill temper of the present time, were now become, not only fully sensible of their error, but began to perceive and to feel some part of the growing danger of their situation; the dukes and peers of France had already presented a memoir to the king, offering to bear their due proportion of the public charges, and, so far as they could, answering for the rest of the nobility as holding the same sentiments; and they were supported in this engagement by the public declarations or avowed disposition of the nobles in different parts of the kingdom. But their repentance, or right sense of their condition, was too late! the season was now past! and the popular ferment was grown to such a height, that all hope of conciliation seemed at an end.

For no equalization of taxes, no ease in their own situation, no exaltation of their political importance in the state, seemed now capable of affording any gratification to the commons, while the other two classes possessed a single privilege, or any degree of importance distinct from the general mass. As the writers, as well as the orators, and those numerous sects who were counted philosophers, were almost all on the popular side, so the tenures of the nobility were rendered so odious in the numberless writings which were every hour published on the subject, and their privileges, claims, conduct and services placed in such ridiculous and degrading points of view, that the nobles thought it necessary to issue a declaration in defence, wherein they insisted that their feudal rights were inviolable property, coeval with their estates, and equally acquired by the valour of their ancestors: that they had been established by the original constitution of the country, and confirmed by the sanction of unnumbered laws and of untold ages. But this declaration, instead of producing any good, or contributing in any degree to allay the prevailing animosity, served only to increase the unpopularity and odium under which the nobility already laboured.

At the very time that the closest union would have been indispensably necessary, to resist the designs that were laid against the whole of their immunities and distinctions, the nobility were divided by various jealousies among themselves, and split into violent factions. That superiority assumed by the dukes and peers of France, from their possessing seats in the parliament of Paris, and from their

their being conſidered as the hereditary counſellors of the crown, though a diſtinction of very long ſtanding, and hitherto, like other old eſtabliſhments, paſſed over without exciting much care or enquiry, became, in this ſeaſon of innovation, and under the influence of that reſtleſs ſpirit which marked the genius and temper of the time, an object of much diſſatisfaction and envy with thoſe nobles, who from the largeneſs of their poſſeſſions, the antiquity or public ſervices of their families, or from all together, thought themſelves no leſs entitled to ſo flattering a pre-eminence.

In the ſame manner, and as if the contagion was general and unavoidable, the parliaments were torn to pieces by internal diſſentions. For the places of judges, in theſe bodies, had by degrees been rendered in a great meaſure hereditary, the ſon uſually ſucceeding the father in the office, if he had attained a proper maturity at the deceaſe of the former. This was conſidered both an intolerable grievance, and an abſolute injury, by the pleading lawyers, who ſaw themſelves nearly cut off from ever attaining thoſe emoluments and diſtinctions, which they conſidered as the proper objects of their profeſſional ambition, as well as the due rewards of merit and ability, and neceſſary encouragements to aſſiduity, labour and exertion. They accordingly formed a ſtrong and numerous as well as loquacious party, to cry down the judges, and ruin them with the public. The former were not always correct in their deciſions; wrong was ſometimes confirmed or eſtabliſhed; and it had happened in ſome notorious and celebrated criminal caſes, which awakened the attention or excited the horror of all Europe, that the innocent were condemned to ſuffer the moſt cruel puniſhments, which the law permitted for the higheſt degrees of guilt. Though ſuch caſes were not frequent, yet when they occurred, the moſt eminent of the pleading advocates did not miſs the occaſion of acquiring great popularity by the courage and eloquence with which they defended the oppreſſed and injured: they boldly controverted and arraigned, and ſometimes ſucceſsfully, the deciſions of the judges; and if every thing elſe failed, where the caſe was ſufficiently clear, they appealed to the world at large, by publiſhing the proceedings. But in this eager chace of popularity they not ſeldom overſhot the mark; for, being in the habit of oppoſing the judges, and growing warm in the exerciſe, they would ſtrain and warp the law from its uſual and natural bias, to make it ſuit the immediate purpoſe. They, however, gained their point, in rendering both the judges and the courts odious; and were indifferent as to the conſequences, under a reliance, that their own legal knowledge and abilities would in all caſes, and in any change that could take place, be indiſpenſably neceſſary.

It is well known that the French parliaments boaſted a peculiar nobility of their own, originating from particular office and rank. It ſeemed as if ſome fatality had, in this ſeaſon of innovation and danger, prompted ſeveral of theſe provincial bodies to become diſſatisfied with their former privilege and honour, and to attempt, by a new regulation, that none but gentlemen (by which is intended the ſmaller nobility) ſhould be admitted into their

their reſpective aſſemblies. Nothing could have been a greater inſult or injury to the third eſtate than this meaſure of folly and vanity, if time had been afforded for its being carried into effect; it having long been one of the moſt crying grievances of that body, that, through the partiality of the crown, nearly all promotions, whether civil, military, naval, or eccleſiaſtical, were monopolized by the nobility. The affront and intended injury were the more galling to the commons, as being offered by men who were drawn from the common maſs of citizens, but who now regarded their fellows with ſuch marked diſdain, that they would for ever ſhut them out from poſſeſſing the ſame advantage. Theſe circumſtances ſerved to render the parliaments not only unpopular but odious; and their ſubſequent fall, to be neither attended with pity, nor accompanied with reſpect.

Other prevalent cauſes operated in diſuniting and weakening the nobility. Many of the moſt neceſſitous, the moſt turbulent, or the moſt profligate, rejoiced in the preſent ferment; they wiſhed for diſturbance and commotion, a ſtate of things by which they could not loſe much, but from whence the eagerneſs of hope and deſire flattered them with proſpects of great poſſible advantage. Theſe eagerly ſought popularity at any price and at all events, without any more regard to the benefit or ſecurity of their particular order, than to the general good of the ſtate. Some, of high rank and great power, were ſuppoſed to entertain views of a remote but dangerous ambition, which could have no other hope of obtaining its end, than amid the diſorders produced by ſome great convulſion in the ſtate. Upon this principle, it was their intereſt to promote by all means the preſent ferment; conſidering the rage and violence of the people as the proper diſpoſitions for rendering them hereafter the uſeful and active inſtruments in the proſecution of their own deſigns. Such men could not want retainers and aſſociates either in their own or any other order.

It had always been reckoned highly diſgraceful in France, for a nobleman to become a member of the third eſtate; and on the other ſide, it was held no leſs diſgraceful to the commons to elect a nobleman to be their delegate; ſuch a meaſure, beſides other grounds of objection, ſeeming to be a tacit acknowledgment, that no one of their own claſs was properly qualified to be their repreſentative. But all delicacy or ſqueamiſhneſs in this reſpect was now, in ſome inſtances, laid by on both ſides in the preparation for the approaching election of the ſtates. Some of the moſt factious and deſperate of the nobility, either deſpairing of being choſen by their own order, or holding, that the tiers l'etat would, in the preſent ſtate of things, afford a more ample field for the diſplay of their talents, as well as a more fertile ſoil for the propagation of their opinions and deſigns, uſed all their intereſt and addreſs to obtain ſeats among the commons; while ſimilar motives and diſpoſitions to thoſe which urged them to the application, operating with no leſs effect on the other ſide, they were received with open arms.

As if the ſpirit of diſcord was now deſtined to infect all orders of men, ſo the clergy were little better ſatisfied, or united among themſelves

ſelves than the other claſſes of the people. The curates, or pariſh prieſts, who lived among and aſſociated with the commons, had very generally, though in a leſs or greater degree as chance or temper operated, imbibed many of the popular notions and opinions. But there was a peculiar grievance relative to themſelves, which, with little open complaint, they had long juſtly repined at. This was the monopoly which the nobility had, probably in all times, poſſeſſed, of nearly all the dignities and emoluments in the church; which, along with its being a conſtant object of vexation, jealouſy and envy, could not but operate fatally to the diſcouragement of learning, virtue, and piety among the inferior clergy, and to the diligent exerciſe of thoſe duties, which require ſuch conſtant labour and care in the application, and are ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in that body. It is, however, probable, that this grievance was more felt and thought of in the preſent ſeaſon of reform and innovation, than it had been at any former period.

The jealouſy and diſlike between the nobility and commons was every day increaſing, and ſtrongly indicating miſchiefs and evils, which it ſhould have been the great object of a wiſe and prudent government to prevent or evade. For the diſpoſition of the nobles to ſubject their eſtates in future to a proportional ſhare of the public burdens, afforded, as we have already ſeen, no ſatisfaction to the commons, while the former would have this conſidered merely as a conceſſion of favour, but by no means as any dereliction of their right of exemption. The chief bone of contention was, however, the queſtion of amalgamation, or the three orders ſitting and voting in common in one general aſſembly. This point the commons were determined, if poſſible, to carry at all events; deeming every other acquiſition imperfect and of little value, without the ſtrength and efficacy which this was capable of communicating; while the nobility, in general, were as obſtinately bent on its rejection. But a part of their own body eſtabliſhed an alarming precedent againſt the conduct and ſentiments of the great majority; for at the provincial meeting of the ſtates of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy not only coaleſced into one common maſs with the repreſentatives of the people, but it was determined by that aſſembly, that their deputies to the ſtates general ſhould be inſtructed to ſupport ſtedfaſtly the queſtion of amalgamation, and to give weight and currency to it from their own example, by neither ſitting or voting in any other manner.

The commons of Britany, who, from the union of that province with France, had to the preſent day retained ſome greater portion of freedom than any others in the kingdom, and who had for ſome time, as we have heretofore ſeen, been in habits of great licenſe and diſorder, being now fired by the example of Dauphiny, inſiſted that their ſtates ſhould be modelled in the ſame manner; but this being peremptorily refuſed by the gentlemen, who thought it a moſt ungrateful return for the zeal, ſpirit, and riſque with which they had ſupported the public rights, againſt the tyrannical deſigns and attempts of the late adminiſtration; the differences grew ſo high, and the contending

tending parties were so much enraged, that the country was for several weeks in little, if any thing, less than in a state of civil war.

On the other hand, the count d'Artois (the king's second brother) with the two princes of Conde and of Conti, who were at this time called the Triumvirate, and who were at the head of those scattered parties which still retained some attachment to the court, declared themselves strongly in support of the rights of the nobility, and presented a memorial to the king, in which, along with a profession, in the name of that body, of their willingness to contribute to the exigencies of the state by consenting to an equalization of taxes, they, however, reserved the obnoxious provision, "that this was to be "considered as a matter of con- "descension and favour, but not "of right." And having treated, in the same memorial, some of the new pretensions of the third estate with great freedom, if not severity, it raised the indignation of that numerous and formidable party to the highest pitch, so that the count, who had long been sufficiently unpopular, was now execrated throughout the nation, and considered as the common enemy of the people: nor did these circumstances fail to increase the general animosity to the nobility.

The first prince of the blood, the duke of Orleans, had, upon the change of ministry, been discharged by the king from the restrictions which confined him to his country seat at Reinsy; but, instead of going to court, he proceeded to the palais royale in Paris, which was his own estate, and which for some time might have been considered as his citadel. There he laid himself out by all possible means to attain a popularity, in the acquisition of which he had hitherto through life been singularly unfortunate. His immense fortune (being reckoned the richest subject in Europe, and his yearly income estimated at something about half a million sterling) rendered this design, in the present state of things, a matter of no great difficulty. The streets were deluged by an uncountable multitude of vagabonds, partly natives, but a greater number outcasts of the different provinces, who, hungry, ragged, and abandoned, were ready to perform any service of which they were capable, for food and covering. By excessive largesses in money and corn, he soon became the idol of that vast and profligate city, and seemed to succeed in filling the place which had been occupied by the duke of Beaufort towards the middle of the last century, and to stand fair for attaining, as he had done, the title of king of the mob. It was impossible that such a man, in such a situation and such circumstances, should be destitute of a considerable party. Mirabeau, and some other of the most violent demagogues in the succeeding convulsions, were closely connected with him, and were supposed to be actuated in their proceedings by views very different from those which were ostensibly avowed. While the duke, wrapped up in the darkness of his Olympus, and fixed in the centre of all the politics, intrigues, cabals, and violence of the metropolis, was, without any visible exertion, for a considerable time, supposed to guide the clouds, and to direct the course of the tempest.

Mr. Neckar has been much, and to all appearance deservedly, blamed for not having used the means which his official situation, and even his popularity, seemed to place in his hands, of endeavouring, previous to the elections, or even after, to allay the ferment which prevailed in the nation, to conciliate some, or to gain over others of the jarring factions, and above all things, to endeavour to heal or to soften the animosities between the commons and the nobility; which, as the latter were now willing to resign their exemption with respect to taxation, and might probably, under the influence of the present alarming aspect of public affairs, have been led to further concessions, did not by any means seem an unattainable object. Nothing of this sort was, however, done or attempted; every thing seems to have been committed to chance, or suffered to pursue that bias from which it received its original direction; while the minister, confident in hope, and looking to the States General with a degree of idolatry, as the summit of all possible perfection, seemed to rush blindly on, trusting, in defiance of the history and experience of past times, to find in that body a remedy for all the political evils of the state.

In this course, and through all the violence of contending factions, he adhered firmly to his favourite scheme of the double representation of the commons; although that measure was directly contrary to the opinion and advice of the parliament, the notables, of most if not all the other ministers, and to the sentiments and liking of the king himself. To secure this point, he presented a memoire to the sovereign, in which he rendered himself personally responsible for the success of that measure, and vainly desired that he might be made the sacrifice to its failure, or at least to its production of any sinister event. It is remarkable, that while in this piece he drew an imaginary picture of some of the effects which really ensued, he seemed scarcely to consider them as possibilities, or to think there was turpitude sufficient in mankind for their production.

The king, who had received a minister from the people merely in the hope of thereby restoring tranquillity to the public, and quiet to himself, did not think it prudent to hazard so desired an object by any interference of his own in counteracting his designs. In pursuance of this sentiment, in the beginning of January 1789, he issued that decree, framed or dictated by the minister, which granted to the third estate a double representation; but through some unaccountable negligence or blindness, left untouched that most essential question of amalgamation, and consequently of the states sitting in one, two, or three chambers. For the minister, in his preceding memoire to the king, although it was sufficiently verbose in other respects, touched slightly upon this subject, as if it were a matter rather of indifference than moment; only casually expressing a hope, that the states would settle these matters among themselves without any dissention; and hinting, distantly, at the possibility of the union of the three orders, without giving any opinion for or against its propriety.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate in the present state of things than this omission, and indeed

it may be conſidered as opening the way in a very great meaſure to the ſucceeding evils. The king's deciſion on the ſubject would have been final, and not only willingly ſubmitted to, but was expected and wiſhed; for none of the parties had yet called in queſtion the plenitude of his authority, at leaſt until the meeting of the ſtates, to act in all things as proviſionary legiſlator. Nor did it require any great ſagacity to foreſee, that the great point of a double repreſentation being gained by the third eſtate, while the other, of amalgamating the three orders into one, was left open and undecided, they would immediately endeavour to ſeize the advantage thus offered, and that their ſucceſs in the firſt inſtance would render them infinitely more ſtrenuous and impetuous in their efforts to obtain the ſecond, which could alone communicate that full efficacy to the double repreſentation which they wiſhed and aimed at. Nor did it ſeem more difficult to perceive the danger of truſting the whole power of a mighty ſtate in the hands of a ſingle aſſembly, without any other to check or regulate its conduct, or any power whatever in the government which could, even by the interpoſition of a negative, attempt to reſtrain the exorbitances to which ſuch a body, poſſeſſed of ſuch unexampled authority, muſt almoſt be neceſſarily ſubject. It was evident, that in ſuch an aſſemblage all its power muſt be ſubjected to the caprice or deſign of a majority; that ſuch a majority, once formed, would ſoon become too much enamoured of their new power, not to cohere firmly together in its ſupport; that the diſſenting minority, whatever its number, could do nothing more than complain (if they were allowed to do that) and would thereby become entirely uſeleſs, while the triumphant majority, by a proper management of the inflamed populace, with the national purſe and the ſword in their hands, might eſtabliſh the moſt complete tyranny, under a republican name or form, and render it unalterable, by boldly perpetuating their own exiſtence.

Theſe, not only poſſible but probable conſequences, were, however, overlooked upon this occaſion.

Some well-judged propoſals were, however, made for mollifying or correcting this ſtate of things, and for conciliating the animoſity of the parties: for the nobles had bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, never to ſubmit to the amalgamating or conſolidating ſyſtem, ſo far as to ſit or to vote in one common aſſembly.

One of theſe ſchemes was, that the repreſentatives of the nobles and clergy ſhould be united in one aſſembly, and ſhould ſupply, at leaſt in a certain degree, the place of the houſe of lords in England; while the third eſtate ſhould ſit by itſelf, under the name of the *houſe of commons*.

The ſecond ſcheme was much more comprehenſive. It propoſed to unite, as the other did, the clergy and nobility in one houſe; but to reſtrict the number of ſeats poſſeſſed by both to a certain given and proportional number; that the clergy ſhould be choſen by rotation; that the nobles ſhould poſſeſs a certain given quantity of land to qualify them for election; but in order that the ſervices of merit and ability ſhould not be loſt to the public, nor utility ſacrificed to forms, that the

eldeſt ſons or immediate heirs of theſe noble poſſeſſors ſhould be likewiſe qualified to fill ſeats, if elected; and laſtly, to enlarge the ſphere of repreſentation in the third eſtate, to remove prejudices, and to unite every rank and claſs of the people in one common intereſt, that the nobility at large, as well as the clergy, who were not appointed to the upper, but leſs numerous aſſembly, ſhould be qualified to be elected by the commons as their repreſentatives in the third eſtate; the number to be ſtill reſtricted, though, to its original deſignation.

It is eaſily ſeen that this ſcheme, if adopted, would, among its ſmaller benefits, have been the means of introducing much decency, urbanity, and order, in the deliberations and proceedings of that body; that it would likewiſe have tended to a general diffuſion of intelligence and public knowledge among the members, which was much and particularly wanted in whatever related to foreign affairs and connections; that it muſt have had an admirable effect in removing prejudices, curing animoſities, and coaleſcing all the claſſes of the people; and that it would have obviated that reproach ſince thrown upon the conſtituent aſſembly, that they were moſtly compoſed of lawyers, attornies, country curates, artiſts, and authors; that many of them were men of narrow minds, and of very circumſcribed knowledge; and were as little reſpectable in point of property, as of ability or knowledge. Theſe were, however, but ſmaller matters, when placed in compariſon with that excellency of conſtitution, and that juſt fitneſs, due proportion, ſtrength, and ſecurity of all the parts of government, which the framers and ſupporters of this ſcheme ſuppoſed or ſaid might have been derived from it. For they repreſented, that counterpoiſes would be thus provided to every diſtinct power in the ſtate; that each would operate as a check and regulator to the others, and prevent all exceſs in any; that under ſuch guards it would become impoſſible for any one to devour all the others; and that thus, the moſt valuable parts of the Engliſh conſtitution would be obtained, without any of its defects.

But the views of the commons were now ſo much extended, and their deſires ſo much inflamed by the near proſpect of placing all the powers of the ſtate in one ſingle aſſembly, that no propoſal which went wide of that mark could be attended to with patience. It was not difficult to find oſtenſible and popular reaſons for the rejection of ſuch a propoſal. It would be diſgraceful in the laſt degree for the greateſt and moſt enlightened nation in Europe to borrow a conſtitution from another country. They poſſeſſed wiſdom and philoſophy ſufficient for modelling and regulating their own government, without ſubmitting to the ſhameful degradation of being in any degree beholden to the aid of foreigners. This idea had ſuch force, that it became for a conſiderable time a fixed principle neither to borrow from, nor to imitate England in any reſpect whatever relative to the ſtate and government.

It had at all times been cuſtomary in France, at the elections of the ſtates general, for each order in each diſtrict to preſent a memorial of grievances, accompanied with inſtructions, to its peculiar deputy, the

the practice being equally common with the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. Theſe memorials or inſtructions were called *cahiers*; and in proportion to the number of them that coincided in pointing out any particular grievance, or in urging any particular inſtruction, it was expected the ſtates would pay particular attention to them, and regulate their conduct accordingly. So general was the ſpirit now abroad, that the cahiers of the nobility, as well as of the clergy, went as fully to a reform in the government, as thoſe of the commons; the only diſtinctions of any conſequence being, that although the delegates of the nobility were inſtructed to give up freely the pecuniary exemptions of that order, they were ſtrictly withheld from any ſurrender of their feudal rights, which was inſiſted on by the commons; but the ſecond diſtinction was the great ſource of diſcontent and diſcord, involving a principle in which it ſeemed impoſſible that the two other orders could accord with the third eſtate; for the deputies of the commons were inſtructed, peremptorily to inſiſt upon the conſolidation of the three orders in one aſſembly. This enraged the nobility ſo much, that their delegates were generally, if not univerſally, inſtructed to reſiſt the attempt to the utmoſt, and to proceed to any extremity, even to that of ſeceſſion, ſooner than ſubmit to it. The delegates acted up to the ſpirit of their inſtructions, and beſides reſolutions and declarations, in order to guard againſt the verſatility of individuals, they were generally bound by a ſolemn oath never to ſit or to vote in one common or general aſſembly, but to adhere firmly to their ancient forms and mode of acting.

Thus early did the unfortunate effects of that fatal error, negligence, or whatever other name it may be called, which left that moſt eſſential queſtion of conſolidation open and undecided, begin to appear, and with a moſt alarming aſpect, in the firſt inſtance, opened the way to all the confuſion that followed, to the utter degradation and ruin of the two firſt orders of the ſtate, and to the final overthrow of the longeſt eſtabliſhed government in Chriſtendom, and probably in the world, China itſelf not excepted.

The following ſhort account of the views of the different parties then in France is thus given by a perſon well acquainted with them, and who was himſelf an actor of conſideration in the ſcenes then exhibited: * That, "the commons "wiſhed to conquer; the nobles "wiſhed to preſerve what they al- "ready poſſeſſed; the clergy wait- "ed to ſee which ſide would be "victorious, in order to join the "conquerors;"—but, "if any one "ſincerely wiſhed for peace, it was "the king."

The ſtates had been ſummoned for the 27th of April, and moſt of the deputies were on that day aſſembled at Verſailles; but the numerous deputation from Paris, as well as the multitude of the electors, occaſioned ſo much delay in the elections of that city, that the king thought it neceſſary to defer the opening of the aſſembly unto the 4th of May. The factions who were thus brought from all parts of the kingdom to

* Lally Tolendal.

claſh together and ſhew their animoſity at Verſailles, were ſoon diſtinguiſhed, and were arranged under their reſpective leaders before the formal opening of the aſſembly. They were claſſed under three great diviſions, and theſe ſubdivided into ſmaller parties.

The firſt was the ariſtocratic party, who were determined to ſupport, in all events, and at all hazards, the ancient form and mode of proceeding, by a ſeparation of the ſtates into three chambers, and by each chamber retaining its reſpective *veto*, or negative on the others. This party was conſiderable, whether conſidered with reſpect to number, or to the talents and ability of its leaders, in both orders of the nobles and of the clergy.

The ſecond diviſion was that of the middle or moderate party; who, though averſe to continue the diſtinction of three ſeparate orders, as too complicated and difficult a ſyſtem for practice, yet wiſhed for a conſtitution founded upon the Britiſh principle of reciprocal controul, ſuch as we have already taken notice of. Though this party was not near ſo numerous as the former, yet it included names, both with reſpect to talents and integrity, which ranked high among the moſt eminent in the kingdom; and even among the commons, was ſupported by ſuch men as Mounier, Bergaſſe, and Malouet.

The laſt, but the great and triumphant diviſion, was that overwhelming democratic party which was deſtined to ſwallow up all others, and to level all diſtinctions, from the ſceptre to the bare croſs of St. Louis, in the duſt. This party embraced the moſt violent and turbulent ſpirits of the nation in the third eſtate, among whom the celebrated Mirabeau, finding himſelf rejected with contempt by his own order, obtained a ſeat, and ſoon became the moſt conſpicuous of their leaders, which he continued to be, until he was unexpectedly arreſted by death, in the midſt of his turbulent and ambitious career. Nor were democratic principles confined entirely to the third eſtate; they were adopted with no leſs violence by the biſhop of Autun, and the curate Gregoire, who headed a party among the clergy. The duke of Orleans, having been choſen a member of the ſtates for his own bailliage of Creſſy, in Valois, took care to provide a ſanction for his future conduct, by employing the abbe Sieyes, who was particularly attached to him, and whoſe name ſtood high among the modern ſpeculative philoſophers and politicians, to draw up his *cahier* or inſtructions, in the name of that bailywicke; which the abbe accompliſhed in a manner that could not but afford content to the moſt eager wiſhes of democracy.

But in this interval, between the firſt aſſemblage of the ſtates at Verſailles, and the day appointed for their formal opening, when it might have been imagined that all murmur and all turbulence would have been abſorbed in the expectation and joy excited by ſo new and unhoped-for an event, the profligate populace of the metropolis determined to exhibit to the collected repreſentatives of every part of the kingdom, an early and notable ſpecimen of the ferociouſneſs of their manners, and of their incurable diſpoſition to diſorder and tumult.

The primary elections had for ſome days been carried on in the different

different diſtricts of Paris; but as this is a term and ſubject little underſtood in this country, ſome ſhort explanation may here be neceſſary. The inhabitants of every diſtrict in France, preparatory to the election of delegates, hold what is called a primary aſſembly, where they chooſe a preſcribed number of electors, who are to act for the whole in the choice of a repreſentative to the ſtates. The primary aſſemblies have nothing farther to do with the final election of delegates, nor have they any knowledge who they are to be, but they leave their cahiers or inſtructions with the electors, which are by them communicated to the repreſentative. By this courſe it is eaſily ſeen, that there is no immediate or near connection between the delegate and thoſe whom he repreſents, he being a deputy choſen by other deputies, and owing nothing directly to the good will of the people at large.

Theſe primary aſſemblies, in which cuſtom, and the practice of deſcanting upon and ſtating grievances in their cahiers, neceſſarily produced much licence of ſpeech, and afforded an opportunity to the meaneſt individuals, of publicly venting their diſcontents, could not but be liable to produce ſome diſorders, even in well regulated ſocieties; but in the preſent ſtate of Paris, their effect was highly and juſtly dreaded by the ſober, moſt reſpectable, and moſt opulent part of the citizens. Whether it was to obviate theſe apprehenſions, or that the court thought it otherwiſe neceſſary, the French guards, who had for ſome time been ſtationed in that capital, now received orders to double their guards, and to be conſtantly ready at call to preſerve order.

Things, however, went on quietly for ſome days; but it happened that M. Reveillon, a citizen of the firſt order in point of reſpectability and opulence, and who conducted a capital paper-manufactory, in which he gave conſtant employment to a great number of workmen, had preſided, along with a M. Henriot, and ſome other of the moſt eminent citizens in that quarter, at the primary aſſembly held for the diſtrict of St. Antoine. It is farther ſaid, that being aſtoniſhed at the length and violence of the political harangues held forth by ſome of his own workmen, and at the ſtrange doctrines which they advanced, Reveillon could not ſo far govern his temper, as not to ſhew ſome marks of diſapprobation at their conduct.

This enraged them ſo much, that to draw the mob entirely to their ſide, and to render his deſtruction certain, his own workmen, whom he had ſo long employed and maintained, raiſed the malicious and falſe report againſt him, that he was at the head of a combination of manufacturers and maſters, who had agreed to reduce the wages of all the journeymen and working people in Paris; and that he had himſelf publicly declared, that their wages was not only far beyond their deſerts, but much more than was neceſſary for the maintenance of them and their families.

Such a report, without regard to its falſehood, might have been productive of ſome miſchief in any manufacturing and populous place, but in the tumultuous Fauxbourg, or ſuburb of St. Antoine, ever prone to ungoverned riot and diſorder, and where the population was immenſe, it was like the application of wild-fire to gun-powder. The rabble,

however, not having yet arrived at the height of their fury, amuſed themſelves the firſt day by burning M. Reveillon, and ſome others, in effigy; and a detachment of guards, who were ſent to ſuppreſs the tumult, being too weak for the purpoſe, their failure ſerved to increaſe the audacity of the mob.

The intoxication and mutual communication produced in the night were ſufficient to prepare them for any pitch of enormity on the ſucceeding day. They accordingly proceeded to demoliſh the houſes of M. Reveillon, and M. Henriot, which they effectually accompliſhed with great diſpatch. A ſtrong body of the guards having arrived before they could proceed any farther in the accompliſhment of their deſigns, were immediately ſaluted with a violent ſhower of ſtones and tiles, which they bore for ſome time with great temper; but perceiving that their forbearance only ſerved to render the mob more daring and violent in their attack, the guards at length threw in a cloſe and heavy fire, which made a miſerable ſlaughter among the rabble. A great number were killed; the hoſpitals crowded with the wounded; and terror immediately ſucceeding to inſolence, the reſt diſperſed as faſt as they could.

April 28.

It was ſtrongly aſſerted at the time, that this riot was not accidental, and did not ariſe from the aſſigned cauſes, nor from any ſudden impulſe of the populace, but had been inſtigated by ſome of the leaders of the contending factions, as an experiment to try the temper both of the mob and of the ſoldiers, and therefrom to draw concluſions which might hereafter be applicable to certain caſes. Thus far is certain, that the court and the popular party charged each the other with being the authors of it; that each pointed out a great leader on the oppoſite ſide as being the immediate inſtigator; and that both parties aſſerted, with the utmoſt poſitiveneſs, that wretches who were dying of their wounds in the hoſpitals, confeſſed they had been hired, but either would not or could not declare by whom.—If either charge be founded, what means can hereafter be deemed too execrable for the purpoſes of faction?

Though peace was thus apparently reſtored to the capital, yet the fermentation among the mob was ſo great, that it was eaſily ſeen to be of a very doubtful and precarious nature; a ſtronger proof of which needs not to be given, than that the whole body of French guards in Paris were obliged to be drawn out, with loaded arms, bayonets fixed, and artillery planted in different places, in order to inſure the execution of two ruffians who had been taken in the very act of plunder. It was in this inſurrection that women were firſt ſeen to forget all the timidity natural to their ſex, with all the reſtraints fixed by habit and opinion, and to mix with more than maſculine fury in ſcenes of blood and deſtruction. It was here too that men were taught to diſguiſe themſelves in the dreſs of women, thereby to evade the puniſhment due to their crimes.

Such were the ſad auſpices under which the firſt aſſemblage of the ſtates general of France, after a long lapſe of 175 years, was deſtined to commence its proceedings.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Solemn and auguſt opening of the aſſembly of the ſtates general at Verſailles. Short ſpeech by the king. Keeper of the ſeals ſpeech. Long harangue by M. Neckar diſappoints all parties. Inexplicable conduct of the miniſters, in leaving the queſtion of conſolidation, and thoſe relative to the manner of deliberating and voting, ſtill undecided. All the legal authority in the kingdom then poſſeſſed by the king. Fatal conſequences of that omiſſion of the miniſters. Scheme thence formed by the third eſtate to render the other orders entirely dependent upon them. Explanation of the phraſe Verification of Powers. Commons invite the clergy and nobles to come to their hall, in order to proceed in common with them, in the verification of their reſpective writs of return. Invitation refuſed, as being contrary to eſtabliſhed form, and ſubverſive of the rights of the other orders. Commons paſs a reſolution, that no writs could be valid that were not verified in their chamber and preſence; and that, without going through that form, the other two chambers would be illegal aſſemblies. Nobles blamed for their obſtinacy in refuſing to comply with the demand of the commons. Clergy wavering. Privileged orders weakened by their internal diſſentions. Meetings of the commons tumultuous and diſorderly. Admiſſion of the populace cauſes ſhameful diſorders, and produces in time great evils. Nobles proceed with their ſeparate verifications, and declare themſelves duly conſtituted. This proceeding treated with the utmoſt contempt by the commons. Commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the differences between the nobles and commons, and the clergy act as mediators; but the diſputants can agree in nothing. Miniſters alarmed, now perſuade the king to interfere, when it is too late. Nobles paſs an arret, declaring the deliberation by orders to be eſſential to the monarchical conſtitution; and that they would ever perſevere in this principle, as being equally neceſſary both to monarchy and freedom. Conferences between the orders renewed in compliance with the king's requeſt. M Neckar brings forward his conciliatory plan, ſupported by a meſſage from the king to all the orders; accepted, in fact, only by the clergy. While the other orders ſeem to deliberate on it, they clog it with conditions which they know will be inadmiſſible. Commons alarm the nobles, by declaring that they will conſtitute themſelves into an active aſſembly, and proceed to buſineſs. Nobles continue obſtinate, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the temperate few among them. Commons indirectly endeavour to render them more inflexible. Nobles and commons ſeverally addreſs the king. Party of the commons continually gaining ground among the clergy. Three curates of Poictou bring their writs of return for verification to the commons, and are received with acclamations of the higheſt joy and triumph. Third eſtate aſſume the title of National Aſſembly. Signalize their new title by a ſtrong and popular act of ſovereignty. Spectators interrupt the debates, hoot and menace the members, and publiſh liſts of the voters, ſtigmatiſing thoſe as enemies to their country who vote contrary to their liking. King and miniſters, greatly alarmed, determine upon holding a royal

royal session. Preparations for carrying that measure into execution conducted with such imprudence and rashness, as to excite the greatest public alarm. National assembly shut out from their hall by guards and workmen, without any previous notice or knowledge of the intention. Commons, apprehensive of immediate dissolution, hurry through a violent storm of rain to an old tennis-court, where they bind themselves by a solemn oath, never to part until the constitution was completed. Extreme odium, as well as other evil consequences, which the bad conduct of the ministers in this transaction drew upon the king. Majority of the clergy join the commons. Great joy and triumph upon this occasion. Commons, upon this junction, are confident in their strength. Royal session. Plan of a new constitution or system of government laid down by the king. Various causes which operate to its rejection. Commons refuse to adjourn or interrupt their session. Issue a decree, declaring the persons of their members inviolable. Outrages at Versailles and in Paris. Poissardes, and another order of women, become highly notorious. Extraordinary scenes in the gardens of the palais royal. Parisians so prone to revolt, that M. Neckar is obliged to send a letter to allay the ferment. Commons treat the king's system with silent contempt. Archbishop of Paris terrified by the dangers to which he had been exposed by the rabble, comes, with the minority of the clergy, to the hall of the commons, where they withdrew their protest. Count de Clermont Tonnere, and M. de Lally, use the most strenuous endeavours to bring the nobles to an union with the commons, but the majority continue inflexible. Minor party of that order desert the same evening, and join the third estate. Majority, at length, after a message from the king, and violent debates, unite with the commons. Great hopes formed of the happy consequences which would ensue from this union of the states. New and alarming councils and measures adopted by the court. Troops drawn from different parts of the kingdom towards the capital. Causes or motives of this extraordinary change of measures not yet clearly developed. Contending parties charge each other with evil designs, which are mutually denied. National assembly had not, since the late union of the states, afforded any visible cause for jealousy or violence. Successful means used in Paris to seduce the French guards from their duty. Parisians force the prison, and rescue the mutinous soldiers of that body who were confined for disobedience of orders, and other acts of contumacy. National assembly present a spirited remonstrance to the king on the near approach of the troops. King answers, that the disorders in Paris afford the only motive for this measure, and proposes to transfer their sitting to Noyon or Soissons, in which case he would remove the court and follow them. Democratic leaders reject the proposal. Horrid designs attributed to the court by the opposite party in this change of system. Opinions of more moderate men on the subject, so far as they can be collected. M. Neckar ordered to resign his place, and to quit the kingdom. Other ministers resign. M. de Breteuil placed at the head of the new ministry, and Marshal Broglio appointed to command the army. Disorders in Paris commence on Sunday morning, on the arrival of this intelligence. Prince de Lambesc, in an ill-judged attempt, with his regiment of cavalry, to disperse the riotous populace in the gardens of the Thuilleries, shamefully repulsed. All government being at an end in Paris, a day of fury and

and rage is succeeded by a night of the most dreadful panic. On Monday morning above 100,000 *people assemble, and seem animated by one common soul. Temporary bodies of electors appointed to the government of their respective districts. Army of* 30,000 *men suddenly formed. Joined by the French guards. New cockade. Appearances not only of defence but of active war. Plunderers, detected in the fact by the populace, instantly hanged by the lantern ropes. Thus commenced the dreadful precedent of the populace becoming in the same instant both the judges and the executioners of the law. On Tuesday morning the new army complete their preparations by seizing the arms in the public depositories. Attack the Bastile. Contradictory accounts of several circumstances relative to the attacking and taking of that fortress. M. de Launay, the governor, dragged to the Place de Greve, and miserably murdered. M. de Losme, his major, a man of great humanity, and who had treated the prisoners with unusual tenderness, meets the same fate. This day introduced the savage custom of mutilating the bodies of the victims, and of exhibiting their bleeding heads in the streets on pikes. The lives of a handful of invalids, who garrisoned the Bastile, saved by the French guards. The mayor of Paris, being detected in a correspondence with the court, is turned out of office, and ordered to prison for trial, by the committee of electors; but is forced from the guard by the rabble, who murder him on the spot, and exhibit his head in the streets like the others. Only seven prisoners found in the Bastile. On the Sunday and Monday the king's ministers and generals seemed asleep, or in a trance; but on Tuesday, the former found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by a deluge of misfortunes from every quarter; and could find no other resource than that of concealing from the sovereign the dismal and dangerous situation in which he was involved National assembly, with the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved, with the firmness of a Roman senate, not to relinquish a single point. Pass a celebrated resolution. Solicit the king to withdraw his troops. King's answer. Assembly resolve on Tuesday not to separate, but to sit up all night in their hall. System of concealment still pursued. Duke de Liancourt forces his way to the king's bedside at midnight, and acquaints him with the true state of his affairs. King resigns himself next morning into the hands of the assembly. His speech received with loud acclamations, and the whole assembly accompany him back to the palace. Paris now to be considered as a great republic. M. la Fayette appointed to the command of the army. M. Bailly chosen mayor. National assembly send a deputation of* 84 *members to Paris. King persuaded to the humiliating and dangerous measure of visiting the capital. Met at Seve by* 25,000 *national guards, who escort him to the town house. Returns safe to Versailles. Inhuman and barbarous songs popular in Paris. Cruel murders of Foulon and Berthier. Speedy dispersion of the late ministers, courtiers, generals, and favourites, who, with the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and the Princes of Conde and Conti, escape to foreign countries. Attempts made by the moderate party in the assembly for adopting effectual means to restrain that sanguinary spirit which was now becoming so dreadfully general. Excessive joy at M. Neckar's return. Triumphal entry into Paris.*

Paris. His hopes unexpectedly blasted by the refusal of the Parisians to order the release of M. Bezenval, or to grant a general amnesty. Dreadful state of disorder and cruelty which prevails through the country in general.

May 4th, 1789. NOTHING could be more solemn or august than the opening of the states general of France at Versailles: it seemed, indeed, a glorious sight, to behold all the wisdom and ability of a numerous and mighty nation, concentrated under one roof, and under the eye of a common father, preparing to modify the government of the whole; and by affixing such barriers to the excesses of power, such checks upon licentiousness, and establishing such securities to rights as could not be overthrown or shaken, are thereby expected to do every thing that human foresight was capable of, towards transmitting to posterity a fair prospect of tranquillity and happiness through a long course of succeeding ages. It was, however, an unpleasing circumstance, that many of the most moderate men in all the orders, and among those the best informed in every thing that related to the present state of affairs, could enjoy no part of this flattering prospect; but that, on the contrary, already terrified by the scenes of intrigue and faction, which were either opening before their eyes, or which they knew to be in embryo, and still more by the audacity and violence of character which marked several of the factious leaders, they could augur nothing but evil and mischief as the result of such combinations, and trembled at the thoughts of those crimes and miseries, which they imagined must of necessity precede the establishment of peace and of rational liberty.

The king delivered a short speech from the throne, in which, after declaring the satisfaction he felt at being surrounded by the representatives of his people, and of hearing that the two first orders were disposed to renounce their pecuniary privileges, he expressed his uneasiness at the general restlessness which prevailed, and the excessive desire of innovation which had seized the minds of his people. He afterwards declared his resolution to support the principles of monarchy; while the following kind expressions, with which he concluded, indicated of what nature he intended that government to be, viz.—"but "all that can be expected from the "most tender attachment to public "happiness, all that can be asked "from a sovereign, the friend of "his people, you may and ought to "expect from my sentiments.— "May a happy union reign in this "assembly, and this epoch become "for ever memorable from the happiness and prosperity of my subjects!"

Mr. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, succeeded the king in a speech of no extraordinary length, nor overloaded with matter. He enlarged upon the idea of a limited middle state of government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on the one hand, and secured against the inroads of anarchy and republicanism on the other. In other respects he seemed confined or guarded; and particularly

larly with regard to the formidable queſtion of three chambers or one, he touched it ſo lightly, as to leave it in the ſame ſtate of ambiguity which the financial miniſter had hitherto done; not venturing to hazard an opinion, or to enter into any diſcuſſion whatever upon the ſubject. He did not, however, neglect diſplaying the attention which the king paid to the public voice in granting a double repreſentation in favour of the moſt numerous of the three orders, and that on which the burden of taxation principally lay; but he obſerved, that in complying with this deſire, his majeſty had not changed the ancient form of deliberation; and, that though the deliberation by heads, in giving one general reſult, appeared to have the advantage of better diſplaying the general wiſh, or opinion, yet the king had not willed that this form ſhould take place without the free conſent of the ſtates general, confirmed by his own approbation.

The expectations of all parties were now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, to hear the long oration which was read by M. Neckar; all expected a wonderful fund of information, public affairs to be placed in a new light, and a ſeries of practical concluſions to be drawn ſo clearly from eſtabliſhed premiſes, as ſcarcely to leave room for doubt or controverſy. It happened, however, unfortunately, that all parties were equally diſappointed in their expectations. Looſe and declamatory in its texture, interlarded with moral maxims and ſentimental apoſtrophes, the ſpeech kept wide of all the great points of political diſcuſſion or deciſion which ſeemed to be its only proper objects; and, in fact, was univerſally conſidered as much better calculated for an academical harangue, than for expreſſing the ſentiments of a great monarch to the repreſentatives of a powerful, a haughty, and convulſed nation, and that at a criſis which already exhibited the moſt novel and dangerous appearances.

In touching on rather than treating of the great and eſſential queſtion of the ſeparate chambers, that queſtion on which hung the fate of the nation, the miniſter departed not from his former ambiguity, and left his hearers totally unable to comprehend what his real opinion was on the ſubject. He, however, ſhewed ſome ſigns of apprehenſion of the ſchiſm that might ariſe, if the commons ſhould immediately inſiſt on the ſyſtem of voting by heads; and threw out a wiſh or recommendation, that the two firſt orders ſhould have the honour of renouncing freely of their own accord, and conſequently by a ſeperate deliberation, all their obnoxious pecuniary exemptions.

It was impoſſible for the third eſtate, until the buſineſs of this day was over, to form any certain concluſion as to the ſucceſs of thoſe deſigns which they had ſo much at heart, of obliging the other orders to coaleſce with them in one body, and conſequently of voting by heads, inſtead of the old form, ever hitherto practiſed, of voting by orders. For the king poſſeſſed at this inſtant, as he had done ſince the ceſſation of the parliaments, all the legal authority of the kingdom; as, though the ſtates were aſſembled, they were not yet conſtituted, and could poſſeſs no legal powers whatever until the verification of their writs of election, a buſineſs which, in

in any event, muſt have taken up ſeveral days. Thus the king might, to the laſt moment, have inſtituted ſuch regulations with reſpect to their ſitting, deliberating, and voting, as he thought proper, provided only that they were conformable to the ancient precedents and mode of acting. Nor would it have been much, if any thing, ſhort of formal rebellion, in any of the orders, to refuſe a compliance with regulations ſo eſtabliſhed. This renders the conduct of his miniſters ſtill more inexplicable. That they ſhould thus perſevere to the laſt moment in ſo fatal a blindneſs or negligence, as to leave queſtions on which every thing depended open and undecided, is ſo little reconcileable with the common conduct of common men in matters of buſineſs, that it ſeems under the preſent appearance of things totally incomprehenſible.

But this ſeaſon and opportunity being irrecoverably loſt, the commons now ſaw a fair opening for drawing all authority to themſelves, and by a proper application of the weight drawn from their double repreſentation, of the popularity which they poſſeſſed, and of the advantage offered them by the negligence of the miniſters, to render the other two orders ſo entirely dependent upon them as to become mere nominal cyphers in the ſtate. Nor did they want able leaders to ſeize and improve theſe advantages to the utmoſt. Theſe were quickened in their action, by the hint or advice thrown out by the financial miniſter in his ſpeech, to induce the privileged orders to make a gratuitous ſurrender of their pecuniary exemptions, than which nothing could be more contrary to the views of the oppoſite party, as they dreaded theſe orders might thereby recover ſome ſhare of their former popularity; and the hint was the more alarming, as they knew that a diſpoſition to adopt the meaſure with a good grace was already prevalent. To counteract this intention, and all others of a ſimilar tendency, was deemed of ſufficient moment to require the joint ability of the moſt ſkilful and experienced leaders of the democratical party; and inſtead of trifling with expedients, and loſing time in waiting the reſult of contingent events, it was determined, by a bold and unexpected ſtroke, to diſable at once the privileged orders from acting, at leaſt for the preſent, in their peculiar and reſpective functions.

The means for this bold and comprehenſive meaſure were ſought for in the ſpeech made by the keeper of the ſeals, and from an eſtabliſhed form of words, which are ſuppoſed to have been always uſed upon ſimilar occaſions, but which had never before been wreſted to their preſent application. The paſſage was thus:—"Gentlemen, it "is the king's intention that you "ſhould aſſemble to-morrow to pro-"ceed to the *verification* of your "*powers*, and finiſh it as ſoon as "poſſible, that you may employ "yourſelves in the important ob-"jects which his majeſty has inti-"mated to you."

As the phraſe, *verification of powers*, in the ſenſe here uſed, is unknown in this country, it may not be unneceſſary to obſerve, that on the election of delegates to the ſtates general of France, the writs of return, inſtead of being ſent to the crown-office, as in England, are immediately depoſited by the returning

turning officers in the hands of the elected members, whatever orders they may belong to. Theſe writs are called *pouvoirs*, or pòwers; and before any buſineſs could be legally tranſacted by any of the orders, each member was obliged, in a certain ceremonious form, to preſent his writ of election upon the table of the chamber to which he belonged. Commiſſaries were then appointed by each order to examine the authenticity of all the writs immediately belonging to itſelf; and until this buſineſs was finiſhed, which uſually took up ſeveral days, the ſtates general were deſtitute of all legal authority whatever. The ſanction of theſe commiſſaries to the authenticity of the writs afforded what was called the *verification of powers.*

The democratical leaders having ſettled their plan, a very civil meſſage was diſpatched from the third eſtate, inviting the clergy and nobles (as if it had been a matter of courſe, or merely in conformity with the king's recommendation) to unite with them, in order that they might proceed to verify in common their writs of return. This invitation not being accepted, and being conſidered as a manœuvre contrived merely for the purpoſe of prejudging the great queſtion as to their ſitting in one or in three chambers, the commons inſtead of relaxing roſe higher in their pretenſions, and growing hourly more confident in their ſtrength, and in the goodneſs of the ground they had taken, they ſeemed no longer to think it neceſſary to temporize, but laying by the maſk, openly to avow no ſmall part of their deſigns. They held out as incontrovertible axioms, that no writs could be verified but in their chamber, and in their preſence; and that, until the nobles and clergy had ſubmitted to go through this form of verification, they were not to be conſidered as legal aſſemblies, but merely as a collection of individuals, who could only ſpeak, as ſuch, in their own unauthorized name, but who were totally incapable of acting for or of aſſuming the voice of their conſtituents.

May 11th.

Thus were the nobles and clergy ſtopped ſhort in the very outſet of their proceedings, and a bar, which ſeemed inſuperable, thrown in the way of their ever acting, excepting they were to ſubmit to the degradation of paſſing under the yoke prepared for them by the commons, and to a dereliction of rights or privileges, which they had poſſeſſed for a courſe of ages before a third eſtate had been even thought of. But the privileged orders were weakened by internal factions, and ſtill more perhaps by the want of any bond of common concert and union. A great majority of the nobility were, however, determined, at all hazards, and in all events, to reſiſt this innovation to the laſt.

The nobility have been blamed for their obſtinacy on this occaſion, though the juſtneſs of the cenſure may perhaps admit of a queſtion. It has been ſaid that the queſtion was not of ſufficient importance to warrant a breach, eſpecially at this critical ſeaſon, between the orders; that it did not directly militate againſt the cahiers or inſtructions which they had received from their conſtituents; that their compliance might have been the means of inducing harmony between the orders, and conſequently of their carrying

rying on buſineſs ſmoothly in concert afterwards; and that a ſubmiſſion to act in common in the mere point of verification, would not be concluſive with reſpect to other matters, nor at all preclude the privileged orders from a ſeparation, and from reſuming their diſtinct privileges whenever they found it convenient. But it is to be remembered, that the power of determining on the validity of its own returns was the grand privilege and the moſt eſſential right of each order; that in giving up that it would give up every thing; that it would not be more monſtrous in common life, for one man to require another to give up his houſe or his wife, than it was for one order of a ſtate, in which each had its defined limits, to propoſe to another a ſurrender of its peculiar privileges and rights; that it was not a queſtion of mere form nor of temporary moment; that a compliance would eſtabliſh a precedent which probably could never be overruled, and would conſequently not only be an act of immediate treachery to their reſpective orders, but a perpetual treachery, involving their poſterity and ſucceſſors through future ages. Beſides, it became now every hour more evident, that the great object of the third eſtate was to deprive their brethren in legiſlation of all weight and power, either by compelling them to mix in the common maſs, where their votes and opinions could be of no avail, or under this or ſome other pretence to preclude them from acting in any manner.

In the great conteſt now between the orders, the commons poſſeſſed the ſignal advantage of being united among themſelves, or at leaſt of being apparently ſo; which produced the ſame effect for the preſent as if it had been real. On the other hand the clergy and nobility were each torn by internal diſſention; and a regular majority and minority were formed in each. In the firſt order, the curates being nearly all attached to the popular ſide of the queſtion, the number diſpoſed to an union with the commons was ſo near being on an equality with the oppoſite party, that it was eaſily ſeen any ſmall change of circumſtance or ſituation might turn the balance to that ſide. Even among the nobles there was a minority, which ſeemed to acquire ſome conſequence from its being headed by the duke of Orleans; but a great majority of that order ſeemed firm in their determination of preſerving and ſupporting its diſtinct privileges.

The meetings of the commons, notwithſtanding their apparent unanimity, were from the beginning diſorderly and tumultuous in the extreme. It ſeemed in many inſtances, as if the peculiar temper of the nation rendered them incapable of acting together in public bodies, with that coolneſs, ſerioufneſs, and gravity which are ſo neceſſary in diſcuſſing great and important ſubjects, and in forming thoſe wiſe determinations, which may be ſuppoſed to ſtand the teſt of future diſpaſſionate examination. The vanity of the orators, their rage for popularity, along with the general wiſh of the commons to ſecure the populace entirely in their intereſt, were among the cauſes which at this time gave riſe to inconveniences and evils, which no time nor opportunity have yet afforded the means of removing. For thus early began that indefinite liberty of admiſſion,

miſſion, that diſregard of form and order, in admitting the ſpectators to be confounded with the members, and that unbridled licence of noiſe and clamour to the crowd, which would have been deemed intolerable in a theatre, and which have ſince, by a continued increaſe of enormity, produced ſo many diſgraceful and ſcandalous ſcenes in that aſſembly.

The clergy, who we have before ſeen were wavering, agreed to name commiſſaries to treat with thoſe of the nobles and of the third eſtate, on the ſubject of verification; but the nobility rejecting any thing that tended to a compromiſe went on with their ſeparate verification, and declared themſelves legally conſtituted. This was treated with the moſt unſufferable contempt by the commons, and ſome violent motions were made againſt that order, but means were uſed to evade putting them to the queſtion. May 19th. Commiſſaries were at length named by the third eſtate to confer with thoſe who ſhould be appointed by the clergy and nobles, on the verification of writs; but theſe commiſſaries were bound by a ſtrict reſtriction, never to depart from the principle of *voting by heads*. On the ſame day the clergy voted unanimouſly, with great acclamation, that they *renounced all exemption from taxes*; but added a declaration, that they were not yet conſtituted as a legal chamber; and they appointed their commiſſaries to aſſiſt at the conference, in the character of mediators between the nobles and the third eſtate. The commiſſaries met, and the conferences ended as public diſputations generally do; each party continued wedded to its own opinions, and each boaſted that the arguments on its own ſide were irrefragable.

The turn that was taking place in the diſpoſition or conduct of the clergy could not eſcape any obſervation; but it was ſingular, that the profligate Mirabeau ſhould have been the propoſer of inviting that body, *in the name of the God of peace*, to unite with the commons. His motion was immediately adopted, and a deputation accordingly ſent, inviting them in that aweful name, as well as for the intereſt of the nation, to unite with the commons in the hall of the general aſſembly, in order to conſult together on the means of reſtoring peace and concord. 27th.

Some feelings of alarm began now to break through that ſtupor, in which the miniſters had apparently been involved. It was thought neceſſary that the king ſhould perſonally interfere, in the vain hope of his now being able to cure thoſe evils, which he ſhould in time, and might without difficulty, have prevented. Letters were ſent in his name to the nobles and clergy, expreſſing his ſorrow that the difficulties which had ariſen on the verification of writs ſhould have retarded the meaſures which ought to have been taken for the happineſs of his people, and deſiring that the commiſſaries ſhould reſume their conferences, with a view to a ſpeedy accommodation. But the ſeverities produced by the conteſt between the parties had already riſen their mutual obſtinacy and animoſity to ſo great a height, that little moderation could be expected on either ſide. The nobles, however, agreed to comply with the king's requiſition with regard to the conferences;

ferences; but paſſed a ſolemn *arret*, or reſolution, that the deliberation by orders was eſſential to the monarchical conſtitution; and that the nobles would conſtantly perſevere in this principle, as being equally neceſſary both to monarchy and freedom.—If all the former unpopularity of that order had been worn off, this reſolution would have renewed it with freſh vigour.

The conferences were again renewed; all the old records that could be produced, tortured into all the contradictory interpretations which the contending parties were diſpoſed to fix upon them; and the queſtions on the verification of writs left as uncertain as ever. In this ſtate of things M. Neckar came forward with a conciliatory plan which he read to the commiſſaries, and which amounted in ſubſtance to what follows:

June 4th.

That the three orders, by an act of free and voluntary confidence, ſhould truſt each other with regard to the verification of thoſe writs on which no difficulties ſhall be raiſed, but ſhall communicate to each other their acts of verification to be ſpeedily examined. If any conteſts ariſe on the validity of an election, they ſhall be carried, firſt before a commiſſion choſen out of all the orders; and if any order refuſe to ratify the commiſſioners ſentence, the diſpute ſhall finally be referred to the king.

This plan was ſupported by a formal meſſage from the king to each of the three orders; but was, in effect, only accepted by the clergy. While the commons ſeemed to take it into conſideration, and the nobles declared themſelves ready to accept it, the latter, however, clogged their acceptance with the reſtriction of never departing from their recent reſolution with reſpect to the ſeparation of the orders, along with ſome other modifications; and theſe, altogether, afforded plauſible ground to the third eſtate for rejecting a ſcheme which they would not in any caſe have adopted. Having ſignified this rejection to the nobles, they declared at the ſame time, that they ſhould proceed to that ſort of meaſure which is underſtood in England by *a call of the houſe*; that the names of the clergy and nobles ſhould be called over as well as the commons; that they would then conſtitute themſelves into an *active aſſembly*, and proceed on public buſineſs without them.

Though this menace greatly alarmed the nobles, yet their paſſions and obſtinacy were ſo prevalent, that the great majority would not liſten to the advice of the wiſe and temperate few, who uſed all means to perſuade them to revoke their modifications, and not by an ill-timed inflexibility to afford a pretence to the commons for carrying things to the laſt extremity. The leaders of the commons were ſo much afraid of their relaxing, which would prove a bar to the proſecution of their deſigns, that they played upon their paſſions to provoke and confirm them in their obſtinacy, holding out, that it was impoſſible the nobles could be guilty of ſuch a meanneſs as to retract their own reſolutions. Their addreſs was ſucceſsful, and the nobles played exactly the game which their enemies wiſhed.

In this ſtate of things, the nobles and the commons thought it neceſſary ſeverally to addreſs the king, each appealing

appealing to the conſtitution, and each endeavouring to draw him to their ſide. The king, in his letter to the nobles, gave them a gentle reprimand "for their want of that "confidence in him, which," he ſaid, "might have prevented the "preſent ſituation of affairs."

In the mean time the party of the commons was every day gaining ground amongſt the clergy; and at the moment that the deputies of Poictou were called over in the hall of the aſſembly, three curates of that province preſented themſelves before the third eſtate with the writs of return in their hands. The joy and triumph occaſioned by this circumſtance could ſcarcely be deſcribed. The curates were received with loud acclamations; they were embraced, and hailed as the ſaviours of France; and an account of the tranſaction was immediately diſpatched to Paris, with all the triumph which could have attended a gazette extraordinary, conveying intelligence of a glorious victory over a foreign enemy. The object in this conveyance was not entirely confined to the union which it was thought neceſſary to cement with that city; the leaders of the commons looked beſides to the importance of ſuch an example, and were well aware that theſe early converts would ſoon be followed by a number of other curates.

Thus every thing was tending faſt to that conſummation, in which one branch of the legiſlature was to ſwallow up all the other powers of the ſtate. The commons were already certain of victory; they made ſure of the clergy; or at leaſt of drawing over ſuch a number of their deputies as would anſwer the purpoſe, by rendering the remainder totally inefficient, who had, indeed, already diſqualified themſelves, by acknowledging that they were not legally conſtituted; and the nobles, being then left alone, muſt of neceſſity ſubmit to whatever terms were preſcribed to them.

Five weeks had now elapſed ſince the meeting of the ſtates general, and not one ſtep had yet been taken, tending to promote the national proſperity, which was the object of their being called together. All this delay and inaction were charged to the obſtinacy of the nobles, while the public univerſally ſwallowed the charge without examination. It was never conſidered that the commons had commenced the attack, by attempting to ſtrip them of the privilege of verifying their own writs; that they ſtill perſiſted in this claim with the moſt unconquerable obſtinacy, as well as in another equally novel, and unſupported by any ſufficient precedent, that of compelling them to ſit and vote in one common aſſembly. We uſe the terms *ſufficient precedent*, becauſe it is ſaid, that in early and obſcure times, before the third eſtate was formed, a few of the kings, upon ſome particular occaſions, had called in a few deputies from the great towns to ſit in the aſſembly of the ſtates, and as theſe had no chamber of their own, and were too few in number to form a ſeparate body, it may be taken for granted, though it probably could not be poſitively proved, that they ſat with one of the other orders. But theſe circumſtances being of no avail, where the judges, determined to condemn, would liſten neither to argument or evidence, the former

unpopularity of the nobles was now changed throughout the kingdom to abſolute deteſtation and abhorrence.

Beſides the irritation excited by a ſenſe of this odium, which they ſuppoſed they undeſervedly labour-ed under, and that ariſing from their daily conteſts with the commons, they were ſtill farther provoked, and more ſenſibly touched, by the number of pamphlets which were now already publiſhed, and circulated with incredible diligence through every part of the kingdom, propoſing to the people (a doctrine always highly captivating to the multitude) a total abolition of all diſtinctions of blood and rank. The moſt celebrated of theſe pamphlets was that written by Mirabeau, in anſwer to the biſhop of Langres, who had propoſed the formation of two aſſemblies, upon the ſame principle with the houſes of lords and commons of England, to preſerve the equilibrium of the conſtitution, and to act as a mutual controul upon each other. Under all theſe circumſtances of irritation and alarm, and continually preſſed by the artful ſcheme of ſuppreſſed hoſtility, which was regularly conducted by their enemies, it would have been no wonder that the nobility (even if they had been members of a more temperate nation) ſhould have been driven into haſty meaſures, nor even, under the influence of paſſion, that they ſhould have miſtaken, as they did, the proper means of defence, by ill timing the ſeaſons of conceſſion or firmneſs.

The commons having finiſhed the verification of their own writs, as well as of thoſe appertaining to the great body of curates who came into them, they were ſo ſenſible of their ſtrength, that they determined to conſtitute themſelves into what, according to the idiom of that language, may be called an *active aſſembly*. Great debates then aroſe upon the new and comprehenſive title which it would be proper for them to aſſume. Several were propoſed, and among them the following long but moderate one by M. Mounier, "The majority of "the deputies deliberating in the "abſence of the minority duly in-"vited."—This would not anſwer the deſign; many others were propoſed and rejected; at length the lucky hit of *Aſſemblee Nationale*, was made by M. le Grand, and received with great applauſe, as a title the moſt calculated of any that was thought of to convey an idea, that all the powers of the nation were concentrated in that ſingle body.

The queſtion of adopting this title was, however, formally put to the vote, and carried by a vaſt majority. A profound ſilence reigned during the time the votes were collecting; but as ſoon as the majority was declared, the air reſounded with an univerſal ſhout of "Long live the "king! Long live the national aſ-"ſembly!" June 7th.

Having now voted and acclaimed themſelves ſovereigns; they began their reign with a ſtrong, but very popular act of ſovereignty, relative to the exiſting public taxes. On this ſubject they iſſued a decree, in which, after ſtating that difficulties might be raiſed upon the payment of taxes, "the more ſerious, "as they would be founded upon "a principle conſtitutional and ſa-"cred, acknowledged by the king, "and ſolemnly proclaimed by all "the aſſemblies of the nation, a "principle

" principle which forbid all levying " of contributions, without the formal conſent of the repreſentatives " of the nation; and conſidering, " that the contributions, as they are " now levied in the kingdom, not " having been conſented to by the " nation, are all *illegal*, and conſequently *null*, in their creation, " extenſion, or prolongation; the " national aſſembly declares that it " conſents proviſorily, for the nation, that the taxes and contributions, though illegally eſtabliſhed and levied, ſhall continue " to be levied in the ſame manner " that they have hitherto been, until the day only of the ſeparation " of this aſſembly." After that day, it is added, that the taxes were to ceaſe, if not re-granted by the aſſembly.—In another part of this decree is the following extraordinary paſſage: " We put the " creditors of the ſtate under the " guard of the honour and loyalty " of the French nation."

It is curious to obſerve, that no ſtatute or law had ever been paſſed in France, to render thoſe contributions null and illegal, which were now declared to be ſo; that on the contrary, contributions had been impoſed and levied by the crown in the ſame manner in all ages, without its authority being queſtioned; ſo that this decree was in every ſenſe an *ex poſt facto* law, and that deciſively paſſed by only a part of the legiſlature.

The democratic party within the aſſembly were now unceaſing in their zeal to infuſe that tumultuous ſpirit, which operated with great violence upon themſelves, into the public mind at large. The vicinity of Paris, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, afforded them the faireſt poſſible ground of action; and the ſucceſs of their operations was accordingly ſo great, as in ſome inſtances, perhaps, to exceed their own wiſhes. The ſpectators now not only filled the galleries and all open places in the aſſembly every day, but bidding defiance to every appearance of decorum and order, intermingled with the members, crowded and diſturbed them on their ſeats, and began to take an open ſhare in the debates. Thoſe members who were moderate, or leſs violent than they wiſhed, whether this was ſhewn by their ſpeeches, motions, or votes, were hooted, hiſſed, reviled, and menaced, in the groſſeſt terms and moſt outrageous manner. Liſts of the voters were openly taken upon every queſtion, in which thoſe who voted contrary to the liking of the ſpectators were ſtigmatized with the title of enemies to their country; and theſe liſts being tranſmitted with the utmoſt diſpatch to Paris, were there printed and circulated with unequalled celerity. Among thoſe branded with this odious and dangerous character, and whoſe names were thus held out to the public, and tranſmitted to poſterity with infamy, were all the members who voted for a title leſs aſſumptive of ſovereignty than that of *national aſſembly*. Perhaps a ſtroke more fatal to the freedom of debating and voting was never offered with reſpect to any public aſſembly.

The nobles were now nearly in agonies of deſpair, and yet could not bring themſelves to deſcend from their inflexible haughtineſs. M. de Monteſquieu moved, that they ſhould invite the clergy to join them, and *conſtitute* themſelves into an *upper houſe*. Though this, how-

ever hopeleſs, ſeemed almoſt the only reſort that was now left, yet it was rejected by ſuch an exclamation of angry voices, that the propoſer's ſpeech could ſcarcely be heard. A ſtriking proof, among many others, of the averſion which both ſides entertained for the peculiar principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.—The nobles before they ſeparated voted a ſtrong addreſs to the king, juſtifying their own conduct, accuſing the commons, and ſtrongly animadverting on that unlimited aſſumption of authority in the late decree, of declaring all the taxes to be illegal.

June 19th.

The clergy were in a very different temper. The party who ſided with the commons had nearly attained a majority; and that final deciſion was only retarded by the influence of the archbiſhop of Paris, who, when it at length took place, joined in a ſtrong proteſt againſt it: the conſequence was, that though he was a prelate of reſpectable character, and his charities to the poor were ſo extenſive as to paſs beyond all cuſtomary limits, he was, ſome days after, purſued with all the violence of popular fury, attacked, inſulted, and his life endangered. He was reſcued with ſome difficulty; and it was on this occaſion that the troops firſt refuſed to act, as they termed it, againſt their *fellow citizens*. Such was the firſt fruit of that terrible power aſſumed by the French troops, of judging for themſelves on all public queſtions, as well as on all caſes of military ſubordination.

The king, who hitherto truſting to M. Neckar's promiſes of an eaſy and happy reign, had granted every thing that was required in favour of the third eſtate, and who ſeemed in himſelf rather more diſpoſed to them than to the nobles, finding himſelf now diſappointed in all his hopes, and being beſides alarmed at the haſty ſtrides towards ſupreme power which the commons were making, began to heſitate in his proceedings, and perhaps to call in queſtion the wiſdom and propriety of his paſt conduct. This change of ſentiment could not eſcape the obſervation of thoſe about him, and he was ſoon ſurrounded by the party of the princes, who were thoſe alone who wiſhed to preſerve the power of the crown undiminiſhed; by the diſcontented nobles, who only ſided occaſionally with the court, they being as much diſpoſed to preſcribe limits to the royal authority as the commons themſelves, though not in an equal degree; and by all thoſe of the different orders, who were diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things, and wiſhed to preſerve the ancient ſyſtem of ſeparate chambers, and voting by orders; theſe likewiſe holding, in general, the ſame principles with reſpect to the crown, that the nobles at large did.

All theſe coaleſced in endeavouring to profit by the preſent change in the king's diſpoſition; nor did they want ſtrong grounds of argument to confirm his new ſentiments, and increaſe his alarm. They deſired him to obſerve, that thoſe leaders of faction, not content with taking the power of future taxation into their own hands, boldly decide, without one poſitive law to ſupport them, that all the exiſting taxes are illegal; a poſition which tends directly to ſet up the indefinite rights of nature above all the poſitive laws of the land. May you not then well

well expect, that their next declaration will hold out, as a ſacred and conſtitutional principle, that legiſlation as well as taxation belongs by inherent right to the people, and, therefore, that every law now obeyed by the French is *null and illegal*, and, to make it otherwiſe, muſt be re-voted by theſe ſelf-conſtituted ſovereigns?

Council after council was held in the king's palace, but the natural effects of weakneſs, diſorder, and faction, were ſo predominant, that they could not agree in any thing. Mr. Neckar at length thought it adviſeable that the king ſhould recur to the ancient method of holding what they call a *ſeance royale*, or *royal ſeſſion*. This was agreed to; but the miniſter, as uſual, ſtill perſevered in wanting the reſult to be more in favour of the commons than the reſt of the council approved. Some modification, however, took place; the plan was fixed, and the day appointed.

It would ſeem that ſome overruling fatality was at this time to counteract and fruſtrate all the meaſures and deſigns of the court and miniſters; as if wiſdom itſelf would be immediately perverted into folly under their treatment, and the moſt wholeſome nouriſhment inſtantly become a poiſon in their hands. Nothing could have been more innocent, ſimply in itſelf, than this meaſure, and it might poſſibly have been of ſome uſe. But through the unaccountable and unexampled blindneſs, folly, raſhneſs, and violence with which it was conducted, it was rendered an immediate, and no inefficient inſtrument, in the ruin of the monarchy and the ſubverſion of government.

It is to be obſerved, that the hall in which the third eſtate held their aſſembly, being far larger than either of the other chambers, it had from the beginning been the place where the king met and haranged the ſtates. Without the ſmalleſt communication to that aſſembly of what was done or intended; without letter or notice of any ſort to their preſident; without the ſmalleſt preparatory addreſs or management, a party of guards took poſſeſſion in the morning of their hall. Workmen were 20th. ſent in to erect a throne for the king, the royal ſeſſion was formally proclaimed by the heralds, and M. Bailly, the preſident, with other members of the commons, were repulſed, without ceremony or explanation, from their own door.

The commons apprehending nothing leſs than an immediate diſſolution, and ſeeing at once all the dangers to which the more obnoxious part of them might then be expoſed, were naturally inflamed with reſentment, and in that paſſion hurried on foot, through a violent ſtorm of rain, to an old tennis-court, where, with equal ſpirit and firmneſs they bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath *never to part until the conſtitution was completed*. The affecting ſpectacle of ſix hundred repreſentatives of the nation being driven to the extremity of encountering ſuch weather, in ſuch a manner, and of ſtanding bareheaded, under all its inclemency, while they were taking this aweful oath, could not but excite the greateſt, and indeed the moſt univerſal indignation againſt the court. Had the united talents and genius of all the miniſters been combined, in contriving a ſcheme to render the king incurably odious, and to bind the people more

indiſſolubly to the commons, it is more than probable they could not have found one more effectual for either purpoſe; while the ſmalleſt portion of prudence or diſcretion would have prevented any ill conſequence whatever.

M. Mounier (one of the moſt virtuous men in the aſſembly, and who had exerted himſelf from the firſt with the greateſt ability in his endeavours to procure a moderate reform of government, but whoſe integrity induced him afterwards to quit them, when he perceived the courſe which the violent leaders were purſuing) was the propoſer and framer of this oath. He hath ſince declared, that he propoſed it in order to prevent that moſt dangerous of all meaſures, the aſſembly's transferring itſelf to Paris.

The following day produced a ſcene of a different nature, but of no ſmall importance in the preſent ſtate of things. The majority of the clergy flew off from the court at this moſt critical moment, and determined to join the commons. The clergy met in the choir of the church of St. Louis, and the commons in the body of the church. After ſome meſſages to adjuſt ceremonials, the ſeparating doors flew open, the clergy, with their preſident the archbiſhop of Vienne at their head, advanced, while the commons roſe to receive them, and yielded the upper hand; the two preſidents embraced, and ſat down by each other; the loudeſt ſhouts of applauſe, and the moſt pathetic effuſions of eloquence, celebrated, what was then deemed, the happy reconciliation of two of the diſcordant orders of citizens.—The clergy could little apprehend or imagine, at that time, how ſoon the fraternal embraces with which they were now received, and the praiſes with which they were loaded, as a band of patriots who were come in a moment of the moſt imminent danger to ſave their country, would be followed by hatred, proſcription, and ruin!

The commons, emboldened by the junction of thoſe new allies, whom they ſo lately conſidered as enemies, waited with confidence and redoubled courage for the opening of the royal ſeſſion. On the day appointed the king aſcended that throne, which he never was again to aſcend in any equal apparent degree of greatneſs and power, where he produced the plan of a new conſtitution or ſyſtem of government, which was read to the aſſembled orders.

23d.

This was a piece of great length, and formed in different parts; one being declaratory, another enacting, and a third proviſionary, as containing propoſals which were recommended to the farther conſideration of the ſtates. It contained much excellent matter, and, though it required correction, and was capable of conſiderable improvements, it was, perhaps, leſs faulty than might have been well expected, its length and the ſhortneſs of time allotted for its preparation being conſidered. Its great fault was its being too dictatorial, and the "king's will" being too frequently brought forward, and applied, without management, in too harſh and abſolute a manner, in enforcing the injunctions. It, however, upon the whole, certainly laid down at leaſt a foundation on which might have been, without much difficulty, raiſed a rational and equitable ſyſtem of government; and even in its preſent ſtate, along with ſecurity, it held

held out as great a portion of liberty to the people as experience has hitherto afforded any cauſe for ſuppoſing they were yet capable of receiving.

The king bound himſelf from eſtabliſhing any new tax, or prolonging any old one beyond the term aſſigned by the laws, without the conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation; that no taxes ſhould be eſtabliſhed or continued for any longer term, than that which elapſed during the periods of time allotted between the meetings of the ſucceſſive ſtates general; and the king renounced the right of borrowing money without the conſent of the ſtates, reſerving, however, to himſelf, the power of borrowing a hundred millions of livres in caſes of ſudden emergency, ſuch as unexpected war, or immediate national danger.

This declaration proceeded to offer the ſtates all the information and inſtruction that could enlighten them on the ſituation of the finances, and to ſubmit to their inſpection and diſpoſal the expences of each department, and even of the king's own family.—It likewiſe declared the king's intention, that there ſhould be no kind of diſtinctions nor privileges whatever, with reſpect to the different orders in the payment of taxes, and that the odious and partial land tax, known by the name of *la taille*, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed, and replaced by others.—But it declared too openly, for the temper and diſpoſition of the times, that all property ſhould be ſacred, and that tythes and feudal rents ſhould be conſidered as property.

With reſpect to perſonal ſecurity, it goes on thus: "The king, willing "to ſecure the perſonal liberty of "all citizens on a ſolid and permanent footing, invites the ſtates ge- "neral to ſeek and propoſe to him "the beſt means to conciliate the "abolition of thoſe orders known "by the name of *lettres de cachet*, "conſiſtently with the maintenance "of public ſafety, and the precau- "tions neceſſary to be taken at "ſome times with regard to the ho- "nour of families, and ſometimes "to repreſs quickly the beginnings "of ſedition, or to ſave the ſtate "from the effects of a criminal cor- "reſpondence with foreign pow- "ers."

This was cenſured as too narrow, and not ſufficiently explicit in the cauſe of liberty; but ſurely, if the ſtates could condeſcend to be beholden to England for any improvement, they had it in their power to demand the moſt effective *habeas corpus act* that could be framed; and if the king refuſed to comply (which did not even admit of a ſuppoſition) not to grant a ſingle ſubſidy until he did.

There was likewiſe an article recommending to the ſtates to provide for the liberty of the preſs, ſo far as it could be done conſiſtently with public decency and tranquillity. It alſo ſettled the organization and forms of the provincial aſſemblies, and granted the ſame advantage to the commons of a double repreſentation in them, which they poſſeſſed in the preſent general aſſembly. But a number of articles were left unprovided for in this plan of government, and referred entirely to the conſideration and judgment of the ſtates. Of theſe was the aboliſion of the ſalt tax, of the *droit de main morte*, and a number of other ſpecified grievances, all of which had been long complained of, and were more or leſs oppreſſive. It

concluded

concluded with an extraordinary and moſt flattering clauſe in favour of the public repreſentation, and which put it out of the power of the crown ever to encroach upon its rights, or to break through its acts. This was, that none of the laws that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the preſent ſtates general could ever be altered, but by the free conſent of future ſtates general, and that they ſhould be conſidered as equally ſacred with all other *national properties*.

Whatever imperfections this ſcheme of government poſſeſſed, whatever objections ſome of the parts were perhaps liable to, and whatever deficiencies certainly remained to be ſupplied in others, what human ſagacity could at any time for two centuries have reached to the conception, that ſuch a conſtitution, and ſuch ſecurities to their freedom, would have been offered by a French king to his ſubjects? and how much leſs ſtill, that the offer ſhould be rejected with contempt by that nation?

We have, however, hitherto omitted taking notice of thoſe obnoxious articles, which ſerved more particularly to poiſon the minds of the commons againſt this conſtitution. Theſe reached to ſome regulation of the relative diſtinct limits of the reſpective orders, to a declaration what the repreſentative body ought to be, and to a condemnation of the late decree of the commons. The purport of this clauſe may be collected from the following words:—"The king wills, that the ancient diſtinction of the three orders ſhould be preſerved entire, as eſſentially connected with the conſtitution; and that the deputies freely elected by each of the three orders, forming three chambers, deliberating by orders, but having a right, with the ſovereign's approbation, to agree on deliberations in common, can alone be conſidered as the repreſentative body of the nation; conſequently the king declares *null* the deliberations taken by the deputies of the third eſtate on the 17th of this month, as well as all others that may have followed it, as *illegal* and *unconſtitutional*."

Another article condemned and annulled all reſtrictions expreſſed in their writs of return, which, depriving the deputies of their free agency, tied them down from conforming to ſuch modes of deliberation as the three orders ſhould approve or determine. This article was farther confirmed by an enacting clauſe, that in all future ſtates general, the conſtituents ſhould only give *inſtructions*, but not *commands*.

This article affected the nobles principally, and was chiefly directed to them, for that order, much more than either of the others, had gone into the practice of binding their deputies.

Another article prohibited, for the ſake of good order, of decency, and of the freedom of deliberating and voting, that any ſpeculators ſhould in future be permitted to aſſiſt at the deliberations of the ſtates.

No reſtriction was ever more abſolutely neceſſary, nor none more exceedingly unpopular, than this; the clamourous, ſcandalous and daring behaviour of the ſpectators, had from the beginning gone beyond all bounds of order and decorum; and the enormity continued every day to increaſe, until at length no member could venture to ſpeak or vote according to his opinion, if in that he differed from the crowd with whom

whom he was ſurrounded, without enduring the groſſeſt abuſe and moſt daring menace upon the ſpot, and encountering imminent danger to his perſon and life afterwards. But the popular leaders of the commons knew too well the benefits to be derived from having ſuch a crowded ſeminary of faction immediately at their call and command, as well as their uſefulneſs in immediately diſſeminating through the capital all the novel and bold aſſertions and doctrines, which they either gathered from the moſt violent harangues in the aſſembly, or which ſprung from their own factious and turbulent diſpoſition, to riſque, on any account, the loſs of ſuch faithful auxiliaries, who immediately directed the ſentiments of near a million of people, but the influence of whoſe opinions and conduct extended to every part of the kingdom.

The king exhorted the ſtates in ſtrong and pathetic terms, that, for the *ſalvation* of the ſtate, the three orders ſhould unite during the preſent ſtates general, and deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, but excepting from theſe common deliberations the diſtinct rights of the three orders, the feudal properties, the honorary prerogatives of each order, and all ſuch regulations as affected religion or the diſcipline of the clergy; that, on theſe points, the reſpective ſeparate conſent of the nobles and clergy ſhould ſtill be neceſſary.

But the procraſtination of the king's miniſters, and the diviſions in his councils, had ſuffered that ſeaſon to elapſe, in which any plan of government ſanctioned by him could meet with a temperate diſcuſſion. The folly and violence which accompanied the introduction of the royal ſeſſion had likewiſe ſoured the minds of men in ſuch a degree, that they could not now think favourably of any propoſal coming from the ſovereign. Some of the expreſſions uſed in enforcing the different articles were, beſides, in a more harſh and arbitrary tone than the preſent temper would admit, and afforded occaſion for a ſarcaſm, that the king wanted to convert the ſtates general into *a bed of juſtice*. Nor could any body at all acquainted with mankind now expect, that the commons, in their preſent plenitude of power, would relinquiſh the ſweets of that ſelf-conſtituted ſovereignty which they had ſo newly begun to exerciſe, and in a few days conſent to reſcind their firſt great and public diſplay of it.

The commons liſtened in ſullen ſilence while the plan was reading; and as ſoon as the king departed abſolutely refuſed to break up their ſeſſion. Mirabeau, who through ſome acts and ſome ſuſpicions had nearly loſt his popularity, had the fortune upon this occaſion to recover it with increaſe, by the impetuoſity with which he told the king's attendants, that nothing but the points of bayonets ſhould force them out of their chamber. The commons paſſed a decree before they parted, declaring the perſons of all their members inviolable.

The populace of Verſailles became ſo outrageous on behalf of the commons, that the preſence of M. Neckar could alone reſtrain the fury of their ſedition. He had not aſſiſted at the royal ſeſſion; it was known that the plan of government propoſed was not in all things ſuited to his liking; and it was eaſy to ſuppoſe that it might not in any;

any; to these was added a rumour that he intended to retire from administration, which was attributed to that inflexible integrity which would not permit him to participate in measures that were inimical to the interests of the people. All these circumstances concurred in rendering him more than ever the idol of the populace; they surrounded, embraced, and followed him in crowds, while he, overpowered by the vain incense of popular applause, exclaimed, in a mixed rapture of gratitude and self-approbation, that he never would forsake them! while the king perceived that he could not be in safety, without finding means to persuade the mob that he had not quarrelled with his minister. But the time was fast approaching, which would render this only a trivial mortification.

The ferment at Versailles was nothing compared with that which prevailed at Paris, which had been increasing, with more or less rapidity, ever since the beginning of May, in proportion as the nobles, and afterwards the court, attempted in any degree to oppose or controul the pretensions of the commons. The people were far from being left to their free agency in this respect; for the pains were infinite, and the industry unceasing, which were used to prejudice and inflame them, and to operate with the fullest effect upon their most dangerous passions. The fish-women of Paris, (called *les poissardes*, and sometimes *les dames de la halle*) had from time immemorial assumed the privilege of being the leaders of all political mobs; on which occasions their sex, however disguised or degraded, screened them from many mischiefs, punishments, and dangers, to which their fellow rioters of the masculine gender, if they had acted an equal part, must have been inevitably exposed. It was impossible that these women, turbulent, violent and ferocious by nature and habit, and ever accustomed to wade through all the lowest sinks of profligacy, could pass so glorious an opening to mischief as was now presented.

The sex likewise afforded another body of auxiliaries, more insinuating, and less savage in appearance, but not less effective, and scarcely, in act, less bloody and ferocious than the former. These were the courtezans, whose numbers in that capital, notwithstanding its known and long-established profligacy, exceeded all bounds of credibility. But as these ladies were hired, and their service paid for in money, they were rather to be considered as a body of useful light mercenary troops, than as faithful disinterested allies, like the *dames du halle*, who acted purely from principle, through their innate passion for confusion and mischief. The former were not, however, by any means slack in displaying their zeal and their talents; and, independent of the services peculiar to their vocation, were highly distinguished in some of the most active and trying scenes of violence, blood, and horror that succeeded.

The garden of the palais royal, belonging to the duke of Orleans, which we have before observed to have been a scene of great and constant enormity, was now become the grand theatre of popular, or, as it may be called, mob politics. The duke's enemies said, that after long being the scene of all the crimes of licentiousness, it was now become the theatre of all the crimes of ferocity. Hired orators were here employed

employed to inflame the multitude to every act of the most atrocious violence. Each of these, exalted upon a stool, chair, or table, was surrounded by a groupe as considerable as could come within a reasonable distance for hearing; and was obliged to act as moderator, or president, to prevent the tumultuous interference of the eager voices, which all wished to be heard at the same time. In these groupes all the forms of parliamentary debates were imitated or mocked; violent resolutions of censure, intermixed with menaces of direct outrage, were passed against the princes, the courtiers, the nobles, and the clergy; nor did the queen always escape. These groups were fed, and still more inflamed, by the frequent arrival of *bulletins*, or notes, bringing an account of the proceedings at Versailles, and of the speeches or expressions used by the most violent leaders of the commons. These were instantly read to the crowd, and heard with the most eager enthusiasm; but if any man was so foolish or unfortunate enough to say any thing in defence of the court or the nobles, or to express any disapprobation of the conduct of the commons, nothing less than the swiftness of his heels, or his instantly submitting to make a formal *amende honorable*, by crying aloud, *Vive le tiers état!* could save him from immediate corporal ill treatment.

As it is not easy to form any conception of the scenes which were exhibited at this time in these gardens, and by these orators, it may not perhaps be thought entirely incurious to relate the particulars of one of them, which was distinguished by some peculiarities from the general class. We have heretofore shewn that M. d'Espremenil, by his vigorous opposition in the parliament of Paris to the designs of the late minister, and by his consequent imprisonment, had become the idol of the populace. He had since been elected by the nobility of Paris one of their deputies to the states, and being charged as one of the great promoters of the obstinacy shewn by that order in their conflict with the commons, not only lost his former popularity, but became one of the most odious men in the kingdom, particularly with the Parisians. One of the orators in the palais royal made a motion one day, that as they could not reach his person, *they should burn his house in Paris, and murder his wife and children.* This horrid proposal was received with such marks of approbation as seemed to insure its adoption; but another orator thinking that this proposal went too far, and knowing that no appeal to justice or humanity could be of the smallest use, mounted the stool in turn, and harangued the mob in the following terms: "Gentlemen, you may assure yourselves that the scheme of revenge now proposed would be no punishment to the offender; for his house and furniture belong to the landlord; his wife belongs to the public; and his children may, perhaps, belong to some of yourselves."

This scandalous and brutal jest, and as false in every sense as it was brutal, was, however, so well calculated to suit the capacity and taste of his auditors, that it produced the effect intended by the orator: the mob laughed, their rage evaporated

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in the clumsy jest, and M. d'Espresmenil's house and family were saved.

Thus were the Parisians gradually trained to defy all laws, to laugh at all subordination, and to contemplate the most inhuman cruelties without horror. It was at the same time astonishing to all who considered the natural temper of the nation, to behold the patience and inflexible perseverance with which these groupes of politicians in the palais royale, endured all the rigours of a burning sun, and resisted all the calls of nature from morning till night, partly in listening to these orators, and partly in displaying their own knowledge and ability in affairs of government.

Their general disposition to revolt was now become so open and evident, that M. Neckar found it necessary to write a letter to M. du Crosne, giving an assurance from himself, that the court had no intention to dissolve the states general. For though Neckar was little liked by the leaders of any of the parties, he continued as dear as ever to the Parisians, who still trusted something to his word, though not the least to their king's.

The commons found themselves now so strong in the public support, that they affected to treat the king's system and declaration with that silent contempt which usually attends proposals of such insignificance as merit neither consideration or answer. The nobles, however, declared that they would adhere to it; but their adherence came too late, and a plan of concord, which, if proposed in time, might have been attended with happy effects, was now stigmatized as a plan of disguised slavery. At the same time all things were submitting to the powers in being; and the archbishop of Paris, terrified by the dangers he had already undergone, and still more by those which he had yet to apprehend from the dreadful ferocity of the populace, appeared in the national assembly, accompanied by the minority of the clergy, where they jointly withdrew their common protest.

On the 24th of June, the count de Clermont Tonnere moved, that the nobles should unite with the commons; and was ably seconded by M. de Lally Tollendal. They both displayed no common knowledge of government, and shewed the most ardent desire for the establishment of one free and happy, which none could be, unless it was at the same time rational and moderate. But however powerful or unanswerable their arguments might have been, or however cogent the apparent motives, or even the absolute necessity of an immediate union, the majority could not bend to the humiliating measure of going to the hall of the commons. They were, however, ready to vote a general adherence to the king's plan; and if an equal conformity prevailed on the other side, to unite for the present (according to its terms) with the other orders, and to conduct the public business with them in common.

But the minority being tired out by this fruitless obstinacy of their more numerous brethren, and having likewise distinct objects in view, and holding from the beginning principles congenial with those held by the all-conquering party, formed a determination on that very

very evening to unite with the commons. This they performed on the ſucceeding day, having previouſly ſent a letter to their preſident, the duke of Luxemburgh, expreſſing concern at the ſtep which neceſſity and duty compelled them to take.

25th.

But in two days after the king ſent a preſſing exhortation to the ſolitary majority of the nobles to unite with the other orders, and thereby haſten the accompliſhment of his paternal views. A long and violent debate took place, in which the duke of Luxemburgh read a letter from the count d'Artois, intimating that the king's perſon might be expoſed to immediate danger, if the popular fury was rouzed by their refuſal. It was ſingular upon this occaſion, that M. de Cazales, who has ſince been one of the moſt conſtant, ſtrenuous, and determined, as well as the moſt able oppoſers of the violent meaſures purſued by the commons, yet at this time cried out with a moſt energetic voice, that, "The conſtitution of the monarchy "is more ſacred than the monarch." A ſtriking inſtance how little the nobility were inclined to ſupport or renew the former deſpotic government. The vote of union was, however carried, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the commons were acquainted that the nobles were coming into their hall. —They were accompanied by the remaining diſſidents of the clergy, headed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault. The commons uſed their victory with moderation, and did not inſult the vanquiſhed by any marks of triumph, or diſconcert them by ill-timed applauſe. Both the duke of Luxemburgh and the cardinal were nice in their ſpeeches, in endeavouring to preſerve the point of honour, by declaring that reſpect to the king was the principal cauſe which induced them to this meaſure.

27th.

Public rejoicings and illuminations took place upon this union of the orders, and the people fondly thought that the happineſs of the nation was now complete. Indeed there ſeemed now at leaſt a poſſibility that the violence of the contending factions might have been conſiderably allayed only by a very moderate degree of temper and condeſcenſion on both ſides; and if concord and harmony once began to generate, however weak their firſt appearance might be, yet the pleaſure and advantages which they afforded, being immediately perceived and felt by men of every party, their growth might have been rapid and extenſive. This was the more to be hoped, as all the parties and orders were agreed as to the one main and great object, that of reſtraining and curing the deſpotiſm of the ancient government, the only apparent differences between them relating to the means which were to be adopted, and the extent to which it might be proper to carry the reform. This concord was the more to be hoped, as it was reaſonably to be expected that the preſence of ſo great a body of the principal, moſt experienced, and moſt learned gentlemen and clergy in the kingdom, would have produced no ſmall effect in reſtraining the intemperate ſallies of the violent republicans and democrats, who it was well to be ſuppoſed might feel themſelves ſomewhat over-awed in ſuch company, or at leaſt more

guarded in their expreſſions and conduct in the preſence of ſuch judges of both.

This flatttering view of things was, however, obſcured by the reflection, that a forced reconciliation is as ſeldom laſting as ſincere! Clouds were ſtill gathering in the horizon: concord would have limited the views, and conſequently could not have been the object of the factious leaders of the commons; the mal-contents in all the orders were diſpoſed to conſider their preſent union merely as a temporary expedient, but as no fixed and permanent conſtitution of the ſtate; while ſome, perhaps, queſtioned the validity of their acts under ſuch a form. Many of the nobles, who thought themſelves bound by the raſh oath they had taken, aſſiſted at the debates without voting; the more ſcrupulous among them holding, that no authority could releaſe them from that oath, leſs than that of their conſtituents who impoſed it. And ſome meetings of the leſſer nobility, or *gentilhommes* in the provinces, either excited, or were pretended to excite, ſome alarm in the commons.

Theſe cauſes might, it is true, have ſoon ceaſed to operate, or their effect have been ſo far mitigated as to prevent any violent diſorder, if that fatality, which ſeemed, blindfolded and uncontrouled, to govern all things in France, had not deſtined the court to the purſuit of thoſe imprudent, dangerous, raſh, and ill-conducted meaſures, which, if they did not abſolutely give birth to, at leaſt afforded occaſion for all the unparalleled ſcenes that followed. Troops from all parts of the kingdom began to move towards the capital, as to a common center; all parties were perhaps equally alarmed; but the alarm having revived their former animoſities and diſtruſts, and their minds being mutually ſoured, they beheld each other with ſuſpicion and hatred.

It is difficult, if not impoſſible, in many caſes, to diſcover the exact truth, amid the violence of contending factions. Experience too ſadly ſhews, that even the ſacred bonds of oaths, though ſanctified by an appeal to the Almighty Author of all things, are far from affording ſecurity againſt error and impoſition in ſuch caſes. The preſent extraordinary movements of the court, and its ſudden and unexpected adoption of violent meaſures, after ſo long a courſe, checquered with heſitation, weakneſs, and timidity, have as yet afforded no means of developing the ſecret cauſes which led to ſo immediate a change of ſyſtem. The popular party aſſert, that the triumvirate of princes, with all the miniſters who were under their direction, and the court in general, had from the beginning determined, at a certain period or criſis of affairs, to diſſolve the ſtates by the aſſiſtance of the army, (which they ſaid had been long preparing for the purpoſe) and then to re-eſtabliſh the monarchy, not only in its former, but in a ſtate of more abſolute deſpotiſm than it had ever before poſſeſſed.—On the other ſide, the friends of the court aſſert, with a poſitiveneſs not to be ſhaken, that the democrats had formed and digeſted a regular plan for overturning the monarchy by force, and the eſtabliſhment of a republican government, unleſs the ſtates would take the

the trouble off their hands by doing both for them; that the court being well informed of their intentions, and in poſſeſſion of their whole plan of operation, were of neceſſity obliged, in conformity with all laws, human and divine, to have recourſe to ſuch means of ſelf-defence and preſervation as Providence had placed in their hands.

However theſe matters were, it is certain that the ſtates-general, ſince their late union, had not been guilty of any act, nor had not even afforded any indication of deſigns or diſpoſitions, which could at all juſtify the king in diſſolving them, much leſs in his proceeding to that laſt extremity of forcing their diſſolution by an armed force; a meaſure which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, and temper of the nation, muſt, with all the certainty of any mathematical axiom, have produced a moſt furious, general, and bloody civil war. On the contrary, affairs began to go on more ſmoothly in the united aſſembly of the ſtates than could have been yet well expected. They had already appointed a committee to prepare materials for the new conſtitution; and Monſrs. Lally Tolendal, and Mounier, two of the moſt able and temperate leaders of the moderate party, were of this committee. It is true, they have ſince owned that they had heard with great uneaſineſs ſome of its members develope ſo abſtract and metaphyſical a ſyſtem of liberty, that it appeared more calculated to confound and diſtract ſociety than to render the ſocial ſtate eaſy or happy; they ſaid they were particularly ſhocked at hearing one man ſay, "That the "king's ſanction was not neceſſary "to laws;" but notwithſtanding this perverſity of ſentiment, which they obſerved in ſome individuals, they had conceived ſtrong hopes that they ſhould bring over the majority of the committee to their own way of thinking.—In the ſame ſmooth courſe of action, upon the committee of verification having pronounced M. Malouet's election for Auvergne to be void, and people generally conſidering it to be merely an act of party violence, and that the mild invitation which he had propoſed to the clergy and nobles, on the 16th of May, was the only flaw in his writ, the aſſembly took up the buſineſs with ſuch temper, that although Malouette was equally obnoxious to the republican leaders, and to the violent ariſtocrates, they over-ruled, by a great majority, the vote of the committee, and confirmed his election; a deciſion which afforded the greateſt joy to good and temperate men, who hailed it as a happy omen of returning moderation and temper.

It was not, however, to be expected, conſidering the licence which had already prevailed among the commons, but that ſome of the raſh and fiery ſpirits among them would, in the warmth of debate, ſtill uſe intemperate, diſreſpectful, or even violent language, with reſpect to the crown, its functions, or the exerciſe of them; nor will it be any ſurpriſe that perſons were never wanting to convey ſuch tales, with aggravation, to the ears of the ſovereign, and thereby contribute to keep him in a conſtant ſtate of doubt and alarm. But the tranſactions in Paris only, where the ferment of the people was drawing faſt to a criſis, which every common obſerver ſaw muſt be attended with dangerous conſequences, were fully

ſufficient to agitate and unſettle a mind of a firmer texture and leſs irreſolute nature than that poſſeſſed by the ſovereign ſeems to be, and could not but diſpoſe him to liſten, on principles of ſelf-preſervation, to the violent councils which were now adminiſtered.

The French guards had been ſo long ſtationed to preſerve order in Paris, that by degrees their intimacy with the inhabitants became ſo cloſe, that it led them to imbibe all their political opinions. Among theſe was the new doctrine, which was taught with unceaſing application and energy, that ſoldiers being citizens like other men, were to conſider their duties as ſuch to be paramount to all others; that having an equal intereſt with their brethren in whatever related to the public, they were to judge for themſelves on all queſtions of government; and, above all things, that nothing could be a greater or more parricidal crime, than to obey any orders for firing upon their fellow citizens, in the exerciſe or ſupport of their rights. Theſe guards had a little before been highly unpopular, on account of ſome executions which we had ſeen they made in ſome caſes of former riots; but things were now ſo totally changed on both ſides, that the populace ſeemed to adore the ſoldiers, and the latter ſeemed ready to go even beyond them in any act of violence.

This converſion was not, however, entirely truſted to arguments or doctrines; more effectual means were employed. Wine, women, and gold, the three moſt powerful agents for debauching a ſoldiery, were unſparingly applied for the purpoſe by the factious citizens. The conduct of the ſoldiers became ſo licentious and daring, that their commanders found it neceſſary to confine them in their barracks; but all ſenſe of ſubordination and of military diſcipline was ſo totally eradicated, that on the 25th and 26th of June they left their barracks by hundreds at a time, came to the palais royal, where they were received with the greateſt joy by the multitude; and while they were feaſted and entertained with plenty of wine, money, and even bank notes *(billets de caiſſe)* were profuſely diſtributed amongſt them. In the meantime the ſtreets and garden reſounded with popular ballads, made on purpoſe to encourage and inflame the ſoldiery. It will be thought no wonder then that on this occaſion they ſhould join the crowd, and even enter into a competition with them, in the loudneſs and eagerneſs of their huzzaing for the third eſtate.

For theſe and ſimilar acts of diſobedience and contempt of orders, eleven of the moſt daring and refractory ſoldiers were committed to the priſons of the Abbaye de St. Germain, preparatory to their trial by a court martial. On the 30th of June, a letter was read aloud in the garden of the palais royal, inviting the people to the deliverance of theſe brave men, who were ſuffering in their cauſe. This produced its immediate effect. The people flew in crowds to the priſon, forced the gates, removed the priſoners to the Hotel de Geneve; where, along with being well lodged and entertained, they were loaded with preſents. The next day a deputation of young Pariſians waited on the national aſſembly, requiring from them the free diſcharge of the priſoners; and this demand was made

made in terms which ſhewed that they conſidered the claim rather as a matter of right than of favour. The aſſembly felt their embarraſſed ſituation, and endeavoured to extricate themſelves by a kind of moderate temporizing vote, exhorting the Pariſians to tranquillity, and intreating the king to clemency with the delinquents. The king could do nothing but comply; and thus was an end put to military diſcipline, as well as to civil government in Paris.

But there were other matters at this time, which reached more immediately both to his ſovereignty and to his perſonal ſafety than even the commotions in Paris, ſufficient to embarraſs and diſtract the mind of the ſovereign, and to drive him headlong, without leiſure for conſideration, or for chooſing his means, into the arms of whoever would propoſe any meaſures, however violent, that could tend to his deliverance. It is charged upon Mirabeau by two members of the aſſembly, whoſe characters ſtood ſo high as to give no common weight to their teſtimony *, that, though they were of different parties, he talked familiarly, and without reſerve, with them about their having *a Louis the XVIIth, in the place of a Louis the XVIth*, as king, or at leaſt as lieutenant general of the kingdom; thereby alluding directly, and by name, to the firſt prince of the blood, with whom he likewiſe ſaid he had converſed upon the ſubject, and that the prince had received the communication in the moſt pleaſing manner.

Mounier (a man, whoſe integrity was never queſtioned by any party in all the violence of their contentions) has likewiſe recorded, that having mentioned to Mirabeau his being exceſſively alarmed at the manœuvres which were continually practiſed in Paris to ſeduce the troops from their officers, and obſerving farther how eaſily an ambitious prince, appearing at the head of a diſcontented army, diſtributing money with one hand and libels with the other, might uſurp the throne, Mirabeau (treating his apprehenſions with ridicule) anſwered, "Why, you good ſimple man, "I am as much attached as you to "royalty; *but what ſignifies whe-* "*ther we have Louis the XVIIth* "*or Louis the XVIth*, and why need "we have a child † to govern us?" —Mounier does not deny the temptation he felt to plunge a dagger in the heart of the man who could conceive ſo wicked a ſcheme.

It may not be difficult to conceive ſome part of the aſtoniſhment and terror with which the king muſt have been ſtruck, when expreſſions, propoſals, and deſigns of this nature were communicated to him; and it will be ſtill more eaſily perceived, what ſtrong ground they afforded to his brothers, to the other princes of the blood, and to all thoſe who wiſhed to ſupport the monarchy in his perſon, to ſtate the danger he was in, and to repreſent in the ſtrongeſt terms that nothing but a total change of meaſures and government, ſupported by a courſe of the moſt ſpirited exertions, could prevent the crown being torn from

* M. M. Bergaſſe and Duport.

† The term Bambin, which Mirabeau uſed, may be underſtood either as a child or an idiot.

his head by his perfidious relation.

In the beginning of the month of July, ſeveral regiments began to approach nearer and nearer to Paris and Verſailles; the aſſembly, not without reaſon, grew jealous at theſe movements, and accordingly preſented a very ſpirited remonſtrance (in which all parties joined) to the king on the ſubject. The king gave for anſwer, that he had no other motive for his conduct, than the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing and maintaining good order in Paris; a neceſſity which was obvious to every body. He then propoſed to tranſfer the aſſembly to Noyon or Soiſſons; in which caſe he would remove the court, and follow them himſelf to Compeigne. Several leading members of the more moderate parties were ſatisfied with this propoſal, and willing to agree to it; but the determined leaders of the popular ſide, whoſe views extended farther, were too well aware of the ſtrength and ſupport which they derived from the vicinity of the capital, to liſten to it. Mirabeau condemned it with his uſual intemperance, and the propoſal was rejected. July 10th.

Although an entire change of meaſures was now viſibly determined on by the court, yet it has never been clearly developed what ſyſtem they had adopted, nor to what extent the change of meaſures was intended to be carried. Here, as in other caſes, the violence of party throws every thing into obſcurity. The popular writers and declaimers deſcribe it as one of the moſt perfidious and bloody plots that ever was formed; and which, if carried into execution, would have rivalled and renewed all the horrors of the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day. They repreſent, that 50,000 men, 100 pieces of cannon, an army of banditti, and ſix princes, were to have pulled down the ſanctuary of liberty on its miniſters heads, and to have overturned the French empire; that the national aſſembly would have been diſperſed, its reſolutions declared ſeditious, its members proſcribed, the palais royal, and the houſes of all patriots, given up to plunder, while the electors and their deputies were given up to execution. The glaring inconſiſtencies in theſe ſeveral puniſhments are ſo obvious, as ſcarcely to require obſervation. Some difficulty might appear in diſperſing a body of men who were buried under the weight of an enormous building; and, on the ſuppoſition of a reſurrection, it might appear entirely needleſs to proſcribe men who were given up to execution.

The hiſtorian of the revolution, however, finiſhes his picture in the following manner: "This is the "horrible tiſſue of crimes and aſ- "ſaſſinations, which a troop of *vil-* "*lains* and *infamous women*, me- "ditated with barbarous joy in the "tumult of their execrable orgies." —It is ſurely curious to obſerve, that none of the enormities here deſcribed ever took place, even in a ſingle inſtance, on the ſide of the court; and that all the crimes and aſſaſſinations here charged upon troops of villains and infamous women, were not only fully realized, but brought into daily and continual practice on the popular ſide, by the two numerous orders thus ſpecified, with both of whom it is probable that Paris at this period abounded far beyond

beyond any other city in the univerſe. Indeed the indifference, and in ſome caſes the complacency, with which the national aſſembly received and heard details of the horrid cruelties and murders committed by theſe two orders, afford too much room for ſuppoſing that they conſidered them as very neceſſary and eſſential arms of their power.

It may not now be unneceſſary to ſhew what effect this ſudden change of ſyſtem in the court had upon moderate men of different parties, and what conſequences they expected or apprehended from it, ſo far as theſe can be drawn from their ſubſequent writings or declarations; which, perhaps, may be the more worthy of reliance, as ſome of them had previouſly entirely quitted the ſcene of action, and retired from all participation in public affairs: —They generally regretted that the king's confidence ſhould have been ſurprized, by haſty and raſh councils, into a departure from thoſe ſentiments of moderation and equanimity, which were the leading traits of his character; and they condemned this departure the more, as they did not think the preſent ſtate of things required any aſſumption of violence. They were not, however, without apprehenſions, that the baniſhment of M. Neckar, the miniſter who was the avowed friend of liberty, augured ſome deſigns hoſtile to liberty itſelf. On that idea they conceived that the troops had been aſſembled, partly to prevent the exploſion which the departure of that popular miniſter was likely to occaſion, and partly to enable the king to carry into execution the new conſtitution held out in his declaration of the 23d of June.

Under this perſuaſion, they expected that the king in perſon would require the ſtates to ratify that declaration; that if they conſented (which was not probable) the king would be ſatisfied, nothing farther attempted on his ſide, and every thing go on in its uſual way; but if the ſtates did not conſent, they doubted not but the king would be perſuaded, under the influence of his preſent councils, to proceed to the extremity of attempting to diſſolve the aſſembly. As men of all parties were equally determined not to ſubmit to a diſſolution, on the ſtrong ground of the conſtitution, which was the object of their aſſembling, not being yet eſtabliſhed, and that the right to diſſolve them could only exiſt in that conſtitution, they imagined they foreſaw, in the diſcuſſion of that ſubject, all the evils or dangers which they apprehended from the preſent deſigns of the court, or movement of the troops; for they did not hold it improbable, or at leaſt they dreaded, that the king might then be induced to attempt diſſolving them by his own authority; and that the military might then be called in to ſuppreſs thoſe tumults, which, in the preſent temper of the people, their forced ſeparation muſt inevitably occaſion.

Theſe were the greateſt evils or dangers which moderate men apprehended from the preſent change of ſyſtem in the court. But even in this worſt ſtate of things, and ſuppoſing the forced diſſolution to take place, although they trembled at the idea of an act of power and violence ſo diſgraceful both to the government and country, yet they conſoled themſelves under the certainty they fully poſſeſſed, that the king

could then have no other refuge but that of immediately ſummoning another meeting of the ſtates, as it would be otherwiſe impoſſible for him to manage or ſettle the diſorders of the nation, or to conduct the government in any manner. As to the pretended plots which were ſaid to be diſcovered, and the details of them propagated with ſo much induſtry, ſuch as the blockade of the city of Paris, the ſtarving or maſſacre of the inhabitants, the overturning that capital from its foundations, with the long liſts of deputies to the ſtates who were to be ſeized or executed; all theſe, with others of the ſame character, would have been treated by ſuch men only with ridicule, if the wickedneſs of the deſigns which they ſaw they covered had not excited their utmoſt indignation. They declared their firm opinion, that no perſons in the aſſembly were more thoroughly convinced of their falſehood, than the very men who took the greateſt pains to propagate them abroad as undoubted facts.

It is, however, but juſtice to ſay, that the heterogeneous maſs of courtiers, of diſcontented nobles, of the followers and retainers of the different princes, and of the outcaſts of different parties, who now poſſeſſed the king's councils, were ſo diſcordant in every thing, ſo ſplit into petty cabals and factions, ſo ſhamefully and ſelfiſhly led away by their reſpective private views and intereſts, and, withal, held ſo little regard for the proſperity or honour of the ſovereign, any farther than they might be neceſſary to their own deſigns, that it ſeems difficult to ſuppoſe that they had any common or regular object of policy in view, but that being equally deſtitute of any comprehenſive plan of action, as of any bond of union founded on honeſty or principle among themſelves, it ſeems as if there could be no ſcheme, however wild, extravagant, abſurd, or dangerous, which ſome among them might not have been capable of framing or adopting.

On Saturday the 11th of July, M. Neckar received the king's orders to give up his place, and to quit the kingdom as ſoon as poſſible. Luzerne, St. Prieſt, Montmorin, and the other miniſters, were either turned out, or reſigned, the next day; M. de Breteuil was placed at the head of the miniſtry, and marſhal Broglio, who had been very popular under all the misfortunes of the German war of 1757, now accepted the very important, but dangerous and moſt unpopular place of commander in chief.

When this news reached Paris on the morning of Sunday the 12th, the mixed conflict of fury and deſpair, which agitated every mind and countenance, exceeded all the powers of deſcription. The people, conſidering Neckar as their only pledge of liberty, reſounded his name on every ſide, and the numerous faction of the palais royal thought this a favourable opportunity for bringing forward the name of the duke of Orleans, and by joining it in the ſame acclamation with Neckar's, thereby to attribute to the duke ſome part of that popularity which belonged only to the miniſter. With this view, both their buſts were taken from the ſculptor's, and carried about in triumph. But the ſcheme by no means ſucceeded. The vaſt largeſſes which the duke beſtowed to acquire popularity only affected the loweſt and moſt profligate orders of the people, of whom he was indeed the unlimited ſovereign; but the ſober and independent

dependent part of the citizens had long conceived too unfavourable an opinion of that prince's conduct and character, ever to wish to see him, not only upon the throne, but in any public situation, which could at all place him near the head of affairs. A few voices were heard in the crowd to cry out, "Shall this prince "be your king, and shall Neckar "be his minister?" but they were so faintly supported, that it came to nothing.

On the same day the prince of Lambesc, who commanded the regiment of Royal Allemand (horse) which were stationed just without Paris, in a vain gasconade, made a fruitless and most ill-judged attempt to disperse the populace who were very riotous and numerous in the gardens of the Thuilleries, as they were in all other open parts of the city. Two or three persons, said to be merely spectators, and guiltless of any riot, were in the beginning wounded, one of them by the prince's own hand: this exasperated the crowd in such a degree, that they returned the attack with unparalleled fury; brick-bats, stones, and such other missile weapons as they could suddenly find, with clubs and spits, supplied the want of arms; the troops, led into a service for which they were totally unqualified, and their horses as well as themselves thrown into the greatest disorder and confusion by this new mode of combat, were almost instantly routed, and driven shamefully, with loud shouts, hootings, and execrations, out of town. A very few of the troopers, probably not above three, being knocked off their horses, were killed, and their horses, arms, and accoutrements, carried about as trophies by the victors.

The ill consequences which must proceed from the flight of regular troops before a mob, at the opening of such commotions as were now to take place, are too obvious to require any observation.

It appears that the transient ministers of the time, however faulty they might have been in other respects, were totally innocent of any share in, and free from any previous knowledge of, this unlucky transaction, which seems to have proceeded entirely from the wanton impetuosity and rashness of the commander; for there were several regiments of foot at the time stationed close to Paris, not one of which made the smallest movement to assist or support the horse; and this want of concert among the commanders must be considered as a clear proof that no orders had been issued by government on the subject. The total inaction of the troops, both on that night and the succeeding day and night, during all which time, critical as the season was, and notwithstanding the alterations and preparations which they saw and knew were taking place in Paris, they never once made the smallest attempt to enter that city, seems likewise to exculpate the court and ministers from the bloody designs and cruel intended massacres which were attributed to them; for this would have been the season, and the Sunday night particularly, when nothing but terror and confusion reigned in that city, and no regular scheme of resistance or defence was yet thought of, to have carried them with full effect into execution, if any such had been formed; and the state of things was such, that it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent their completion.

if ſuch wicked plans could be wiſely laid and promptly executed, which, through the goodneſs of Providence, is not often permitted. It ſeems then, upon the whole, that weakneſs and inanity, rather than wickedneſs, was the characteriſtic at that time of the French government; that the miniſters ridiculouſly imagined, that the approach and ſight of a few regiments would have terrified ſuch a vaſt, turbulent, and rebellious capital as Paris into immediate ſubmiſſion; and that they were at the ſame time ſo ſhort-ſighted, ſo improvident, and ſo narrow in their conceptions, as not to provide a remedy for any diſappointment, which a failure in their principal expectation, or any unforeſeen change of circumſtances, otherwiſe might occaſion.

All regal, all judicial, all municipal government being now at an end in the city of Paris, an univerſal panic was, on the Sunday night, ſpread throughout all its quarters; while the dread of ſlaughter from the army, and of general plunder from thieves and banditti, affected every claſs of the people in all that was dear and precious to them. But the day which ſucceeded to this night of terror and confuſion produced a very different and a very extraordinary ſcene. Above one hundred thouſand individuals ſeemed at the ſame inſtant to be animated by one common ſoul, and to prepare, with courage and conſtancy, the means of internal order and government, as well as of preſervation and defence againſt external enemies. The temporary bodies of the electors, who had returned repreſentatives to the ſtates, aſſembled and took the command in their reſpective diſtricts, and were more implicitly obeyed than Louis the XIVth had been in the zenith of his power and victories. Thirty thouſand citizens, totally unaccuſtomed to arms, were ſoon ſeen armed at all points, and in a few hours training aſſumed ſome appearance of order and diſcipline. The French guards now ſhewed the benefits of their late education and improvements; they came in a body to tender their ſervices to the people, which we ſcarcely need ſay were joyfully accepted. A new peculiar cockade was formed for the new army; and every appearance, not only of defence but of active war, every where prevailed.

Such were ſome of the changes which one day produced in the city of Paris. Some plunder and miſchief took place in different parts of the town, particularly at the houſe of the congregation of St. Lazarus, who being ſuſpected of having corn concealed in their granaries, that charge or ſuſpicion expoſed them to a pretence for being plundered; this was the more pitiable, as it is ſaid to have been a truly pious and charitable inſtitution; but ſuch matters were ſoon to be loſt in the glare of greater enormities. Many ſlighter robberies were committed on the ſame day; but as theſe were directed againſt individuals, and executed by ſmall gangs of thieves on their own account, without any popular pretence, when they were ſeized in the fact they were inſtantly dragged to the *Greve*, the common place of execution, and hanged by the ropes which were uſed to faſten the lanterns. From hence originated that moſt horrid practice of the mob's conſtituting themſelves judges and executioners in the ſame inſtant, without the ſmalleſt regard to rank, to laws, or to juſtice; nor has all the time that ſince elapſed been able in any

any degree to wear out that villainous cuſtom which the French populace were only a few hours in acquiring. From hence of courſe originated that horrid and barbarous cry, *a la lanterne*, the laſt ſounds that vibrated in the ears of ſo many unhappy victims as have thus cruelly periſhed.

The next day, which was the famous Tueſday the 14th of July, will be long remembered in the hiſtory of mankind. On that morning the newly formed army completed their means for offenſive and defenſive operations, by ſtripping the *garde meuble* and the invalids of their arms, and likewiſe by ſeizing a very conſiderable depoſit or magazine of arms and ammunition, which were lodged in the hotel of the latter; all which they performed without meeting the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. Thus provided, the idea of attacking the Baſtile was inſtantly adopted, and De Launay, the governor, ſummoned to lay down his arms, and ſurrender the fortreſs. The difficulty of diſcovering the truth in ſuch extraordinary caſes, where every man's teſtimony on either ſide is liable to be warped by his prejudices and paſſions, was never more clearly ſhewn than upon this occaſion. The general report was, that De Launay held out deceitful hopes of compliance; that a number of Pariſians came to the gates to demand arms and ammunition; that they were received within an outer court, then treacherouſly fired upon, and a cruel ſlaughter made. It is not eaſy to reconcile the parts of this ſtory, nor to give an air of probability to the whole. It is notwithſtanding aſſerted and believed by the bulk of the Pariſians, with the ſame firmneſs as if it was an article of religious faith, and was publiſhed as a fact through every part of Europe. But, on the other hand, the inconſiſtency and improbability of the ſtory have not only been ſhewn, but the fact denied by poſitive evidence. It ſeems very probable, that the ſtory might have been invented at the time to increaſe the animoſity of the crowds who were preſſing from all quarters upon the Baſtile, and who could have no opportunity, either then or after, of aſcertaining its truth or falſehood, ſuppoſing the poſſibility that in the heat and tumult of ſo new and dreadful a ſcene they could have attended to ſuch an inquiry. In this caſe, the endeavour to ſupport and give authenticity to the ſtory afterwards will be eaſily accounted for; in the firſt place, to keep up and inflame the paſſions of the people, and in the next, with a view of palliating, in ſome degree, the ſcenes of blood and cruelty that followed.

However that was, the enthuſiaſm and fury of the people was ſo great, that, to the aſtoniſhment of all military men (who did not yet know the weakneſs of its garriſon) the Baſtile, the citadel of Paris, with its ſeemingly impaſſable ditches, and its inacceſſible towers and ramparts, covered with a powerful artillery, was, after an attack of two hours, carried by ſtorm. De Launay was immediately dragged to the Place de Greve, and miſerably murdered. M. de Loſme, the major of the Baſtile, met with an equal fate and equal cruelty; although it has ſince been generally acknowledged, even by the democratic writers, that he was a man of great humanity, whoſe tenderneſs to the priſoners deſerved far different treatment. This was indeed ſtrongly confirmed by a remarkable

markable circumſtance which occurred at his death; for the marquis of Pelleport, a young man whoſe faſhion and figure, independent of his rank and generoſity, entitled him to reſpect, was ſo deeply impreſſed with the kindneſs which he had experienced from the major, when he was himſelf a priſoner, that eagerly claſping him in his arms, in the midſt of all this terror and danger, he moſt pathetically intreated the people to ſpare the life of his friend, to whom he owed ſo much. His intreaties were in vain; the major's head was cut off, and his grateful and generous friend with difficulty eſcaped the ſame fate.

On this day it was that the ſavage cuſtom of inſulting and mutilating the remains of the dead, and of exhibiting their heads to public view upon pikes, which had ſo long been the opprobrium of the governments and people in Conſtantinople, Fez, and Morocco, was firſt introduced into the poliſhed city of Paris; and, like other evil habits, has ſince taken ſo deep a root, that it may ſeem a queſtion whether it can ever be eradicated, except by ſome convulſion ſimilar in violence to that from which it derived its origin.

The garriſon of the Baſtile, excepting only a few gunners and artillery-men, who held a ſort of ſinecure places, conſiſted only of a handful of old invalids, amounting to ſomething about fifty in number. On taking the place, the new-formed ſoldiers loudly exclaimed, "*Let us "hang the whole garriſon!*" but the French guards, who ſtill retained ſome ſhare of their old monarchical and military notions, could not endure that old ſoldiers, who had once ſerved under the ſame banners with themſelves, ſhould be thus ſacrificed in cold blood; they accordingly pleaded ſo effectually for them, that they preſerved the trembling wretches from that fate which they inſtantly expected.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders, M. de Fleſſelles, the *prevot des marchands*, or mayor of Paris, had been detected in a correſpondence with the court; he was accordingly turned out of his office by the committee of electors, and ordered to be conveyed to priſon until his trial; but he had ſcarcely reached the bottom of the ſteps at the hotel de ville, or town-houſe, when the new executors of ſummary juſtice forced him from the guard, ſhot him inſtantly without trial or enquiry, diſmembered his body, and carried his bleeding head about the ſtreets on a pike in triumph, like the others they had cut off.

After more than two hours had paſſed ſpeedily away, under the double intoxication of joy and revenge, ſome humane perſons reminded the populace, that the priſoners in the Baſtile ought to be delivered; their cells were accordingly broke open, and they were led in triumph round the gardens of the palais royal. But how great was the ſurpriſe, if not diſappointment, when it was found, that theſe dreary dungeons, which were ſuppoſed to be crowded with the victims of deſpotiſm, contained only ſeven priſoners; that of theſe the greateſt number were confined on accuſations of forgery; and that either two or three, who had continued there ſince the reign of Louis the XVth, were the only objects of compaſſion among them. For theſe unhappy perſons, having loſt the uſe of their reaſon before the commence-

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ment of the preſent reign, or at leaſt before there was leiſure to enquire into the ſtate of the priſons, they had ſince been detained, becauſe the officers did not know in what manner otherwiſe to diſpoſe of them. A ſtronger proof of which need not be given, than that the municipality of Paris found it neceſſary a few days after to ſend them to the public mad-houſe at Charenton.

It ſhould not be forgotten, that the preſent ſovereign, through his natural clemency and humanity, and in conformity with the moderate ſyſtem of government which he intended to purſue, had early cleared the ſtate priſons of moſt of their wretched inhabitants, none being retained but thoſe who had been guilty of notorious crimes againſt ſociety, or concerned in dangerous offences againſt the ſtate. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that with all the odium and deteſtation under which the queen and the count d'Artois laboured, and with all the libels which were hourly written and ſpoken againſt them, yet that a ſingle victim to their reſentment or juſtice was not found in all the priſons of the kingdom. Nor is it incurious to contraſt with this fact the ſtate of things under the influence, or it may be called government, of Madame Pompadour, who filled all the priſons of France with the unfortunate victims to her private malice and perſonal reſentments; yet Pompadour was idolized by Voltaire, and by all the poets, wits, and philoſophers of the kingdom in her day, and was even at times a favourite with the people.

During the Sunday and the Monday, thoſe two critical days, on which their own fate and that of their ſovereign ſeemed depending, and on the firſt of which the ſcale ſeemed to vibrate ſo much, that it was evident a vigorous exertion might have fixed its bias, the miniſters at Verſailles, and the commanders of the army, ſeemed either aſleep or in a trance; the former indeed, when unwillingly rouzed to hear the accounts from Paris, treated them with the utmoſt contempt and ridicule, as matters not worthy of conſideration; but on the fatal Tueſday, the 14th of July, evil tidings crowded ſo faſt from every quarter, that they were overwhelmed with conſternation and terror, and rendered totally incapable, if it had not even been too late, to adopt any meaſures which required deciſion or vigour, either with reſpect to orders or execution. It now appeared that the defection of the French guards had, with other pre-diſpoſing cauſes and motives, produced a moſt unfortunate effect upon the national troops in the army; that they were no longer to be depended on; and that they openly aſſerted the unlawfulneſs of fighting their fellow citizens. Before they had yet time to reflect on the conſequences of this deplorable news, or to conſider what meaſures were proper to be purſued, they were farther confounded by the intelligence, that the foreign regiments were little more to be depended on than the national troops. The former had ever been unpopular in France, chiefly upon the idea (excluſive of national pique and vanity) that being entirely dependent on the crown, and having no intereſt in the country, they would be found, upon any occaſion that offered, the ready and cruel inſtruments of deſpotiſm; but now, to the aſtoniſhment

aſtoniſhment of every body, they ſhewed themſelves very little inclined to engage in national diſputes, and ſeemed very cold and indifferent with reſpect to the cauſe they were called to ſupport. In this diſmal ſtate of things, the only policy which the genius of the miniſters was capable of reaching, was the ſhort-lived, miſerable, and cowardly expedient of concealment, in keeping the king ignorant of the misfortunes and dangers with which he was ſurrounded.

The national aſſembly, who upon the diſgrace of Neckar thought their own ruin determined, met on Monday the 13th, and with all the terrors of diſſolution and impriſonment before their eyes, reſolved, with the firmneſs of a Roman ſenate, not to give up a ſingle point which they had been pre-determined to maintain. The moderate party took the lead on this day, and ſhewed themſelves as little diſpoſed to ſubmit in any degree to the deſpotiſm of the crown as the moſt furious of thoſe who were called patriots. Mounier opened the debate with an eloquent ſpeech, in which, after ſtating the great and immutable line which muſt be drawn between the legiſlative and the executive power, (a line which was acknowledged and confirmed by the aſſembly) he then proceeded to ſtate, that though the aſſembly had no legal right to direct the king's choice of miniſters, yet as the choice he had now made led to the moſt dangerous conſequences, it was neceſſary to vote their ſolemn and grateful thanks to M. Neckar, and to declare, that the preſent miniſters had not the confidence of the nation. Lally Tolendal ſeconded his motion, and this and other ſimilar votes were carried with the greateſt unanimity.

The aſſembly then paſſed a famous reſolution, by which they declared, "That the actual counſel-"lors of the king were perſonally "reſponſible for the preſent miſ-"fortunes, and for all that might "enſue." This reſolution, which bore the character of an *ex poſt facto* law, was juſtified on the ground of neceſſity, and the deſperate ſituation of the aſſembly. They likewiſe ſolicited the king to recal his troops, and to entruſt Paris to the guard of its own citizens.—The king returned a general anſwer, "That he "was deeply afflicted with the me-"lancholy ſituation of Paris; that "it was impoſſible the troops he "had ſent for could be the real "cauſe of it; that they were indiſ-"penſably neceſſary for the pre-"ſervation of peace and order; and "that he invited the aſſembly to go "on with its labours."

But when, on the Tueſday evening or night, the news arrived at Verſailles of the taking of the Baſtile, of a powerful army being in an inſtant formed in Paris, and of the deplorable fate of Launay, Fleſſelles, and Loſme, the miniſters, all aghaſt, ſeemed as if ſtricken by a thunderbolt, while each thinking he read his own fate in that of Launay, all their preſumptuous hopes, their ſchemes and intrigues, were at once levelled in the duſt. Whether any of thoſe ſanguinary deſigns which have been ſo peremptorily and repeatedly charged by the other ſide to the courtiers and miniſters were at this time or any other in their meditation, remains ſtill an entire ſecret, and muſt continue ſo, until time or occaſion throw future light upon the ſubject. No proof whatever

ever has yet been brought to ſupport the looſe and wild charges of their enemies; nor does the evident want of energy in their councils, or the fatal ſlowneſs of their proceedings, by any means juſtify the preſumption.

In the courſe of that day, the national aſſembly, dreading every hour the greateſt evils, which appeared the more terrible from the impoſſibility of foreſeeing their nature or kind, paſſed the ſpirited reſolution not to break up their ſeſſion, but to paſs the night in their hall. The miniſters ſtill adhered to their only refuge of concealment, by keeping the king in the dark as to his ſituation. It is ſaid that about midnight the duke de Liancourt forced his way into his apartment, when in bed, and told him the whole truth; and farther informed the count d'Artois, that the Pariſians had publicly ſet a large price upon his head: this laſt information was irreſiſtible in its effect; the count ſunk under it, and no longer endeavoured to keep up his brother's courage. The moſt unconditional ſubmiſſion was accordingly reſolved upon; and the king went early on Wedneſday morning, the 15th, without guards, to reſign himſelf entirely into the hands and power of the aſſembly.

The king took particular notice in his ſpeech of the falſehood which ſome had dared to publiſh, that the perſons of the deputies were not ſecure; he aſked, if it was neceſſary for him to contradict in terms ſuch criminal reports, which were belied equally by his well-known character, and by every part of his conduct through life? He told them, that he entruſted himſelf in their hands; and called earneſtly upon them to ſave the ſtate; and concluded by giving them the pleaſing information, that he had ordered all the troops to quit the neighbourhood of Paris and Verſailles.

This ſpeech was received with loud acclamations, and all the members riſing, as by a general impulſe, accompanied the king back to the palace.—From that inſtant he had, in effect, reſigned the ſovereignty into their hands, with little proſpect of his ever again recovering it. From that time alſo the middle, or moderate party, led by Mounier, Lally, Mallouette, &c. were reconciled to him, and ſeem to have relied cordially upon his faith; but the friends and patronizers of extreme democracy either were or affected to be afraid that his known irreſolution would afford the means for throwing him back into the hands of their enemies, and therefore determined to exert their power to its utmoſt extent, in order to fetter him as cloſely as poſſible.

The terror of ſieges and blockades had got ſuch poſſeſſion of the minds of the Pariſians, that they could think of nothing elſe, and they were inceſſant in their preparations for defence. M. La Fayette, with whom we were acquainted during the American war, when he ſerved under Waſhington, was now elected to the command of the new army with the title of general. The old office or title of *prevot des marchands* was either ſuppreſſed or changed, and M. Bailly, formerly known by his aſtronomical writings, was appointed chief magiſtrate, under the name of mayor of Paris.

That capital was now to be conſidered as a great republic, and it ſoon was ſo ſenſible of its power, as to

to give the law, not only to the unfortunate ſovereign, but to the national aſſembly, and to the kingdom at large. The national aſſembly, even now, ſeemed to acknowledge its maſters, by ſending a deputation of eighty-four of its members to the city of Paris, rather to implore than to propoſe, much leſs to order or command peace. This may be conſidered as one of the many evil conſequences which reſulted from the ill-adviſed and ruinous meaſure of aſſembling the ſtates at Verſailles; for it is not probable that the aſſembly would have ſubmitted to this humiliation if they had been out of the reach of that turbulent capital; neither would the factious part of them, in ſuch a ſituation, have had an opportunity of becoming, as they did, parties in their cabals and factions; until at length, alternately acting and being acted upon, they became by turns the inſtruments of each other's purpoſes, though the faction in the aſſembly was not ſeldom obliged to give way, contrary to its own liking, to the dreaded power of thoſe in the city. The Pariſians were, however, too ſenſible in the preſent inſtance of the importance which they derived from this ſingular deputation, not to receive the deputies with every mark of applauſe and reſpect.

But their ſuſpicions, and the terrors of ſoldiers and maſſacres, which they had already ſo ſtrongly imbibed, operated ſtill ſo powerfully upon them, although all power and all the means of ſupporting it were now in their own hands, that the king was adviſed and perſuaded, in the hope of removing their jealouſies, and thereby of reducing them to a ſtate of good order and temper, to viſit himſelf the city of Paris. This humiliating and deſperate meaſure he carried into execution on Friday the 17th of July, under a full conviction, in his own mind, that he thereby encountered the peril of inſtant aſſaſſination. He was received at Seve by a body of 25,000 *national guards*, (the term now aſſigned to the new army) and was thus led in melancholy proceſſion to Paris, his ears being ſtunned the whole way by the loud and continual acclamations of "*Vive "la nation!*" while the ancient favourite cry of "*Vive le roy!*" was not once heard. The king was conducted to the *Hotel de Ville*, where, after ſubmitting to the diſgrace of accepting and wearing the new Pariſian cockade, and after he had made a ſpeech, in which he declared in the ſtrongeſt terms his unvaried and invariable affection for the people, he was condemned to hear a ſpeech from a M. de St. Merry, which ſtrongly inſinuated, if it did not directly charge, thoſe flagitious and cruel deſigns againſt the city of Paris, which had been ſo induſtriouſly imputed to the court, as a means of exciting the preſent troubles. It is ſaid, that a denial ſo involuntary, ſo unembarraſſed, and ſo poſitive, burſt from the king's lips upon this imputation, that it was impoſſible for the by-ſtanders to avoid feeling a conviction that it was the language of conſcious innocence in an indignant reſiſtance to falſe accuſation. The king's behaviour at the town houſe recalled the old cry of "*Vive le roy!*" in the mouths of the populace, though it was generally coupled with the new and faſhionable one. He returned ſafely in the evening to Verſailles, and was received with tranſport by the courtiers, many of whom never expected to ſee him again.

In the mean time the moſt barbarous and inhuman popular ſongs, but ſet to no unpleaſant tunes, were fabricated for the people of Paris, in order, if poſſible, to increaſe their native ferocity and cruelty. One of theſe, the verſes of which ended with the pious wiſh that all the ariſtocrates might be hanged at the lantern, was to be heard from morning till night, in every ſtreet and almoſt every houſe, ſung by all claſſes and orders, the fairer part of the ſofter ſex degrading themſelves in this reſpect to the ſame level with the moſt profligate and abandoned. Theſe barbarous words, like the *war whoop* of the ſavages in North America, became afterwards the *death ſignal* in every part of France.

The ſeeds of revenge and murder, thus induſtriouſly ſown, ſoon ſhewed their fruits in the horrible deaths of Foulon and Berthier. The firſt of theſe was an old rich financier, a man of bad character, and was ſuſpected of having accepted a place, though he had not time to occupy it, under the late adminiſtration. Berthier was intendant of Paris, a man of a totally different character, and who ſeems to have been neither accuſed nor ſuſpected of any crime, unleſs his being married to Foulon's daughter could have conſtituted one. Theſe unhappy men having ſome intelligence of their danger, had attempted to eſcape, but were purſued, ſeized, and dragged back to Paris, where they were murdered with every circumſtance of refined inſult and cruelty which could have been exhibited by a tribe of cannibals. We ſhall not enter into the ſhocking detail, which has been publiſhed in every part of Europe, and every where received with the utmoſt horror. La Fayette, and Bailly the mayor, exerted themſelves greatly to preſerve theſe miſerable victims, at leaſt till due examination and trial could take place; but they ſoon diſcovered, to their amazement, how weak the power, and how precarious the ſecurity, afforded by popularity, was amongſt an ungoverned and furious populace, and that if they did not reſign the victims to their fate, they muſt inevitably become partakers of it. Fayette expreſſed his indignation in the ſtrongeſt terms, and threatened to reſign the command of the Pariſian army; but he was perſuaded to retain it by the better and more ſober part of the citizens, hoping that he might be the means of preventing ſtill more dreadful miſchiefs.

July 21ſt.

The ſafe return of the king from Paris did not inſpire the vanquiſhed party with the ſmalleſt hope of mercy from their all triumphant enemies. In the courſe of a few days, Marſhal Broglio, the Polignacs, the Luxemburghs, with all who were ſuſpected of having accepted, or even intending to accept, places under the late ſhort-lived adminiſtration, diſappeared one after another. Theſe were ſpeedily followed by the princes of Conde and Conti, with the count d'Artois and his two ſons, though the family next in ſucceſſion to the crown. Numbers of others, whoſe names are of leſs importance, were included in the general rout; moſt fortunately for the fugitives, they were a good deal protected in their flight by the ſmall diviſions and ſcattered parts of the retreating army

my which had been commanded by Broglio; and after a ſeries of romantic adventures, dangers, and "hair breth" ſcapes, they reached England, Germany, or Italy, as fortune or chance directed, while the princes of the blood royal of France were obliged to procure from foreigners a precarious and inglorious refuge. And it might be ſaid the king and queen, with reſpect to friends, favourites, known ſervants and relations, were almoſt literally left alone.

All the refractory nobles now haſtened to renounce their former proteſt, and held themſelves abſolved by neceſſity from the oath which they had taken to their conſtituents. It was agreed to bury the name of *ſtates general* in oblivion, and the name of *national aſſembly* was henceforth adopted by all parties. Some reverence ſeemed ſtill to be paid to the word *royalty*, although the ſubſtance to which it related had entirely loſt its eſſence. It was thought that the term royaliſts, applied to thoſe who were devoted to proſcription and popular fury, would yet be too wounding to the ears of Frenchmen to be endured; the term ariſtocrat was therefore upon all occaſions ſubſtituted in its place.

As the ſcarcity of corn ſtill continued, ſome ſcenes of horrid murder had already taken place at St. Germain, Pontoiſe, and Poilly, on the charge or ſuſpicion of monopoly, while other attempts of the ſame nature were with great difficulty prevented. Doubly alarmed at the ſavage ſpirit which was exhibited by the Pariſians, and at this ſanguinary diſpoſition, which was ſpreading with ſuch terrific ſymptoms in the country, the moderate party in the aſſembly uſed their utmoſt endeavours to procure the timely interference of that body, in reſtraining thoſe enormities. Lally Tolendal took the lead, and was well ſeconded by Mounier and others in ſhewing the general dangers and the horrible miſchiefs that would enſue from the progreſs of this ſanguinary diſpoſition; they accordingly propoſed a proclamation, to warn the people from thus conſtituting themſelves judges and executioners of the law.

But the powerful democratic party held ſentiments widely different on this ſubject, and did not wiſh by any means to reſtrain the hands, or to confine the authority of their over-ruling allies. One ſet anſwered, "that the buſineſs of the aſſembly was to make laws, and not to attend to a few particular diſorders."—Another told the operative motive for rejecting the propoſal openly, by ſaying, "that their interference might induce the town of Paris to declare againſt the aſſembly"—While a third cried out, "If it was not for theſe Pariſians, whom you blame, we ſhould not now be ſitting here." And when Lally enforced his arguments, by deſcribing the horrid deaths of Berthier and Foulon, the celebrated patriot Barnave ironically aſked, "*If the blood he lamented was ſo very pure?*" whilſt Mirabeau told him, "It was a time to think rather than to feel."

A ſenſe of ſhame on one ſide, and unceaſing perſeverance on the other, produced at length in ſome degree their effect, and on the 23d of July a proclamation was iſſued, inviting all Frenchmen to peace, order, and tranquillity; but being ſtripped of all the cogent expreſſions propoſed by Lally, ſuch as the following ſentences,

tences, that "whoever excited trou-
" bles was a bad citizen, and that
" the punishment of a crime was
" itself a crime when not command-
" ed by the law;" these retrench-
ments, with others of the same sort, rendered it so tame, so spiritless a performance, as to make it an object much more liable to contempt than to the production of respect to the laws, or obedience to the dictates which its title and publication seemed to imply.

Neckar had been recalled by the king's letters of the 16th or 17th of July, and on his way back he heard of the horrid deaths of Berthier and Foulon, as well as the imminent danger of M. de Bezenval, commander of the Swiss troops, who had been seized at Villenaux, and threatened with the same fate, on account of an intercepted letter, in which he had ordered M. de Launay to defend the Bastile to the last. Neckar immediately wrote a letter of interception from Nogent to the magistrates of Villenaux in his favour, and received in answer, that they had sent to Paris for orders concerning him. Neckar was welcomed at Versailles with such demonstrations of general and excessive joy, that the democratic writers could compare it to nothing less expressive, than the transports of the Romans when Cicero was recalled from exile. He presented himself to the national assembly, complimented them highly, and was no less complimented and flattered in return.

July 30th. A few days after he made his triumphal entry into Paris, and the gratifications of vanity were never more amply dispensed to any conqueror in ancient Rome, than they were upon this occasion to M. Neckar. Those voices which a few days before found the greatest difficulty in pronouncing *vive le roy*, now filled the air with the universal shout of *vive M. Neckar*. He endeavoured to convert this moment of popular applause and enthusiasm to an excellent purpose, by attempting, in an eloquent speech, to persuade the Parisians to send orders for the release of M. Bezenval, and at the same time to set the example of a general amnesty, as the means of restoring peace to the distracted kingdom. But M. Neckar was yet to learn the difficulty of managing a factious and outrageous populace, who having already kicked off every degree of subordination, abominated every thing that bore any relation to peace, order, humanity, or justice. The refusal to comply with a request which he had taken the utmost pains to enforce, and which he, to a certainty, thought he might have commanded, tarnished all the glories of the triumph, and rendered the overwhelming flatteries of the day disgusting and nauseous.

It was peculiarly unlucky that in this attempt, so truly consonant to virtue and humanity, he should have fallen into two political errors of such importance that they served much to weaken the enthusiasm of his admirers, and to lessen the general opinion conceived of his abilities. The first of these related to the national assembly, and the second to the Parisians. The former, and by much the greater, was his applying to the city of Paris for the liberty or life of an accused criminal, and at the same time for a general pardon, knowing, that as the national assembly now supplied the places both of the sovereign and par-

parliament, there was no other power exiſting which could lawfully grant either. This was accordingly, in a very great degree, diſtaſteful to that aſſembly. It was indeed but too true, that Paris was faſt aſſuming the ſhape of an independent republic, and making alarming ſtrides towards the poſſeſſion of power; and it was no leſs true, that the national aſſembly, though fully aware and apprehenſive of the danger, yet, whether through want of ſpirit, or through whatever other cauſe, did not venture to attempt confining that turbulent capital within due bounds of ſubjection; but they were by no means pleaſed or ſatisfied that her independence or power ſhould be formally acknowleged by a miniſter of ſtate.

The ſecond fault was his addreſſing the electors of Paris as a legal body, when their proper functions extended no farther than to the chooſing of repreſentatives; and the new command with which they were entruſted by the people on the 13th proceeded merely from there being no other body of men in whom they could immediately confide; but that refractory populace, who abhorred every degree of ſubordination, were already heartily tired of the government exerciſed by the electors, and were beſides become much diſſatisfied with, and extremely jealous of them on the very grounds of Neckar's ſpeech; ſo that when he probably thought he was highly flattering and pleaſing the people by the compliments he paid, and the powers which he attributed to their council at the Hotel de Ville, his eloquent harangue was producing a directly contrary effect, and exciting the utmoſt diſguſt and averſion in the minds of the crowd. For the council having already given a promiſe that Bezenval ſhould have his liberty, and having likewiſe ſent a proclamation for general pardon and peace round to the different municipalities for their approbation, the people conſidered this as a flagrant invaſion of their moſt ſacred rights, and reſtriction upon their new powers of determination on the queſtions of peace or war, as well as on their favourite exerciſe of adminiſtering ſummary juſtice; and being now further irritated by this direct and public appeal to an authority which was become in the higheſt degree odious, they grew outrageous, and a ſecond general tumult was expected and threatened.

The council at the Hotel de Ville ſoon perceived their danger, and having immediately retracted the two obnoxious meaſures, the committee of electors, finding that they were conſidered and to be treated as uſurpers, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by as ſpeedy a reſignation of their ſeats. The whole government of the tumultuous capital was then placed in a body which was called the repreſentative aſſembly of the commons of Paris, with the mayor, M. Bailly, at its head.

The more violent of the malcontent diſtricts in Paris were ſo inflamed at the very mention or thought of an amneſty, that they ſent a deputation to the national aſſembly, partly to complain of the attempt, and partly to warn them againſt adopting or giving a ſanction to ſuch a meaſure. The aſſembly, who were not much more diſpoſed than themſelves to approve of it, declared that a tribunal ſhould

ſoon be appointed to try the late miniſters, and other delinquents, and a committee appointed in the mean time to examine into the accuſations againſt them. The aſſembly likewiſe decreed, that Bezenval ſhould be kept under ſafe guard at Brie Comte Robert, the town where he was then confined. This was to him the moſt fortunate clauſe that ever was or could be penned; for the writers on both ſides acknowledge or declare, that no human power could have prevented another public murder if he had been brought to Paris. This opinion was indeed fully confirmed by the following fact, that thirty thouſand frantic Pariſians waited for him a whole day at the Place de Greve, and had, with ſavage pleaſure, all the inſtruments of inſult and death prepared for his reception.

Indeed it was evident that things were now arrived at ſuch a pitch, that no ſecurity for liberty, property, or life could be found in the country, unleſs ſome effectual curb was ſpeedily placed upon the revengeful and cruel ſpirit of the people; for it had already ſpread with dreadful diſplay into the provinces, where they had generally taken up arms as ſoon as they heard of the revolution at Paris. Every bad man (and that order was at leaſt as numerous as uſual) made the public good a pretence for wreaking his malice upon his private enemies. The tenants thought this a happy opportunity for ſhaking off all dependance on their landlords, and converting their farms into eſtates; and petty wars were thus generated in various parts between the former and the landed proprietors. Numerous other ſources of diſcord were invented or found, and details of crimes and cruelties were echoed from every quarter.

[The extraordinary length of our Hiſtory, which has this year gone far beyond its preſcribed limits, and all paſt example, compels us, unwillingly, to defer the completion of this ſingular revolution to our next volume.]

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Halifax, November 11, 1778.

ON Saturday the 1ſt of this month, the Academy at Windſor was opened by the biſhop of Nova Scotia; the magiſtrates and principal gentlemen of the county of Hants attended, which added much to the ſolemnity that was obſerved on an occaſion ſo truly pleaſing as the opening of the firſt public ſeminary in this province.

The biſhop began with prayers, and then delivered a Latin oration, in which he pointed out the many advantages the public would derive from the inſtitution, and ſeverally addreſſed the magiſtrates, the tutors, and the ſtudents.

He next read over the regulations that were eſtabliſhed by the gentleman appointed to undertake the general government of the academy. Theſe regulations are well calculated to preſerve order, to enforce diligence in the tutors, and to promote application and improvement in the ſtudents. The buſineſs of the academy being finiſhed, the magiſtrates and gentlemen of the county of Hants preſented an excellent addreſs to the biſhop, to which he returned a ſuitable anſwer.

Mrs. Helen Bettenſon, of Sevenoaks, in Kent, an opulent maiden lady, lately deceaſed, among many legacies, has left to the Rev. Mr. Hetherington's charity for blind perſons 10,000 l. three per cent. conſolidated annuities; to St. Luke's Hoſpital, the ſame; to Bromley College, the ſame; to St. George's Hoſpital, 500l. to Mr. Gregory of Clifford's Inn, 200l.; to his wife 100l. and 20l. per annum more, in conſideration of taking care of her Italian greyhound; to all her ſervants 10l. a year for life; to her executors 1000l. to erect a monument in Weſtminſter Abbey, with a ſuitable inſcription (which is to be read and approved at a meeting of the Royal Society), for the late Martin Folkes, eſq; who was preſident of the Royal Society; all the reſidue of her eſtate to earl Stanhope, lord Amherſt, and Multon Lambard, eſq; ſhare and ſhare alike, whom ſhe appoints the executors and truſtees of her will.

December. Hiſtory, ſays a French meteorologiſt, does not afford us an example of ſo long and cold a winter as the preſent. The froſt began on the 24th of November, with a N. E. wind, and continued increaſing night and day till the 24th of December, when a temporary thaw came on, which laſted only two days, after which the froſt returned, and continued till the ſecond of January. The Seine was frozen over entirely.

Lower Rhine, Dec. 27. Sad accounts are received from all parts of Germany concerning the ſudden and ſevere froſt. Many perſons and animals have been found frozen to death in the roads, which the great fall of ſnow has rendered impaſſable. This age affords no example of ſo extreme a froſt as there was in many places on the 17th inſtant; in the morning of that day Fahrenheit's Thermome-

ter at Leipſick was 27 degrees below 0, which is from five to ſeven degrees lower than it was in the famous winters of 1709 and 1740. In the ſouth part of Germany the cold has not been ſo ſevere; the Rhine is frozen over at Cologne, and in many places waggons and carriages paſs over it loaded.

On the 23d of this month in the morning, at about two o'clock, and again in the evening at ſeven o'clock, a ſevere ſhock of an earthquake, accompanied by a loud ſubterraneous noiſe, was felt at Frankfort. On the following day there was a ſevere ſtorm, with a great fall of ſnow.

At Bremen, Fahrenheit's Thermometer on the 13th ſtood at 4 degrees under 0, on the 15th it was the like, but on the 16th in the morning, at half paſt ſeven, it was at 12 degrees, and at half paſt ten at 14½ degrees under 0. In 1740, there was a continuation of cold at 4 degrees below 0; and in 1784, the ſtrongeſt cold was on the 31ſt of Dec. at 8 degrees below 0, but it only laſted till ten o'clock.

On the 21ſt of December, the noble palace of the duke of Courland, at Mittau in Poland, took fire by ſome accident, and was in a great part deſtroyed, with its magnificent furniture.

Edinburgh, Dec. 24. This day James Falconar and Peter Bruce, late merchants in Dundee, were executed agreeable to a ſentence of the High Court of Juſticiary, pronounced againſt them on the 14th of Auguſt laſt, for breaking into the Banking-Office of Dundee; which ſentence had been reſpited two different times, the laſt of which reſpites expired yeſterday. With their laſt breath, and during the whole time of their confinement, they have uniformly denied their acceſſion to, or any knowledge of the intention of perpetrating the crime for which they ſuffered.

Dublin, Jan. 13. During the tempeſtuous wind this morning, a heavy and moſt tremendous ſea rolled into our harbour, and did conſiderable damage to the new wall, where it diſplaced ſtones of an enormous weight, and beat in the parapet wall at the foot of the Light-houſe. The waves roſe to the iron balluſtrade, againſt which, as well as the other parts of the tower, the billows daſhed with ſuch fury as made the watchmen almoſt deſpair of their lives for ſome hours.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Madrid, Jan. 20. The king of Spain was proclaimed in this capital on Saturday the 17th inſtant, with all cuſtomary ceremonies. The Conde de Altemira, as Alferez-Major of Madrid, bore the Royal Standard, and was accompanied in the proceſſion by a great number of grandees on horſes very richly capariſoned, and alſo by the Corregidor, Alguazils, Heralds, and others. The proclamation was repeated in different parts of the city; and ſilver and gold coins, prepared for the occaſion, were thrown by the Heralds among the people. The firſt proclamation was made in the great ſquare, in front of the palace. Their Catholic Majeſties were preſent, ſeated in a balcony, and attended by the ambaſſadors and other foreign miniſters, and by the principal officers of ſtate. The acclamations of the people were great,

and expreſſive of much loyalty and affection to their ſovereign. The publick mourning was ſuſpended for three days, a very large liſt of promotions was publiſhed, various entertainments and balls were given, and there was a general illumination on each of the three evenings.

Oxford, Jan. 3. On Tueſday laſt the mercury in a thermometer expoſed to a North-Eaſt aſpect in the open air, in this city, was obſerved to be ſo low as 13 degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale, at ſeven in the morning, which is the loweſt degree it has been ſeen at here this ſeaſon, and is exactly the ſame as the greateſt cold obſerved in the hard froſt 1739-40; but the thermometer has been noticed lower than this in England at different periods ſince that time.

Feb. 12, 1771, at Cambridge, Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at ſix degrees above 0, and at Lyndon, in the county of Rutland, on the ſame day, at four degrees: once during the froſt in 1776 at 9; and on January 18, 1767, at Derby, even ſo low as nearly one degree below 0.

Laſt Sunday quickſilver was reduced here to the ſtate of a perfectly ſolid metal, by the uſual means for generating artificial cold, which is preſumed to be the firſt inſtance of this kind upon record in Britain: and on Tueſday following ſome quickſilver was again completely frozen (which is ſtill more extraordinary) in a frigorific mixture compoſed of powdered ſalts (uſed in the ſtead of ſnow) diſſolved in a diluted mixture of mineral acids.

2d. A lady ſent to the priſoners in Newgate 10l. to buy coals, with an offer of three guineas to any debtor confined for 10l. to 15l. if his diſcharge can be obtained for that ſum. From that ſum to 20l. and upwards, four and five guineas upon the ſame condition. In conſequence of which, a liſt of thoſe priſoners who can be entitled to this benefit has been made out, and the different ſums annexed to each, agreeably to the intention of the benevolent donor.

6th. A draft of 1000l. was received in the Chamber of London, incloſed in the following letter from the Prince of Wales's Treaſurer, addreſſed to the Chamberlain of London, at his office, Guildhall;

"Sir, his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, apprehending that the poor of the City of London might ſuſtain ſome hardſhip and inconvenience, in this inclement ſeaſon, from the delay of the king's annual bounty, ariſing from the preſent unfortunate ſtate of his Majeſty's health, has commanded me to pay 1000l. into the Chamber of London, to be applied to the relief of the poor, in the ſame manner that his Majeſty's bounty has uſually been. I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY LYTE."

His Royal Highneſs ſent alſo 200l. to Edinburgh, to be applied to the relief of the poor of that city.

10th. The Thames at Irongate to the oppoſite ſhore is frozen over, numbers of perſons having walked acroſs yeſterday. At Shadwell, the Thames is likewiſe frozen over, ſeveral booths are fixed on the ice, and yeſterday an ox was roaſted whole, and ſold to the people who were ſkaiting and ſliding.

Letters from Limerick mention, that the river Shannon is frozen

up beyond what has been remembered. The thermometer has been at 21 and half degrees below freezing point, which is the very extremeſt cold in Europe.

The ſcene on the Thames is very entertaining; from Putney bridge upwards, the river is completely frozen over, and people walk to and from the different villages on the face of the deep. Oppoſite to Windſor ſtreet, booths have been erected ſince Friday laſt, and a fair is kept on the river. Multitudes of people are continually paſſing and repaſſing; puppet ſhows, roundabouts, and all the various amuſements of Bartholomew fair are exhibited. In ſhort, Putney and Fulham, from the morning dawn till the duſk of returning evening, is a ſcene of feſtivity and gaiety.

12th. A young bear was baited on the ice, oppoſite to Redriff, which drew multitudes together, and fortunately no accident happened to interrupt their ſport.

18th. This day the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wedneſday laſt, ended, when 18 convicts received ſentence of death; among them were two moſt atrocious villains, William Woodcock, and Cornelius Carty; the firſt, for the premeditated murder of his wife, which he perpetrated by fracturing her ſkull, and beating off her ears with a bludgeon; the other, after having robbed a Mr. Williams on the highway, ſtabbed him in the groin with a knife, of which wound he languiſhed a few days in the moſt extreme miſery, and then died, leaving a family unprovided for. Theſe two have ſince been executed.

31ſt. Lately the queſtion which has long been debated between the public and the farmers of the poſt horſe duties, was finally determined in the Court of King's-bench, before Lord Kenyon, and the other Judges of that Court, when it was ſolemnly adjudged, "That the hiring a horſe for any diſtance, and returning the ſame day, is not ſubject to the duty."

Advices have been received that Oczakow was taken by ſtorm on the 17th of laſt month. The aſſault was given in conſequence of the powder magazines of the fortreſs having been blown up by a ſhell. Six thouſand Turks are ſaid to have been killed, and three thouſand made priſoners. The loſs of the Ruſſians is eſtimated at 4000.

The following is an authentic copy of the account lately ſent to Prince Gallitzin, Ambaſſador from Ruſſia, at Vienna:

"Oczakow was carried by aſſault on the 17th of December. The number of the beſiegers were 14,000 men, that of the garriſon 12,000. There were 7400 killed on the field, without reckoning thoſe ſabred in the houſes.

"There were found in the place 300 metal cannon and mortars. The grand magazine blew up, but a great quantity of ammunition of every ſpecies was taken.

"The number of inhabitants are 25,000, amongſt whom are 4000 very fine women.

"The Ruſſians have loſt 1000 men, including 180 officers. The Pacha who commanded the fortreſs has been made a priſoner with the garriſon; but the Aga who led the troops was cut to pieces, as he refuſed to ſurrender."

They write from Conſtantinople, that the Divan, to excite the greater courage in the ſoldiers, have had a new coin ſtruck, with the following inſcription in Arabick:

"There

"There is one God; there is one prophet, Mahomet is his name. The true victories come from God, who is our king, and with whom Mahomet is our advocate: he teaches us to pray, to believe, and conquer. The God of Mahomet is our God; the prophets of God are Mahomet, Abukekir, Omar, and Ali. O Mahomet, ſole maſter of riches and victory, let the blood ſpilt in battles againſt miſcreants be dear and ſacred to thee!"

DIED.—At his houſe at Walcot-place, Lambeth, in his 85th year, the celebrated Jn. Broughton, whoſe ſkill in boxing is well known, and will ever be recorded in the annals of that ſcience. He was originally bred a waterman. His patron, the late duke of Cumberland, got him appointed one of the yeomen of the guards, which place he enjoyed till his death. He was buried in Lambeth church, on the 21ſt inſtant; and his funeral proceſſion was adorned with the preſence of the ſeveral capital profeſſors of boxing. He is ſuppoſed to have died worth 7000l.

At Antwerp, aged 104, Philip Coets. He was a ſoldier from his youth, and ſerved in all the campaigns of Prince Eugene againſt the Turks. In 1717 he was at the capture of Belgrade; at 40 years old he married, and lived with his firſt wife 12 years, by whom he had ſix children and ten grandchildren. At ſixty years of age he married again, and had eight children, from whom ſprang 30 grandchildren. He was ſo ſtrong, that, at 73 years of age, he lifted a butt of beer from a cart without the leaſt trouble. Having loſt his ſecond wife, at 92 he married again, but had no children. He was always in health, and preſerved all his ſenſes, except his hearing, till his death.

FEBRUARY.

On the fifth of December laſt, Admiral Greig was interred with great funeral pomp at Revel, by order of her Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia. Some days before the proceſſion took place, the body lay in ſtate, dreſſed in the Admiral's grand uniform, having a crown of laurel on its head. The coffin, placed on ſix maſſy ſilver feet, was covered with black velvet, lined with white ſattin, and handles, fringes, and galons, all made of ſilver. The pillows for his head, and for the ſtate-bed, were of white ſattin, trimmed with rich blond lace. On each ſide of the bed were three tabourets (ſtools), covered with white ſattin, richly trimmed with fringe and tufts of gold. On theſe ſtools were placed the Admiral's ſtaff, and the five different orders of knighthood which had been conferred upon him. (The enamel of one of the points of the croſs of St. George had been carried away, and the point bent, by a ball he received in the fight in the Archipelago with the Turks laſt war.) On twelve ſtands covered with black, and ornamented with white crape and flowers, were placed twelve large ſilver candleſticks, with funeral wax-tapers. The three flags of the deceaſed were hung at the head of the bed; two officers of the State Major, and ſix Captains of the marine, who were alternately relieved, attended at the ſides of the bed, and two Lieutenants guarded the door of the hall, and ſub-officers from thence quite to the door of the court; alſo a number of private centinels.

The proceſſion was anſwerable, in every reſpect, to the grandeur of the above ſolemnity. The body was drawn by ſix horſes, properly decorated and attended, and placed in a tomb prepared on purpoſe in the cathedral of Revel, amidſt a triple diſcharge of all the troops and cannon from the ramparts, together with thoſe of the fleet.—Such honours were never before paid to any naval commander in Ruſſia.

Advices are received from Jamaica, that on Saturday the 15th of November arrived in Port Royal Harbour, from St. John's, in the Bay of Fundy, his Majeſty's frigate Andromeda, of 32 guns, commanded by his Royal Highneſs Prince William Henry. Immediately on his arrival his Royal Highneſs was ſaluted by the forts, and his Majeſty's ſhips in Port-Royal Harbour.

On Tueſday the whole Houſe of Aſſembly waited on his Royal Highneſs with their congratulations.

On the 2d of December the Houſe voted 1000 guineas, to be laid out in the purchaſe of an elegant ſtar, ornamented with diamonds, to be preſented to his Royal Highneſs Prince William Henry, his Majeſty's third ſon, as "an humble teſtimony of the very high reſpect and eſteem that iſland entertains for his eminent virtues, and the happineſs they feel in ſeeing him amongſt them; as well as of the grateful ſenſe they have of the particular attention which his Royal Highneſs pays to the duties of a profeſſion which is the ſupport and defence of the Britiſh Empire in general, and of that iſland in particular."

His Royal Highneſs received that mark of the Aſſembly's regard in a manner that gave general ſatisfaction.

Dundee, Feb. 4. Laſt week a boy, about 14 years of age, was impriſoned here, for abſtracting a bill of 22l. ſterling value from a letter which he took from the letter-hole of the poſt-office, by fixing ſome paſte or pitch, or ſome ſuch article, in the hole, and by that means the letters ſtuck before they reached the box below. He reſorted to the hole at night, and carried away all the letters that ſtuck, and afterwards opened them.

A queſtion of the greateſt importance to the merchants' ſervice, in reſpect to the Captain's legal right to inforce good diſcipline on board of his ſhip, and to puniſh the breach of it, was determined in an action againſt a Captain of an Eaſt India ſhip, at the ſuit of his Boatſwain, which was tried at Weſtminſter Hall, before Mr. Juſtice Heath, and a ſpecial jury. This action was brought in conſequence of the Captain having cauſed the boatſwain to be flogged on board his ſhip. The Captain, reſolved to have this point ſettled, which has lately given riſe to that mutinous kind of conduct, (the effect of which has been too ſeverely felt in the loſs of ſeveral valuable ſhips) juſtified his having given this flogging as a puniſhment for the boatſwain's mutinous behaviour, in refuſing and neglecting to do his duty on board. The trial laſted three hours; and the jury, under the direction of the learned Judge, gave a verdict for the defendant, without retiring out of Court. 5th.

This evening ſailed Commodore Cornwallis, with the following 9th.

following ſhips for India, viz. Crown, of 64 guns, Capt. Cornwallis; Phœnix, of 36, Capt. Byron; Perſeverance, of 36, Capt. Smith; Atalanta, of 14, Capt. Delgarno; and Ariel, of 14, Lieut. Moorſom.

11th. The long-expected battle between Johnſon and Ryan, took place in a gravel-pit, within a quarter of a mile of the town of Rickmanſworth, in Hertfordſhire, and after a conteſt of 32 minutes and a half, victory was declared in favour of Johnſon.

The ſpot on which the ſtage was erected, was certainly the beſt calculated of any ever known, as although upwards of 6000 ſpectators were preſent, yet no one perſon could claim a ſuperiority of ſituation.—The ſeat of conteſt was in a gravel-pit of great depth, ſloping gradually, and in the bottom of it, the ſtage of 21 feet ſquare was erected.

The door money, which was to be divided equally between Johnſon and Ryan, amounted to five hundred and twelve pounds.—The report was given out, that the conteſt was to take place in the yard of the Bell Inn; but when about four thouſand people had ſubſcribed guineas, half guineas, and crowns, the ſtage, which had been depoſited in the yard, was carried to the ſpot above mentioned, where all ranks might equally be gratified.

At half paſt two o'clock, Johnſon mounted the ſtage, with Humphreys as his ſecond, and in about two minutes after Ryan appeared, with a maſter baker as his ſecond — As ſoon as they were on the ſtage, Major Hanger appeared, and preſented a hat to thoſe who had not ſubſcribed.—When he had collected about thirty guneas, the ſtage was cleared.

When the combatants ſtripped, the odds were two to one in favour of Johnſon, though Ryan certainly appeared the largeſt man.

The ſet-to was prodigiouſly fine, and after a few feints on each ſide, Ryan put in the firſt blow on the cheſt of his opponent, and brought him down. When the time was up, and each were on their guard, Johnſon returned the compliment, by a ſevere blow on the left eye of Ryan, who before the end of the battle was nearly blind of that eye. Although there were about thirty rounds, yet excepting three times, they were always in favour of Johnſon. One time in particular Johnſon was beat round the ſtage, and Ryan placed a blow on his eye, but when they cloſed, Ryan always fell undermoſt. And at one time Humphreys offered to lay ten to one; the odds fluctuated from two to one to that enormous bett.

A remarkable inſtance of the power of conſcience lately occurred. The ſecretary of the Sun Fire-office received a letter, written in a foreign hand, incloſing a bank note of 100l. which the writer of the letter deſired ſhould be carried to the account of the office, and acknowledged in a morning paper ſome day the firſt week in January; which was accordingly done.

12th. Thirteen men brought a waggon with a ton of coals from Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, to Carleton-houſe, as a preſent to the prince of Wales. As ſoon as they were emptied into the cellar, Mr. Weltjie, clerk of the cellars, gave them four guineas, and as ſoon as the prince was informed of it, his Royal Highneſs ſent them twenty

guineas. They performed their journey, which is 111 miles, in 11 days, and drew it all the way without any relief.

14th. This evening a young French gentleman of a moſt elegant form, and genteely dreſſed, put the deſperate reſolution, which he ſeems, by a letter found in his pocket, to have ſome time formed, in execution, by clapping a brace of piſtols to his head, and putting himſelf to death. On Thurſday he came to Greenwich with a lady of the town, as was ſuppoſed, and a ſervant, both of whom he diſmiſſed on the morning previous to his committing the ſuicide; giving his ſervant his trunk, his wearing apparel, and other valuable contents, and likewiſe two valuable watches. The reſt of the day he paſſed in ſauntering about the town, and waiting upon ſome officers of rank at Greenwich; among others Sir Hugh Palliſer, to whom it is ſaid he offered money to be diſtributed among the penſioners, which was politely received. He then ſeemed to think his money a burden to him, and diſtributed it, without any view to charity, as objects preſented. To the woman who keeps the park gate he is ſaid to have given ſome gold and a bank note, the gold ſhe accepted; the bank note ſhe returned to him, as perhaps not knowing its value. Meeting the young gentlemen of Dr. Egan's Academy, as they walked, he threw amongſt them eight guineas and a half. This circumſtance being reported to the Doctor, he was ſtruck with ſuſpicion of the intended fact, and the Gentleman being ſeen to enter the Park, he diſpatched one of his aſſiſtants, together with a young Gentleman, after him. They accordingly croſſed him as he walked, and entering into converſation, invited him to take tea at the Doctor's. He ſeemed happy to meet with thoſe who could converſe with him, and, acknowledging the politeneſs of their invitation, pulled forth a watch he had ſtill remaining, and forced it on the young gentleman, requeſting him to wear it for his ſake, obſerving he himſelf ſhould have no further occaſion for it.

19th. The Coroner's Jury ſat on the body of the above unfortunate gentleman, and brought in their verdict lunacy.

26th. The king pronounced perfectly free from complaint

St. James's, Feb. 27. By his majeſty's command, the phyſicians report is to be diſcontinued from this day.

Feb. 28th. Died at Canons, aged 25, the noted horſe *Eclipſe*, who had made the fortune of his maſter Count O'Kelly, and ſurvived him about a twelvemonth. His heart weighed 13lb. which enabled him to do what he did in ſpeed and exerciſe. He won more matches, and covered more mares, than any horſe of the race-breed was ever known to have done, and his ſkeleton is to be preſerved. He was at laſt ſo worn out, as to be unable to ſtand, and was conveyed, in a machine conſtructed on purpoſe, from Epſom to Canons, about Midſummer laſt.

Naples, Feb. —. Our court is plunged into the greateſt grief. The ſmall-pox ſeems particularly fatal to the houſe of Bourbon. Since the death of young Prince Charles Janvier, their Majeſties have had another loſs in that of the

the young Prince Lewis, who died laſt night of the ſmall-pox, aged five months and ſix days. He had been inoculated; and had got over eleven days from the operation very well, but the diſorder took a turn, and his weak conſtitution yielded to it. Their Majeſties are very much afflicted, and to add to their grief, one of the Royal Princeſſes is attacked with that diſorder in the natural way.

Venice, Feb. 14. The moſt Serene Polo Renier, Doge of Venice, died laſt night, aged ſeventy-nine years. He was elected to that dignity on the 10th of February, 1779.

MARCH.

2d. The Court of Delegates, purſuant to adjournment, aſſembled at Serjeant's-Inn Hall, to hear the arguments of Counſel, and pronounce judgment in the long-depending cauſe inſtituted by Lady Strathmore againſt Mr. Bowes, for a divorce.

After Meſſrs. Erſkine and Chambre, as Counſel for Mr. Bowes, had animadverted upon the voluminous body of evidence in the cauſe, the Delegates conſulted for half an hour; after which, ſentence of divorce was pronounced, the ſubſtance of which was as follows:

"That Andrew Robinſon Bowes, being unmindful of his conjugal vow, and not having the fear of God before his eyes, did, on the ſeveral days and times mentioned in the pleadings of this cauſe, commit the ſeveral acts of cruelty therein mentioned, and did alſo, on the days therein ſet forth, commit the heinous crime of adultery.

"The Court do therefore order and decree, that the ſaid Andrew Robinſon Bowes and Lady Strathmore be divorced, and live ſeparate from each other: but that neither of the parties marry during the natural life of the other of them."

3d. The re-hearing of the cauſe between the ſame parties, reſpecting the right of Lady Strathmore to the eſtates of her anceſtors, under a private deed of ſettlement made previous to her marriage with Mr. Bowes, came on, and was determined by the Lord Chancellor at Lincoln's Inn Hall.

The Counſel for Lady Strathmore, with infinite ability, ſupported the former decree pronounced in favour of her Ladyſhip by Mr. Juſtice Buller.

The Chancellor pronounced this deed to be valid, and that Lady Strathmore was conſequently entitled under it to the poſſeſſion of her eſtates. His Lordſhip, therefore, ordered the former decree made by Mr. Juſtice Buller to be affirmed.

Copenhagen, March 3. Laſt Wedneſday was a day deſtined for a tragical event. Some traitors had reſolved on that day to ſet fire to the Ruſſian fleet, which is here at this time; they would at the ſame time have ruined our fleet, if the plot had not previouſly been diſcovered.

A ſtranger, who has reſided in this capital for a conſiderable time, had bought of a Scotchman, for 12,000 rix-dollars, a ſhip with its whole cargo, that was anchored near the citadel; he gave him for the price agreed on, a ſecond bill of exchange, omitting that of the firſt date. This veſſel was loaded with pitch, roſin, gunpowder, and rum. It had been ſettled, that the owner

ner was to set fire to the above vessel, on the appointed day, and to steer it towards the Russian squadron, with a promise that he should have 5000 rix-dollars for every ship that he should destroy. The owner, suspecting some cheat in the bill of exchange, betrayed the plot. He was seized, and on Saturday night went through an interrogatory, which lasted till three o'clock. Notwithstanding all the search and the enquiries that have been made, the stranger is not yet discovered. In the mean while, the vessel is detained.

3d. This evening, as a very genteel woman was walking along the Strand, a man, seemingly in great agitation, ran after her, and pulling a razor out of his pocket, drew her back and cut her throat. He was instantly apprehended, and after a short examination committed to prison.

5th. The Sessions, which began at the Old Bailey on Wednesday the 25th of February, ended, when eight convicts received sentence of death; 33 were ordered to be transported; 8 to be imprisoned in Newgate; 9 to be whipt and discharged; and 24 to be discharged by proclamation.

Previous to passing sentence, George Stevenson, who received sentence of death in July, 1782, and who had made his escape, and been at large, was brought into Court to be identified. Mr. Akerman and his servants were all positive to his person, and he was remanded on his former sentence.

6th. The two gold medals, of 15 guineas each, given annually by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning, were adjudged to Mr. Hey, of Trinity-College, and Mr. Evans, of Pembroke-Hall, junior Batchelors of Arts.

10th. Being the day appointed for the King's message to Parliament, and an official declaration of the complete restoration of his Majesty's health, in the morning the bells rang in most of the churches; at noon the Park and Tower guns were fired; the standard was hoisted on the White Tower, and the soldiers in garrison were entertained at the expence of their colonel, the duke of Gloucester.

During the day the river below bridge displayed the colours of various nations; France, Spain, Holland, Prussia, Russia, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, and even America, gave their tokens of joy, some with devices on their streamers, and the words *Long live the King* in large capitals, either at the mast-head, or on the bowsprit.

Of the illuminations it is impossible to give a description. They were literally general. All the inhabitants seemed to vie with each other who should give the most beautiful and picturesque devices on the occasion, and who should testify their loyalty in the most conspicuous manner. In short, so general was the tribute of affection to our beloved Monarch, that, could his royal eye have surveyed the splendour, and witnessed every accompanying demonstration of gladness, he would have retired with as proud feelings as ever animated the bosom of a King; it was a trophy that reflected as much true dignity on the Sovereign as it did honour to the feelings of the nation.

11th. This day the foreign ministers hereafter mentioned had private audiences of his Majesty. His

His Excellency the Marquis del Campo, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Court of Spain, to deliver his Credentials; the Count de Luſi, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Pruſſia, to take leave of his Majeſty; and the Chevalier d'Alvenſleben, his ſucceſſor in the ſame character, to deliver his Credentials. And they had afterwards in the like manner private audience of her Majeſty.

13th. The workmen employed in new paving the choir of St. George's chapel at Windſor diſcovered a decay in the ſtones which cloſed up the entrance into the vault where Edward IV. had been depoſited. Two of the canons and the ſurveyor entering the vault, viewed the royal body incloſed in a leaden and a wooden coffin, reduced to a ſkeleton which meaſured ſix feet three inches: the ſkull reclined to the left or north ſide, with a quantity of long brown hair which had fallen off it, but no traces of envelope or cerecloth, nor any rings or other inſignia. A liquor covered the bottom of the inner coffin to the depth of about four inches, which on examination was found to be only the moiſture which had drained from the body. On the King's coffin lay another of wood, only much decayed, which contained the ſkeleton of a woman: who, from the marks of age about the ſcull, was ſuppoſed to be that of his Queen, Elizabeth Widville, who died three years after him in confinement at Bermondſey Abbey, and was probably buried with leſs pomp. The body of his fifth daughter Mary, who died the year before him, and was the only perſon of his family buried at Windſor, was not in this vault, which from various circumſtances appeared to have been opened and plundered at ſome former period. On the walls of the vault was written in chalk, in abbreviated characters of the time, *Edward* or *Edwardus* IV. and ſeveral names of workmen or aſſiſtants at the funeral.

Edward IV. died April 9, 1482, and was buried the 18th following in this chapel, whoſe foundation himſelf had laid.

18th. The nine following malefactors were executed before the debtors door at Newgate, purſuant to their ſentence, viz. Hugh Murphy and Chriſtian Murphy, alias Bowman, for coining; Charles Meſſenger and Tredway Pocock, William Collard, and John Norrington, for burglary; James Grace and Joſeph Walker, for coining, and William Craddick, for a robbery. They were brought upon the ſcaffold about half an hour after ſeven, and turned off about a quarter paſt eight. They behaved in a decent manner, and ſeemed fully ſenſible of their unhappy ſituation. The woman for coining was brought out after the reſt were turned off, and fixed to a ſtake and burnt, being firſt ſtrangled by the ſtool being taken from under her.

Died.—Lately, at Newburgh, aged 106, Thomas Houlcroft.

At Manheim, in his 44th year, Charles Prince Palatine, of Birkenfeld, Duke of Bavaria, major-general in the ſervice of his Imperial Majeſty.

APRIL.

Bologne. There has lately been committed in this city a moſt atrocious and cruel murder. There were in Bologne a beautiful young dancer and her huſband—within

within these few days an Italian, who arrived there by the Florence coach, waited immediately on the beautiful dancer, and, after a minute's conversation, plunged his stiletto in her breast. Whilst she was expiring, he attempted to blow his own brains out, but his hand trembling, he fractured his skull in a most horrid manner, and after lingering for some hours, this suicide and murderer died in the most excruciating tortures.

2d. A most outrageous tumult has happened at Barcelona, in consequence of the high price of bread. On the first ult. a very numerous mob began to set fire to the town magazines, where the corn is deposited. Having finished here, they burnt two houses belonging to the principal corn-dealers, besides some others.

During these outrages, the commandant of the town, Count del Assalto, shewed the utmost moderation, not wishing to carry things to extremities. Had he acted with greater severity, the destruction would have been less, and the riot quelled in the first instance, being composed merely of the rabble. His Excellency, however, capitulated with the rioters, and made them every concession, but the more he seemed disposed to be lenient, the more they persisted in further demands.

Emboldened by his lenity, they demanded a reduction in the price of wine and oil. This was likewise allowed them. The mob then assailed the Governor's house, but was kept off by the military. They afterwards got into the large cathedral, and began sounding the bells, which drew together a number of the country people, who joined the rioters. In this extremity, the Governor ordered the military to oppose, which immediately put an end to the riot, and the mob dispersed.

Barcelona, April 3. About 40 persons (among them, no doubt, some innocent) taken up after the late sedition on account of the high price of bread, are put on board a frigate for Carthagena, where they must all indiscriminately suffer slavery.

By a number of private accounts received in town from Sweden, we learn, that the whole plot by which the Danish navy was to be destroyed, has been discovered by the confession of one of the parties concerned.

3d. Was issued, by the King in council, a proclamation for the suppression of riots and tumults committed by colliers and others in the counties of Northumberland and Durham; and for apprehending and bringing to justice the persons who have committed, or shall commit, the same. At Long Bruton colliery a number of pitmen assembled on the 10th of March, and maliciously damaged and destroyed several engines for drawing coals, and set fire to a pit belonging to the same colliery, which continued on fire two whole days, to the immense damage of the proprietors. The rioters proceeded likewise on the same day to damage and destroy the engines, &c. of other collieries. Now this proclamation strictly enjoins all justices of the peace, sheriffs, and all other civil officers whatsoever, to use their utmost endeavours for discovering and apprehending the persons concerned in the said outrages; and promises further, that if any person, concerned in the said outrages, shall discover any other person guilty of the same offences, on or before the 3d of June next, so that he may be convicted thereof, such discoverer shall receive his Majesty's pardon, and a reward of FIFTY POUNDS, to be paid

paid by the commiſſioners of the Treaſury, without any further warrant in that behalf.

On the ſame day a proclamation was iſſued for a general thankſgiving throughout England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, for his Majeſty's recovery; and a like proclamation for Scotland, to take place on the 23d inſtant*. An order was ſent to Ireland for the ſame purpoſe.

On the 15th inſtant, the beautiful and much-admired wood, known by the name of Brayton Barff, near Selby, in Yorkſhire, was diſcovered to be on fire, and, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of the fire-engines from Selby, and the whole force of the country, it is ſaid to have been burnt down. The trees were valued at 5000l. It was ſet on fire by the careleſsneſs of a farmer in burning weeds cloſe to it.

15th. In the evening her Majeſty, accompanied by the Princeſſes Auguſta and Elizabeth, went to Covent Garden Theatre. On her Majeſty's entering the box, the theatre thundered applauſe. Her Majeſty ſenſibly felt the congratulations. When ſeated, the ordinary curtain was drawn up, and diſcovered a ſplendid drop-cloth, diſplaying his Majeſty's arms ſuperbly emblazoned, having a ſcroll over it, with the words LONG LIVE THE KING, and another underneath, MAY THE KING LIVE FOR EVER. Two cherubs ſupported the lower ſcroll, waving wreaths of laurel over it. The whole painting was decorated with a rich foliage of roſes and myrtle ſurrounding it. Its unexpected diſplay added conſiderably to the effect.

Mr. Banniſter, with the principal ſingers belonging to the theatre, then came forwards, who were joined in the ſong of *God ſave the King* by the whole audience, and encored a firſt, ſecond, and third time; with which her Majeſty was ſo impreſſed, that ſhe ſhed tears of joy.

20th. This evening Gen. Conway's elegant comedy of Falſe Appearances was preſented to the public, and received with the warmeſt applauſe. The epilogue, written by Gen. Burgoyne, was much admired.

24th. A general and ſplendid illumination took place throughout all London and Weſtminſter; of which, though nearly all the public buildings, and many private houſes, well deſerve to be recorded, the Bank of England was the moſt conſpicuous.

DIED near 100 years of age, John Hammond, gardener, the oldeſt freeman and inhabitant of Maidſtone.

At Galſwhey, near Rippon, co. York, in his 109th year, Wm. Preſt, who worked as a labourer at Studley-park till within theſe ten years. He has left a widow and eight children, the eldeſt of which is in her 88th year, and the youngeſt 16.

MAY.

Letters from Fort St. George, dated the 25th of October, ſtate the death of the Ameer ul Omrah, ſecond ſon and Miniſter of his Highneſs the Nabob of Arcot.

The Ameer having for many years paſt acted a principal part

* For a particular account of his Majeſty's proceſſion to St. Paul's, on that day, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

in

in the politics of the Durbar, many changes will probably be occaſioned by this event. The Ameer was about 40 years of age, Captain General of his father's army, and Prime Miniſter.

Venice, May 1. On Wedneſday evening a courier arrived here with diſpatches from the Bailo at Conſtantinople to the Senate, acquainting them with the ſudden death of Abdul Hamid, the Ottoman Emperor, which happened on the 7th of April, without any viſible previous illneſs. He was born the 20th of March, 1725, and aſcended the Ottoman throne on the 21ſt of January, 1774, by the name of Achmet the Fourth. He is ſucceeded by his nephew Selim the third.

Dublin-Caſtle, May 5. Letters Patent have been paſſed under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, in purſuance of his Majeſty's commands, conſtituting and appointing the Moſt Rev. Father in God, Robert Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, the Right Hon. Hugh Carleton, Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Sir Samuel Bladſtreet, bart. one of the juſtices of the Court of King's Bench, to be commiſſioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of Ireland.

6th. The long-expected battle between Humphreys and Mendoza took place on Wedneſday at Stilton. A ſpacious amphitheatre was erected, for the purpoſe of ſeeing this conteſt, in the park of Mr. Thornton. It conſiſted of an erection of ſeats round a ſpace of forty-eight feet in circumference, raiſed one above another, and capable of holding between two and three thouſand perſons. About that number of ſpectators were preſent; the higheſt ſeat was removed at the diſtance of eighteen feet from the ground, and every man could ſee the combat clearly and diſtinctly.

Between one and two o'clock Humphreys appeared on the turf, accompanied with Johnſon as his ſecond, and a perſon, whoſe name we did not learn, as his bottle-holder, and Mr. Coombs as his umpire. Mendoza ſoon afterwards entered the field of action, attended by his ſecond Captain Brown, his bottle-holder Ryan, and his umpire Sir Thomas Appryce. They ſtripped, and ſetting to, the ſeconds retired to the ſeparate corners of the incloſure, according to the previous agreement of both parties. After a conteſt of an hour and a quarter, Mendoza was declared conqueror.

As Ward the boxer, with others of the fraternity, was travelling on the Lincoln ſtage to aſſiſt at the boxing-match between Humphreys and Mendoza at Stilton; while the coach baited at the Black Horſe, Enfield-highway, he was challenged by one Swain, a blackſmith of Enfield, who was always forward on ſuch occaſions. After ſeveral blows exchanged on both ſides, Swain gave out, and retreated to the bar of the houſe. The other purſued him, and gave him two blows, which inſtantly diſpatched him. Ward and his companions made the beſt of their way to London, but were ſtopt in a poſt-chaiſe, and committed to priſon. The coroner's jury divided in their verdict, *nine* deeming it *manſlaughter* and *ſeven murder*; on which Ward was not admitted to bail, and the parties were bound to attend at the Old Bailey.

Paris,

Paris, May 7. On Tuesday last, about twelve o'clock at noon, his Majesty opened the Assembly of the States General, by a speech from the Throne, which was received with loud acclamations. The Queen was seated near the King, on his left hand; Monsieur, and the Comte d'Artois, at a small distance on the right; Madame, and Madame Elizabeth, (his Majesty's sisters) together with Mesdames Victoire and Adelaide, (his Majesty's aunts) on the left hand behind the Queen. The other Princes of the Blood, with some Dukes and Peers, were also on the right; the Marshals of France, with others of the same rank, were on the left: the Garde des Sçeaux was also on the left, and the other great officers of state were on the right of the throne. The Duc d'Orleans, who is the only Prince of the Blood chosen Deputy to the States General, took his seat as such amongst the nobility. The Ministers were seated close under the platform on which the throne was placed. As soon as his Majesty had finished his speech, the Garde des Sçeaux and Monsieur Necker addressed his Majesty and the Assembly; and at about four o'clock in the afternoon the King rose from his seat, and adjourned the meeting to the following day.

Came on to be heard before the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and a very respectable special jury of the county of Norfolk, the important cause respecting the right of the Citizens of London to an exemption of the payment of Exchange tolls, and all other customs, upon the exportation of goods from any town in England; and whether those Citizens possessed that privilege respecting goods exported from the Port of Lynn, who were not resident therein. The Recorder of London opened the cause. He said, he should prove the right of the Citizens by prescription, by charters, and by the testimony of the witnesses. This it appears he did, to the satisfaction of the jury, as they found a verdict for the citizens of London.

8th. The long-contested case respecting the Accommodation Notes, by which so many hundred thousand pounds have been locked up in the bankers' hands for several months past, was yesterday determined in the Court of King's Bench. It was introduced by a demurrer to evidence brought forward at the sitting in Guildhall.

The cause was that of Tatlock *versus* Harris. The former was the *bona fide* holder of an accommodation note. Harris was in this case both drawer and acceptor. It was made payable to Grigson and Co. who, as it now appears, are names merely fictitious. It bore their endorsement, and also that of Lewis and Potter; by the latter of whom it was paid to the plaintiff for a valuable consideration.

The question was, whether the plaintiff was not to derive his title by proving the hand writing of the first indorser.

The Judges were of opinion, that the *bona fide* holders of these notes, and who have taken them for a valuable consideration, are entitled to recover the amount, in all instances, from the persons from whom they were actually received.

Judgment was therefore given for the plaintiff.

14th.

14th. Was held the Anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, which was reſpectably and numerouſly attended. The collection at St. Paul's, at the rehearſal of the muſic, on the 12th, amounted to — £. 208 18 6
On the 14th - - 275 5 0
At Merchant Taylor's Hall - - 624 11 1
Total - 1108 14 7

19th. The king has ben pleaſed to grant to his moſt dearly beloved ſon, Prince William Henry, and to his heirs male, lawfully begotten, the dignities of Duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and of Earl in Ireland, by the names, ſtyles, and titles of Duke of Clarence and of St. Andrew's in Great Britain, and Earl of Munſter in Ireland. *Gaz.*

The Royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to 36 public and private bills; among which were, an act for repealing the ſhop tax act; another for ſuſpending the act of laſt ſeſſions for the better ſecuring the rights of perſons qualified to vote at Elections; and a third to enable his Majeſty to authorize the importation of proviſions from the United States of America into the Province of Quebec; a fourth for defraying the charge of the Militia; the reſt were acts for particular purpoſes of Roads, Churches, &c.

22d. This day James Robinſon, William Robinſon, and Richard Brooke, Eſquires, juſtices of the peace for the Tower Hamlets, were brought up for judgment, for diſcharging Charles Banniſter, William Palmer, &c. who had been committed as rogues and vagabonds, for acting plays, &c. at the Royalty Theatre, and impriſoned 14 days. Mr. Juſtice Aſhurſt pronounced the ſentence of the Court, which was, that each of the defendants ſhould pay a fine of 100l. and be impriſoned till it was paid.

27th. A diſpute lately happened between the duke of York, and colonel Lenox (nephew and heir to the duke of Richmond) which terminated yeſterday in a duel. This diſpute originated in an obſervation of his royal highneſs, namely, that 'colonel Lenox had heard words ſpoken to him at the club at Daubigny's, to which no gentleman ought to have ſubmitted.' This obſervation being reported to the colonel, he took the opportunity, while his royal highneſs was on the parade, to addreſs him, deſiring to know, what were the words which he had ſubmitted to hear, and by whom they were ſpoken. To this his royal highneſs gave no other anſwer then, than by ordering the colonel to his poſt. The parade being over, his royal highneſs went into the orderly room, and ſending for the colonel, intimated to him, in the preſence of all the officers, that he deſired to derive no protection from his rank as a prince, and his ſtation as commanding officer; but that, when not on duty, he wore a brown coat, and was ready, as a private gentleman, to give the colonel ſatisfaction. After this declaration, colonel Lenox wrote a circular letter to every member of the club at Daubigny's, requeſting to know whether any ſuch words had been uſed to him, and appointing laſt Monday for an anſwer from each: their ſilence to be conſidered as a declaration that no ſuch words could be recollected. On the expiration of the term limited for

an anſwer to his circular letter, the colonel ſent a written meſſage to his royal highneſs, to this purport: "That not being able to recollect any occaſion on which words had been ſpoken to him at Daubigny's to which a gentleman ought not to ſubmit, he had taken the ſtep which appeared to him the moſt likely to gain information of the words to which his royal highneſs had alluded, and of the perſon who had uſed them; that none of the members of the Club had given him information of any ſuch inſult being in their knowledge; and therefore he expected, in juſtice to his character, that his royal highneſs ſhould contradict the report as publicly as he had aſſerted it." This letter was delivered to his royal highneſs on Monday by the earl of Winchelſea; when the anſwer returned not proving ſatisfactory, a meſſage was ſent to his royal highneſs deſiring a meeting, and the time and place were ſettled that evening.

To preclude the unfounded repreſentations which may be propagated reſpecting an affair that took place this day, the ſeconds think it neceſſary to give the following authenticated account:—

In conſequence of a diſpute of which much has been ſaid in the public papers, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon,—and Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox, accompanied by the Earl of Winchelſea, met at Wimbledon common. The ground was meaſured at twelve paces, and both parties were to fire upon a ſignal agreed upon. The ſignal being given, Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball grazed his Royal Highneſs's curl. The Duke of York did not fire. Lord Rawdon then interfered, and ſaid, "That he thought enough had been done." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox obſerved, "That his Royal Highneſs had not fired." Lord Rawdon ſaid, "It was not the Duke's intention to fire; his Royal Highneſs had come out upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox's deſire, to give him ſatisfaction, and had no animoſity againſt him." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox preſſed that the Duke of York ſhould fire, which was declined upon a repetition of the reaſon. Lord Winchelſea then went up to the Duke of York, and expreſſed his hope, "that his Royal Highneſs could have no objection to ſay, he conſidered Lieutenant Colonel Lenox as a man of honour and courage;" his Royal Highneſs replied, "that he ſhould ſay nothing; he had come out to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox ſatisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him; if Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox was not ſatisfied, he might fire again." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox ſaid, "he could not poſſibly fire again at the Duke, as his Royal Highneſs did not mean to fire at him."

On this, both parties left the ground. The ſeconds think it proper to add, that both parties behaved with the moſt perfect coolneſs and intrepidity.

(Signed) RAWDON.
WINCHELSEA.

Tueſday Evening, May 26, 1789.

A meeting of the officers of the Coldſtream regiment, on the requiſition of Colonel Lenox, to deliberate on a queſtion which he had ſubmitted, "Whether he had behaved in the late diſpute as became a gentleman and an officer?" took place yeſterday morning; and, after a con- 30th.

a conſiderable diſcuſſion, adjourned to this day; when, having renewed the ſubject, they came to the following Reſolution:

"It is the opinion of the Coldſtream Regiment, that *ſubſequent* to the 15th of May, the day of the meeting at the Orderly Room, Lieutenant Colonel Lenox has behaved with courage; but, from the peculiar difficulty of his ſituation, not with judgment."

DIED.—Lately, at Corbally, in Ireland, aged 102, John Flannagan.

At Stockholm, of an apoplectic fit, in his 78th year, Senator Count Hopken.—He had been prime Miniſter from 1752 to 1761; and to him is owing the eſtabliſhment of the Academy of Sciences in that capital.

26th. At Paris, the Count de Sarsfield, great grandſon of the gallant Gen. S. who ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Limerick, by intercepting the battering artillery and ammunition deſtined to ſupport that ſiege.—From his ſiſter is deſcended the preſent Lord Lucan, who, when he was raiſed to the peerage, made choice of that title. There is ſtill in France a nobleman deſcended from the great Sarsfield, who bears the title of earl of Lucan.

JUNE.

On Monday the 1ſt of June, the monument at Kelbearn, to the memory of George Buchanan, the Scots Hiſtorian and Poet, was finiſhed; and, though in height 107 feet, no accident whatever attended the erection.

Mr. Whaley arrived about this time in Dublin, from his journey to the Holy land, conſiderably within the limited time of twelve months. The wager laid on the performance of that expedition was £. 20,000.

The above wager, however whimſical, is not without a precedent. Some years ago, a baronet of ſome fortune in the North laid a conſiderable wager that he would go to Lapland, bring home two females of that country, and two rein-deer, in a given time. He performed the journey, and effected his purpoſe in every reſpect. The Lapland women lived with him for about a year, but having a wiſh to go back to their own country, the baronet very generouſly furniſhed them with means and money.

Oxford, June 10. This day was agitated a propoſition for reducing the time requiſite for a Doctorate in the civil law to the ſtandard of the ſiſter univerſity, by making it eleven inſtead of twelve years. This queſtion, when brought forward on the 25th ult. was quaſhed by the ſingle negative of the Vice Chancellor, not from any averſion to the principle, but to the form in which it was then propoſed.

It was this day reſumed in a form leſs objectionable; and, after one ſpeech in ſupport of it, and another on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, a ſcrutiny (anſwering in ſubſtance to a parliamentary diviſion) was demanded by the latter ſpeaker: the conſequence of which was a conſiderable majority in favour of the propoſed reduction.

5th. William Ward, the boxer, was tried at the Old Bailey, for the murder of Edwin Swaine, blackſmith, at Enfield (ſee p. 206), and found guilty of manſlaughter only; to be fined one ſhilling, and impriſoned

priſoned 3 months: there being no evidence from whence to infer actual malice, or whether the death of the party happened from the blow that was actually given, or whether, from any extraordinary exertion, he might not have died of an apoplexy, or in a fit, or by breaking a blood-veſſel.

June 9. A very curious experiment was tried, that of proving how far an entire copper veſſel would anſwer the purpoſe of ſailing. Mr. Williams, a joint proprietor of the great copper mines, was the projector—and a very numerous party attended the experiment.

It was launched at Deptford, and promiſes to anſwer every purpoſe for which it was deſigned. Should it do ſo entirely, it will prove a very ſingular advantage to the Britiſh navy.

The following intelligence was brought by a gentleman who was in Cape Town, at the Cape of Good Hope, in April laſt.

"Laſt February, a drummer, who had deſerted ſixteen years from the Dutch ſervice, ſurrendered himſelf to the governor of the Cape, ſoliciting his pardon on the truth of this ſtory.—That he had ſeen two European ladies, who were then actually exiſting with the Hottentots in the interior parts of the country, and that, with a proper force, he would engage to recover them. The humanity of the Governor, which ſhone ſo conſpicuouſly on a former unſucceſsful ſearch for the unfortunate perſons that were miſſing by the wreck of the Groſvenor, was immediately excited. He inſtantly diſpatched 400 ſoldiers, with 15 or 16 natives, who were conſequently perfectly acquainted with the manners and language of the Hottentots, in order to accompliſh the releaſe of theſe ladies from their wretched ſtate of ſavage exiſtence. Theſe two ladies being deſcribed, are ſuppoſed to be ſome of the paſſengers who were caſt on ſhore when the above ſhip was loſt. The party had not returned when the Kent Indiaman left the Cape. The drummer is with the party, as a priſoner, and expects pardon on his proving the veracity of what he has advanced as above ſtated."

June 18. Laſt night, betwixt the hours of ten and eleven, the Opera Houſe was diſcovered to be on fire, which, before any aſſiſtance could be procured, was entirely conſumed.

About ten o'clock on Wedneſday evening, the dancers were practiſing a dance, when ſuddenly ſeveral globes of fire were ſeen to drop from the upper part of the building. The appearance was ſo terrific, that the women made their eſcape in the linen jackets which they wear in practiſing, and without waiting for their uſual dreſſes.—Their ſpeed was not too precipitate, for in a very few minutes the whole of the building was in one general blaze. The treaſury cheſt, in which there were eight hundred pounds, was ſaved—ſo were the books—every thing elſe of value was totally deſtroyed. Five houſes in Market-lane are entirely deſtroyed, as are the ſtables of the White Horſe Inn.

The blaze, which, from the vaſt quantity of materials conſumed, was an object of amazement to the metropolis, was increaſed, not only by a large room full of muſic

papers, but by a large quantity of wines depoſited in the cellars by a friend of the manager. The latter, when the flame reached them, gave birth to a column of fire of particular brilliancy. Thoſe who approached the conflagration from the eaſtern part of the city had a proſpect tremendouſly beautiful. The night being perfectly calm, the flame roſe in a ſpiral column to an extraordinary height, when it took a direction horizontal to the earth, and ſeparated into a number of fiery clouds, that moved ſlowly through the atmoſphere toward the ſouth-eaſt. St. Paul's croſs reflected the light with the moſt refulgent brightneſs, and the whole weſtern front of the cathedral was as minutely viſible in every part as at noon day. At a diſtance St. Bride's ſpire had the appearance of a pyramid of livid fire; the effect was nearly the ſame on the ſpires of St. Clement's, the New Church, St. Martin's, and other churches.

Mancheſter, June 19. This morning betwixt twelve and one o'clock, a moſt terrible fire broke out in the Theatre Royal in this town, which ſpread with ſuch amazing rapidity over the whole building, that by the time the engines were aſſembled, it was ſcarcely poſſible to oppoſe it with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Oxford, June 30. About four o'clock in the morning, an uncommon ſhock, attended with a violent ruſhing noiſe, was felt at St. Mary Magdalen's college, and on the other ſide of the water, occaſioned, as it afterwards appeared, by the falling of the venerable oak which ſtood at the entrance into the Water-walk, and had for many ages, by its magnitude and antiquity, attracted the admiration of ſtrangers. Its dimenſions were as follow:

In girth — 21 feet 9 inches.
Height — 71 feet 8 inches.
Cubic contents 754 feet.

The capacious trunk, for more than nine feet from the ground, was reduced to a perfect ſhell; but upwards the tree ſeemed to be in full vigour of vegetation, though it had long been kept from falling by two or three roots, ſcarcely ſo large as a two-inch cable, and thoſe at laſt reduced to duſt. With ſuch ſlender ſupport, it is wonderful that it ſhould ſo long have repelled the ſtorms which at different times have torn up huge elms in the adjacent grove, many generations of which it has ſeen paſs away. Dr. Stukeley, in 1724, ſpeaking, in his Itinerarium Curioſum, of Magdalen college, ſays, "The old oak is yet left, nigh which he [the founder] ordered his college to be built." Now the college was founded in 1448; and we muſt conclude that a tree had ſomething peculiar in its ſize or its age, to make it an object of attraction on ſuch an occaſion. The founder directed the boundary on the north to be near the *great oak*. But they, who are at all acquainted with our ancient foreſts, will not think it incredible, that an oak, of ſufficient importance to attract William Waynflete's attention, ſhould boaſt of receiving in its green old age a viſit from George the Third. Its antiquity has indeed been aſcertained with tolerable accuracy, by the uſual method of counting the number of circular lines in the grain, each of which is a mark of annual

nual growth in all ſpecies of timber. Hence it appears, that this oak has been increaſing for upwards of ſix centuries; and probably might have reared its romantic branches to diſtant ages, but that it evidently had been injured as far back as the reign of Charles II. when the preſent walks were laid out; "a ſcheme which," according to the prophetic witticiſm of Dan. Purcell, "conſiſted ſo much in *damning* and *ſinking*, that it muſt be productive of miſchief."—Fortunately this old tree fell into the meadow; had it fallen towards the river and the walk, it muſt have occaſioned much damage.

The altar-piece at New college is now reſtoring, under the direction of Sir J. Reynolds and Mr. Wyatt. It was well known, that the whole eaſt end of the chapel was ordered by Horne biſhop of Wincheſter, in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to be completely hid, by plaiſtering it up; and in the operation, where any parts projected beyond their proper level, they cut all even. A few years ſince a ſmall opening was made, which preſented ſuch an elegant ſpecimen, that the Society have now opened the whole, and purpoſe to have it reſtored. The colour is light-blue and gold. It is opened with great care. The images were all demoliſhed. What remains is Gothic work, and up to the ceiling, with the niches empty. The bottom row has good ſculpture of the nativity, &c.; the figures about a ſcale of nine inches.

The exceſſive heavy rains during ſeveral days, in the two laſt weeks of June, by accounts from various parts of the kingdom, ſeem to have fallen almoſt univerſally, and in ſome places have done conſiderable damage.

On Sunday evening June 21, Dorothy Shuttlewood, a young woman of Sileby, Leiceſterſhire, was unfortunately ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning in her dwelling houſe, juſt at the time ſhe was paſſing to a cupboard by the ſide of the fire-place to take out an hymn book.—An iron crane projecting from the chimney, cloſe to which the poor girl paſſed, it is ſuppoſed, attracted the lightning.

On the 23d, William Snell of Scothern, near Lincoln, had a cow ſtruck dead by lightning. A cow, the property of Mr. Charles Beard, was killed by the lightning the ſame evening in the Monks Leare, near this city. She had taken ſhelter under a tree, to which circumſtance the misfortune may be attributed.

During a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning on June 24, a large quantity of electric fluid entered the houſe of Mr. Holmes, Attorney at Law, in *Eaſt Retford*, by the chimney, and paſſing through the front attics, part burſt through the ſtaircaſe window, and ſhattered it all in pieces. Another part was attracted by the bells and bell-wires, and entered the chambers. The bed in Mr. Holmes's lodging room was ſhivered into ſplinters, from thence the fire deſcended through the floor into the common dining parlour, where three ſervants were ſitting. It was there conducted by the bell-wire into the kitchen, and though it conſiderably broke and tore the windows and furniture, yet no perſon was in the leaſt injured. The ſervants were all ſtruck down, one of them having a child in her arms. In the

kitchen the fluid paſſed from the bell to the pewter-caſe, and ſpent its force there, every piece of pewter which was in contact with another being melted, and adhering like ſolder to the other. In the front chamber it alſo ſhivered the bedſtead into ſplinters, and from thence deſcended through the floor into the front parlour, where its force was ſpent. The bricks were driven to a conſiderable diſtance from the chimney upon the adjoining buildings, and did great miſchief to the roofs. Mr. Holmes's gates were likewiſe injured, but providentially, though all the family (except Mr. Holmes) were in the houſe, no lives were loſt.

At *Oundle*, on the 25th, a moſt remarkable whirlwind happened, whereby great numbers of trees were ſtript of their branches, and broke in half, and even torn up by their roots. In the yard and orchard of Mr. Gutridge, fellmonger, five trees were torn up by the roots, a great number broke in the half; the ſheep-ſkins appeared in the air like paper, flying nearly out of ſight, three cart-loads of which were gathered up at more than a quarter of a mile diſtance; three of the ſkins were lodged at the top of a very high tree, more than a hundred yards from the place; ſome cloth, which lay out bleaching, was torn from the ground and carried almoſt out of ſight, it was found more than a quarter of a mile diſtant; and it is ſuppoſed to have done about 80l. damage on this eſtate; a ſhort but very heavy bridge in the pariſh of Barnwell was torn up in a very remarkable manner; at Barnwell, two miles from Oundle, the ſpire ſteeple had the table ſtone cut in half, the ſouth ſide of which was took away; on the north ſide the lead was torn off the church, and the eaſt window broken to pieces; ſome houſes were ſtripped, and a barn blown down; a waggon and cart were taken from under a hovel and driven to a conſiderable diſtance, the waggon was broke to pieces; ſeveral people were took off their feet and drove to a great diſtance; ſome other trifling damage has been done to trees and hedges in its way; but what renders this moſt remarkable is, though it can be traced from ſouth to north (which was the direction it took for near ten miles), it did not exceed two hundred yards in breadth.

Liverpool, June 25. The damage done by the lightning, that has come to our knowledge, are, a barn at Eomby, ſet on fire, but ſoon extinguiſhed; a horſe killed in a field near Everton; two gentlemen at a houſe in St. Nicholas' church-yard, while at dinner, were affected in their fingers as if electrified; and a cow killed at May-place, the ſeat of Richard Savage, Eſq.

On the 27th, about one o'clock, they had at Sheffield ſeveral tremendous claps of thunder, accompanied by vivid and repeated flaſhes of lightning, one of which had the awful and inſtantaneous effect of killing a man and horſe on the moor near this town. The lightning entered his head, and proceeding downwards penetrated through the ſaddle, making a hole about the ſize of a bullet.

At *Boddenden*, on the 21ſt of June, they had a moſt tremendous ſtorm of rain, with thunder and lightning, remarkably vivid, by which the trunk of a large oak tree was rent from top to bottom, the

the branches broken, the bark entirely ſtripped off, and parts of the tree driven to the diſtance of more than an hundred yards. No lives were loſt, but many people felt the effects of the electrical ſhock.

On June 27, *Liverpool* was again viſited by a furious thunder-ſtorm, by which many houſes were damaged. At the Townſide Mill the lightning ſhivered the upper ſhaft, and paſſing down the ſack-chain, killed a girl of twelve years old. This ſtorm, which laſted only a quarter of an hour, filled the whole town with terror.

The ſame day, about three in the afternoon, a ſimilar ſtorm came on at *Glaſgow*, with repeated peals of thunder, and, what made it ſtill more aweful, an uncommon darkneſs obſcured the atmoſphere for more than half an hour. The ſtorm abated ſoon after four, but in the evening it began again to rain, and ſo continued all night. The lightning fell on the farm houſe of Kilmondenny, ſinged ſome blankets on a bed there, but hurt nobody.

At *Whitehaven* heavy rains have fallen daily, more or leſs, for ſome time; and at *Birmingham* and its neighbourhood the inundations have conſiderably hurt the hay and corn.

In the neighbourhood of *Hereford* the conſtant rains about the middle of June not only ſpoiled the clover that was cut, but threatened more ſerious damages. The rivers Wye and Lug laid their low meadows under water, by which the neighbourhood of that city was principally ſupplied with hay.

On the 28th of June, in the county of *Armagh*, the moſt violent ſtorm of hail came on ever remembered in Ireland. It proceeded in a N. W. direction from Tynan to Newtown Hamilton, accompanied by extremely vivid flaſhes of lightning and tremendous claps of thunder. The hail-ſtones were in fact large pieces of ice, ſeveral of which, being meaſured after the ſtorm, proved three inches in circumference, and remained undiſſolved for many hours. This phænomenon, which extended about half a mile only in breadth, deſtroyed every thing within its compaſs, by which many farmers have been ruined.

DIED.—At the Maeſe of Killin, in his 80th year, the Rev. Mr. James Stuart. He was the firſt who began the tranſlation of the Bible into the Gaelic language, which has, in the ſucceſſion, been continued by his ſon, the miniſter of Luſs, and his ſon-in-law, the miniſter of Blair in Athol, as alſo by Dr. Smith, miniſter of Campelton.

The Rev. James Ramſay, M. A. vicar of Teſton, in Kent, whoſe indefatigable labours have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him among, and endeared him to, the friends of the Africans.

JULY.

1ſt. This evening, in conſequence of ſome expreſſions reflecting on the character of Lieutenant Colonel Lenox, publiſhed in a pamphlet, with the name of Theophilus Swift, Eſq; Colonel Lenox called on Mr. Swift, and demanded ſatisfaction: —They met at five o'clock yeſterday afternoon, in a field near the Uxbridge road; attended by

Sir William Auguſtus Browne, and Lieutenant Colonel Phipps. A piſtol was exchanged on each ſide. Ten paces were meaſured by the ſeconds, and it was agreed that Colonel Lenox ſhould fire firſt. The parties having taken their ground, Colonel Lenox aſked if Mr. Swift was ready?—On his anſwering that he was, Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball took place in the body of Mr. Swift, whoſe piſtol, on his receiving the wound, went off without effect. The parties then quitted the ground.

It is but juſtice to add, that both gentlemen behaved with the utmoſt degree of coolneſs and intrepidity. Mr. Swift has ſince recovered from his wound.

2d. Several of the principal Corn Factors attended, by the deſire of Mr. Pitt, in Downing-ſtreet, to ſtate how far the application from France, for a ſupply of 20,000 ſacks of flour, might be complied with, without injury to this country. Theſe gentlemen were clearly of opinion, that though the demand did not exceed the conſumption of one week in this metropolis, yet, the uncertainty of the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances conſidered, it muſt, if complied with, for a ſhort time advance the price of grain.

In conſequence of this report, Government have given the French Ambaſſador for anſwer, that they could not with prudence permit the exportation of 20,000 ſacks of flour applied for, without injury to the country at large, and particularly to the farther burthen of the poorer part of the community.

The Earl of Maſſareene, who was liberated from the priſon of the Chatelet by the riots of Paris in the month of June laſt, and got ſafe to England, is a Peer of Ireland, and head of the noble family of Skeffington. His Lordſhip, in his early days, figured very conſpicuouſly in the walks of faſhion. When making the grand tour, ſoon after his coming into poſſeſſion of his family titles and eſtates, his Lordſhip unfortunately at Paris became acquainted with a native of Tripoli in Syria, who, from his artful ſophiſtry, prevailed upon the noble Lord to co-operate with him in a plan he had formed of ſupplying the kingdom of France with the article of ſalt, to be brought from the coaſts of Syria; and held out ſuch apparent advantages to be derived therefrom, as induced the credulous young nobleman to enter into engagements for the payment of ſuch ſums of money as might be neceſſary for the accompliſhment of the object. In a very ſhort time after, the Syrian adventurer ſet ſail for Tripoli, and returned to Paris in due courſe of time, with ſuch flattering accounts of the ſucceſs of the expedition, as led Lord Maſſareene to plunge himſelf into thoſe calamities which have proved the bane of the comforts which from his noble birth he had a juſt right to expect. After being ſome years confined in the Grand Chatelet at Paris, in a moſt unpleaſant ſituation to a man of any rank in life, the natural love of liberty ſo far prevailed as to lead his Lordſhip to lay a plan for his eſcape to his native country; but the carriage which was waiting for his reception was kept ſo long hovering about the priſon, that it cauſed ſuſpicion among the gaol-keepers. His Lordſhip was apprehended as he was entering the carriage, and immediately ſent into a dungeon

a dungeon many feet below the ſurface of the river Seine, upon which the Chatelet is built. He remained there in ſuch a ſtate of wretchedneſs, that his beard grew to a moſt immoderate length, and rendered him a moſt ſtriking picture of the viciſſitudes of human life.

1ſt. John Ward, George Green, Thomas Denton, and John Jones, were executed, purſuant to their ſentence.

Denton was a native of the northern part of Yorkſhire; and though bred a tinman, from a taſte for letters kept a bookſeller's ſhop, about ten years ſince, in the city of York. He ſoon after returned to London, where ſeeing a ſpeaking figure made by ſome foreigners, he completed another in a very ſhort time, and by that means accumulated much money by exhibiting it in various parts of England. The ſpeaking figure he afterwards ſold to a printer in the city, and made a writing figure, which is ſtill in the hands of a friend. His abilities in the chemical line were very conſpicuous; and he afterwards tranſlated Pinetti's book of Deceptions, with notes. From his knowledge of chemiſtry he obtained the art of plating coach harneſſes, &c. which he carried on jointly with the buſineſs of a bookſeller, in Holborn, for ſome time. In this buſineſs he unhappily formed a connexion with a perſon notorious for making plain ſhillings. Thoſe powers that aſſiſted him to make ſeveral mathematical inſtruments, as pentagraphs, &c. enabled him to imitate the current coin in a manner that deceived the beſt judges, and held the court ſeven hours upon his trial, and at laſt he was acquitted of coining; but convicted of having the implements for coining in his poſſeſſion.

3d. Lord Malmeſbury, late ambaſſador to the States General in Holland, having obtained leave of his court to reſign that employment, their High Mightineſſes reſolved, that a gold chain and medal, of the value of 6000 florins of Holland, be preſented to Lord Malmeſbury, as a token of their approbation and friendſhip; and that another, value 600 florins, be preſented to his Secretary.

6th. A man ſet off for a wager, to walk one hundred miles in twenty-four hours. The ground was meaſured on Blackheath. He walked in a circle, which was an exact mile, one hundred times round. He won the wager with eaſe in twenty-two hours and a half. He ſtarted at four o'clock in the afternoon, on Monday, walked all the night, and went the hundred miles by half paſt two o'clock on Tueſday. He did not appear much fatigued.

13th. On Saturday laſt a public examination of ſuch of the gentlemen cadets as were judged qualified for receiving commiſſions of ſecond lieutenants in the royal regiment of artillery, was held at the royal military academy, at which his Grace the Duke of Richmond preſided.

After the examination was over, Serjeant Bell's contrivance for blowing up the Royal George was tried upon a veſſel built by his direction, upon a ſcale of one inch to fifty, thickneſs of the Royal George's ſide. This veſſel was ſunk in the river Thames, and with 50 pounds of powder, afterwards conducted to her magazine, was blown to pieces. The experiment took place at high water, and anſwered every expectation of

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the inventor of it, contrary to the opinion of several gentlemen poſſeſſed of great profeſſional knowledge in the ſcience of gunnery, and to whom the plan had been ſubmitted.

Extract of a letter from an officer on board the Sirius in Botany Bay, to his friend at Edinburgh, dated July 12, 1788.

"The Bouſſole and the Aſtrolabe, which ſailed from France on diſcovery, came here two days ago, who gave the following account. As they were lying at one of the navigator iſlands, a group diſcovered by Monſieur Bougainville to the northward, where they had been on a very friendly footing, and had carried on a traffic with the natives for a long time with great ſucceſs until the day they ſailed; after they had got under way, Monſieur L'Angle, captain of the Aſtrolabe, requeſted of Monſieur Perouſe, the commodore, to allow him to go aſhore, and get one boat load more of water, which was all he wanted of being complete. The commodore wiſhed to diſſuade him from the deſign, by telling him, that as they had got under way, and would not be long at ſea, there was no occaſion for having ſo much water; but Monſ. L'Angle ſeeming very anxious to go, Monſ. Perouſe followed him. He accordingly went aſhore with two armed boats, and in all about thirty-ſix men. Whilſt they were filling their water, the natives ſeemed to be on the ſame footing with them that they had always been formerly. Mean time the ſhips, which had hove too off the iſland, had drifted to leeward of one of the points which formed the bay in which they were lying. When, however, Monſ. L'Angle's people had filled their water, and were walking down to the boat, a great number of the natives came down, and ſurrounded them ſo ſuddenly, and ſo cloſe, that they had not power to uſe their fire-arms, and killed Monſ. L'Angle and 31 of the men that were with him. The others ſwam off to the ſhips, ſome of them very dangerouſly wounded."

DIED. Mrs. Greville, authoreſs of the celebrated "Ode to Indifference."

The Rev. John Rotherham, of Queen's College, Oxford, where he was preſented with the degree of M. A. by decree of convocation, Dec. 11, 1753, for writing an excellent piece, intituled, "The Force of the Argument for the Truth of Chriſtianity, drawn from a collective View of Prophecy, 1752;" in anſwer to Dr. Middleton's Examination of the Biſhop of London's Diſcourſe on Prophecy. He next publiſhed "A Sketch of the one great Argument, formed from the general concurring Evidences for the Truth of Chriſtianity, 1754;"—An Eſſay on Faith, and its Connection with Works, 1766;—"An Apology for the Athanaſian Creed, ...;" a Sermon on the origin of Faith, 1761; another on the wiſdom of Providence; an inauguration ſermon, 1762; another on the influence of Religion on human laws, an aſſize ſermon, 1763; another for the benefit of the Newcaſtle Infirmary, 1771; and one againſt Perſecution, 1780. He was preſented by Dr. Trevor, Biſhop of Durham, in 1769, to the rich rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and the vicarage of Seaham, co. Durham.

At his houſe near Caerphilly, co. Glamorgan, William Edward, architect and bridge-builder, or

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the Rev. William Edward, for he ſuſtained both characters with equal aſſiduity and ability. The celebrated bridge on the river Taaff, called Pont y tu Pridd, by the Engliſh, New Bridge, was conſtructed by this extraordinary man. It is the ſegment of a circle, whoſe chord at the ſurface of the water is one hundred and forty-ſeven feet, and is the boldeſt and largeſt arch in Europe. He was then a common maſon, and a methodiſt preacher.

At York, aged upwards of 80, Mr. Joſeph Randall, formerly maſter of the academy at Heath, near Wakefield, author of the "Semivirgilian Huſbandry," and other treatiſes on agriculture.

AUGUST.

12th. Being the birth day of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, who then entered into the 28th year of his age, the ſame was obſerved with the greateſt feſtivity.—His Highneſs received the uſual compliments at the Marine Pavilion at Brighthelmſtone, where there was an entertainment, at which the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cumberland partook. The ſame evening the gardens at Vauxhall were beautifully illuminated, in compliment to his Highneſs.

17th. This day young Mr. Gordon was executed at Northampton. He was found guilty of murder, for killing the peace-officer who came with a warrant to apprehend his father. It was ſaid, that the officer or his attendants had made an attempt upon the houſe, and that his mother bid the youth fire the ſhot that killed the man. They were both tried for the murder, and both found guilty; but a point of law ariſing, their caſe was referred to the Twelve Judges, who confirmed the ſentence of the ſon. The youth, who was only nineteen, had been twice reprieved, and, it was generally ſuppoſed, would obtain his Majeſty's pardon.

Account of the late STORMS *continued.*

On the 6th of July, near Horſehouſe in *Coverdale* (North Riding, Yorkſhire), on a moor there, a man and two boys, digging peat, obſerved a ſtorm coming, and, running for ſhelter to an adjoining hut, the lightning ſtruck the old man, tore his ſtockings and ſhoes, and burnt his legs: the elder boy, at a little diſtance behind the old man, was ſtruck dead, and rendered a moſt dreadful ſpectacle. The other boy, about twenty yards behind his companions, was alſo ſtruck ſenſeleſs, and remained ſo for ſome time, but afterwards recovered. The old man, it is feared, will be a cripple for life.

On the 22d of Auguſt they had a remarkable fall of rain and hail at *Kelſo*, in Scotland. It extended but a ſhort way either to the South or North, and ſcarce at all to the Eaſtward. To the Weſtward, from whence it came, it was exceedingly violent; and at *Hawick* was accompanied with a moſt tremendous ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, or rather angular pieces of ice, which fell in great abundance.

But the moſt tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning within the memory of man, in this country, happened on the 3d inſtant, in the evening,

evening, at *Amersham*, in Bucks, to the inexpreſſible terror and conſternation of the inhabitants of the town and villages round it, the atmoſphere exhibiting a continued ſheet of blue flame, through which proceeded a heavy fall of hailſtones, in quantity and magnitude ſurpaſſing deſcription, which fell with ſuch violence, as to kill birds, deſtroy fruit-trees, cruſh garden-frames, and ſhatter the windows in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner. More than 500 panes in Mr. Drake's houſe were broken. The ſame ſtorm raged furiouſly near *Orford* in Suffolk.

24th. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales arrived at York, to be preſent at the races.

25th. His Royal Highneſs was waited on by the Sheriffs, to know when his R. H. would be waited on by the Corporation; when his Highneſs was graciouſly pleaſed to appoint two o'clock the ſame day.

At that hour the Lord Mayor and ten of the Aldermen, the two Sheriffs, and a numerous body of the commonalty, preceded by the city band of muſic, went in their formalities to the Deanry, where they were received by the Prince.

A very elegant addreſs was then preſented to his Royal Highneſs, which was read by Mr. Townſend, the town clerk, in which his R. H. is reſpectfully entreated to permit his royal name to be enrolled among the freemen of that ancient city, and to accept the freedom thereof, which is thus humbly offered for his R. H's gracious reception.

To the city addreſs his R. H. returned a moſt polite anſwer, which concluded in theſe words: "I with pleaſure accept the freedom of this ancient city, and your offer of enrolling my name among its citizens."

Edinburgh, Aug. 19. The Convention of Delegates from the Burgeſſes of the Royal Boroughs met here, Mr. Graham of Gartmore as Præſes, and Mr. Ewen of Aberdeen as Secretary. Before they proceeded to buſineſs, a letter was read from his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in anſwer to the addreſſes from the Burgeſſes of many Boroughs, formerly preſented to his Royal Highneſs during the indiſpoſition of his Majeſty. This letter of acknowledgment was conceived in the moſt polite and obliging terms. The hon. Sir Henry Erſkine moved an addreſs of thanks for his Royal Highneſs's gracious condeſcenſion in beſtowing this diſtinguiſhed mark of attention on the Burgeſſes of Scotland; and Mr. Laird of Strathmorton moved addreſſes of congratulation on his Majeſty's recovery, both to the King and Prince of Wales, which were unanimouſly agreed to.

28th. Came on to be tried at Appleby, before the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Thompſon, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, an iſſue from the Court of King's Bench, to try Meſſrs. Hainſworth and Son, of Leeds, merchants, on an information lodged againſt them for exporting worſted-yarn to Bilboa in Spain; when, after a hearing of more than four hours, in which many ingenious arguments were urged by the counſel on both ſides, the jury unanimouſly found the defendant, Thomas Hainſworth, guilty, both of the illegal package and the exportation thereof.

30th. The Spaniſh ſhips deſtined to make diſcoveries, under the command of Don Alexander Malaſpina,

Malaſpina, ſet ſail from Cadiz this day. Artiſts in every ſcience are engaged by his Catholic Majeſty in this expedition.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. Earl Fitzwilliam gave a magnificent Fête at Wentworth-houſe, in honour of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales. Nothing could be more ſuperb and ſumptuous than the whole of the arrangements. It was in the true ſtyle of Engliſh hoſpitality. His gates, on being honoured with the preſence of the Heir Apparent, were thrown open to the love and loyalty of the ſurrounding country; and not fewer than 20,000 perſons partook of his Lordſhip's liberality. The diverſions (conſiſting of all the rural ſports in uſe in that part of the country) laſted the whole day, and his Lordſhip's park was the grand ſtage on which the numerous perſonages played their parts. The ſpectators were, the Prince with his attendants, and the nobility and gentry from every part of the county without diſtinction. The dinner was an aſſemblage of every delicacy the world could produce. The ball at night, conſiſting of more than two hundred ladies, the flower of Yorkſhire, with their partners, was the moſt brilliant ever ſeen beyond the Humber.

In coming to town from Wentworth-houſe, the Prince encountered an alarming accident. About two miles North of Newark, a cart croſſing the road ſtruck the axle of the Prince's coach, and overturned it. It was on the verge of a ſlope, and the carriage in falling tumbled bottom uppermoſt, and was ſhivered to pieces. There were in the coach with his R. H. Lord Clermont, Col. St. Leger, and Warwick Lake, eſq;—two of the Prince's ſervants were on the box. Their eſcape was almoſt miraculous, not one of the company having received material hurt. Lord Clermont ſuffered the moſt, and was obliged to remain at Newark, but is ſince perfectly recovered.

Very early this morning, ſome hours before day, a very fine lunar rainbow appeared, more brilliant than that of Aug. 17, 1788.

5th. The following is the ſtate of the Carron manufactory in Scotland, the greateſt perhaps of the kind known in the world: the weekly conſumption of coals amounts to 11,000 tons, at 4s. per ton; and the conſumption of each day is equal to that of the city of Edinburgh during a whole week. As many coals, therefore, are conſumed in the Carron foundaries as would ſuffice to ſupply a city of 700,000 inhabitants. A thouſand workmen are daily employed in this manufactory, whoſe wages amount to 700l. per week, and 36,400l. per annum. The demands from abroad, and particularly from Spain, continue yearly to increaſe.

14th. This morning Col. Roſs ſet out for York, on a wager with Mr. Pigott of 800 guineas, that he reached York (197 miles) in forty-eight hours, on the ſame horſe.—He performed the journey three hours within the time.

Two plants of the cochineal opuntia have been ſent from Kew gardens, and ſeveral others brought from China, to Madras, where they are cultivated with ſucceſs, and promiſe

promiſe to rival the nopal of Mexico, from whence our rich ſcarlet dye is extracted. It is therefore likely that this branch of commerce will fall into our hands; a circumſtance highly deſerving of notice, as the annual imports into Europe at preſent amount to upward of 300,cool. ſterling.

Seeds of the oldenlandia umbellata, from the roots of which plant it extracted the fine permanent red dye ſo much admired in India cottons, have been ſent to our Weſt India iſlands by Dr. Anderſon, of Madras. This plant is ſo valuable in India, that it is ſold there for one guinea per pound. Some prepared roots are alſo ſent to England, to try if the dye can be extracted from it in this country. If this can be effected, a trade will be eſtabliſhed in that article from India, to the great benefit of our cotton manufactures.

The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended; when twelve convicts received ſentence of death, and fifty-four were ordered to be tranſported for ſeven years.

Brighthelmſtone, Sept. 15. About ſeven o'clock this evening Monſ. Maupeau, ſon of the Chancellor of France of that name, in a fit of infanity, ſhot himſelf in a field near this place. This unfortunate gentleman arrived here from Dieppe the preceding day. In his pocket was found a packet of papers, among which were two letters of credit, one for 6000 livres on Ranſom, Morland, and Hammerſley; the other on Meſſ. Aubert and Co. for whatever ſum he might have occaſion; alſo a paſſport for himſelf. The effects he brought with him to the New Ship, where he lodged, were of conſiderable value, among which were two valuable gold watches, one of them ſet with diamonds; two diamond croſſes of the order of the Knights of Malta; three miniature pictures of a lady ſet in gold; a pair of diamond ſleeve-buttons, and many other trinkets of inferior value; in money, thirteen louis d'ors and five ſhillings and ſix pence looſe in his pockets, with a canvas bag, in which were 140 French half crowns and nine ſhillings Engliſh ſterling: all of which were immediately ſecured by Mr. Simon, principal officer of the cuſtoms. On the outſide of the packet of papers was written with a pencil, evidently with a trembling hand, *Je meurs innocent, j'en atteſte le ciel. I call heaven to witneſs I am innocent.*—His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, whoſe humanity on all affecting occaſions is in a high degree conſpicuous, intereſted himſelf much in the affairs of this unfortunate foreigner. He ordered his ſurgeon to examine his head, leſt any future enquiries ſhould be made to aſcertain his death, and ordered the particulars to be drawn up, and tranſmitted to the French Ambaſſador; and forbade any ſteps to be taken reſpecting his funeral till he had received his Excellency's anſwer.

Shrewſbury, Sept. 5. This day were executed at the Old Heath near this town, Thomas Phipps, eſq. the elder, and Thomas Phipps the younger, (father and ſon,) for forging and uttering a note of hand for 20l. purporting to be the note of Richard Coleman of Oſweſtry, knowing the ſame to have been forged.—They both, from the time of their condemnation to the morning of the execution, perſiſted in their innocence; but, as the fatal

tal hour drew near, the youth relented; and he confeſſed that he committed the forgery, and that his father was wholly innocent. They were taken in a mourning coach to the place of execution, attended by a clergyman. On the way the father ſaid to the ſon, "Tommy, Tommy, thou haſt brought me to this ſhameful end; but I freely forgive thee:" to which the ſon made no reply. The father was in the 44th year of his age; the ſon in his 20th. The father was poſſeſſed of 500l. a year landed property, excluſive of his buſineſs as an attorney. He has left a widow, and one daughter, a moſt amiable young lady of ſixteen, to deplore his loſs.

DIED.—Alex. Fordyce, eſq. formerly an eminent banker, and brother to Sir William and the Rev. Dr Fordyce.

23d. In the Downs, on board the Boſton Packet, in his 53d year, after four hours illneſs, Silas Deane, eſq. a native of Groton, in the State of Connecticut. He was a member of the firſt and ſecond Congreſs, where he was diſtinguiſhed by his literary merits, mercantile knowledge, policy, and great zeal for liberty [the characteriſticks of the firſt planters of New England, and of their deſcendants]; and conſequently, in 1776, was appointed ambaſſador by Congreſs to the Court of France. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he proved his ability, by convincing the Court of France that their intereſt would be promoted by giving ſupport to the American Revolt. While Mr. Deane was in France, he wrote to ſeveral Members of Congreſs ſalutary advice, not to puſh their reſiſtance into independence on the Mother Country; part of which Letters were intercepted and printed. However, to help forward the claims of the American Colonies, Mr. Deane purchaſed ſundry articles in France, and ſent them to Congreſs on credit, to the value of nearly half a million of livres; depending on the faith and promiſes of Congreſs for a juſt and equitable payment. Congreſs, having received the goods ſent by Mr. Deane, recalled him from his embaſſy, and refuſed all kind of payment, becauſe Mr. Deane was not clear of a ſuſpicion of being not friendly to the Independence of America. This compelled Mr. Deane to leave France on a ſudden, and finally to take refuge in England, where he received a generous and a friendly ſupport, while his eminent ſervices, and juſt demands on Congreſs, were diſregarded by his Fellow Patriots in America.

OCTOBER.

3d. The drying-ſtove belonging to the powder mills near Faverſham took fire, and blew up about twenty barrels of gunpowder, with a dreadful exploſion. An old man, ſixty-five years of age, was blown up, and came down a dreadful ſpectacle, too ſhocking to relate.

6th. A few days ſince as Mr. Phillips, of Northumberland-ſtreet, was bathing in the ſea at Portſmouth, he was ſuddenly ſeized with the cramp, and ſunk twice; which being perceived by the man attending the bathing machine, he jumped in to his aſſiſtance. Mr. Phillips caught hold of him, and

ſo

so entangled both, that it was with great difficulty the man could preserve even his own life. A large Newfoundland dog seeing the danger Mr. Phillips was in, after the man had left him, jumped in and caught hold of his bathing cap, and with the assistance of the tide, which was flowing, brought him safe to shore. Mr. Phillips purchased the dog, and liberally rewarded the man who endeavoured to save him.

The American States have at last obtained *Bulls* from Rome for the consecration of Dr. John Carrol, the first Roman Catholic Bishop, by the title of Bishop of Baltimore, in Maryland; by which he takes place in that See before all other Bishops; and has the direction of all Catholic affairs throughout that vast extent of country.

He is invested with full powers to consecrate others—to erect Colleges—settle and establish Monasteries, &c. &c.

These Bulls empower him to go to the Havannah, Quebec, or any place in Europe (where one Bishop and two Priests can be present), for the purpose of his own *consecration*; after which, it is said, he will have the character of *Legate Apostolic* to the States. This Prelate was legally elected by his Clergy; and it is a piece of policy worthy notice, that though the States sanction this affair, they will not admit of any Church establishment, to prevent feuds and prosecutions.

10th. Donald Mac Leod, the Highlander, was at St. James's, to present a petition to his majesty. This veteran is 101 years two months old; the cause of his coming to London was on account of his pension being refused at Chelsea: he brought every thing necessary to prove his being the man: he walked from Inverness, in Scotland, and with him his youngest son, whose age is eight years; his eldest son is eighty; his countenance, and other appearances, bespeak a hale character of not more than seventy: he fought under king William, queen Anne, George the First and Second, and bore arms for George the Third. The old man says, when he has done his business, he shall *walk back again.*

On Wednesday the 7th inst. at the General Quarter Sessions, held at *Chelmsford*, for the county of Essex, the opinions of Mess. Bearcroft and Shepherd were read, relative to a fine of 500l. laid upon the county by the Judge, after the last Assizes, for not having in their county-gaol two distinct rooms for the male and female invalids within the said prison. Their opinions stated, with becoming diffidence, a doubt of the legality of such fine; on which the Court came unanimously to the following resolution, *viz.* "To resist the payment of said fine, as not warranted by law."

At *Woolwich*, an experiment was made of an invention for breaking chains or booms laid across rivers, by means of a mine of gunpowder conveyed under the water, which seemed to promise success. The invention is Serjeant Bell's, of the Royal Artillery, who suggested a mode of blowing up the Royal George.

By a letter from *Manchester* there is an account, that, on the 1st instant, a large warehouse belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater, and

and occupied by perſons trading on the Staffordſhire Navigation, was diſcovered to be on fire. The wind being very high, the whole building, with its contents, the books of accompts only excepted, was entirely conſumed. The loſs is computed at 50,000l.; no part of which was inſured.

13th. Came on to be heard, before juſtice Bond and Thomas Vaughan, Eſq. the information of Moſes Maurant againſt John Burkitts, a notorious dog-ſtealer. The priſoner owned that the dog wherewith he was charged followed him from the Hay-market, and that he hung him in the fields leading to Hampſtead; that he had hung ſeveral dogs, and that he followed the practice for a living; that the ſkin of a dog would fetch 1s. 6d. and for a degree larger 2s. and for a very large one, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d.; that he always ſold them to a tanner in Long-lane in the Borough, who never aſked queſtions. He was found guilty of the charge, and, being unable to pay the penalty, was ſentenced to 12 months impriſonment.

The remuneration of the King's phyſicians is finally ſettled; but the ſums have been erroneouſly ſtated in many of the public papers. The veracity of the following ſtatement may be depended upon:

To Dr. Willis, the father, 1500l. per ann. for 21 years.

To Dr. Willis, the ſon, 650l. per ann. for life.

To the other phyſicians, thirty guineas for each viſit to Windſor, and ten guineas for each viſit to Kew. This to Sir George Baker, who had the longeſt attendance, does not amount to more than 1300 guineas; and to all the others in proportion.

An extraordinary diſcovery is ſaid to have been lately made at Chapel Farm, near Tiverton, where, in digging with a view to enlarge a pond, the workmen, at about ten feet deep, came to a ſpongy matter covered with hogs-briſtles, and digging ſtill deeper, the complete carcaſe of a hog was found, reduced to the colour and conſiſtence of an Egyptian mummy. Other carcaſes were found; and the account ſays, that this *piggery* continued to the depth of twelve feet.

Northampton, Oct. 9. A meeting of the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, of this town and county, was held at the County-hall, to conſider of the propriety of eſtabliſhing a Preſervative Society for that county, when Mr. Dolben very ably opened the buſineſs, with a great variety of matter, and his plan well arranged. Mr. D. was ſupported by ſome of the moſt reſpectable characters in the county, and a ſubſcription was immediately opened, exactly on the ſame footing as the "Royal Humane Society."—It is ſincerely to be wiſhed, that this laudable example may be followed in other counties, where gentlemen of intelligence and fortune are on the ſpot to examine into the caſe, and to reward the aſſiſtants. The neceſſities of trade, and the comforts of life, require ſeveral canals, which are almoſt every day digging in various parts of the kingdom. Theſe are evidently more dangerous than natural rivers.—Whenever the life of a fellow-creature is endangered, there the means to reſcue and reſtore them,

them, and to reward those who perhaps may hazard themselves to save another, ought to be provided.

DIED.—By a fall from his horse, Thomas Day, Esq. of Anningsley, co. Surrey; a gentleman distinguished for eminent abilities, and author of the following publications: 1. "Reflections upon the present State of England, and the Independence of America." 2. "Fragment of an original Letter on the Slavery of the Negroes." 3. A Dialogue between a Justice of the Peace and a Farmer." 4. "Reflections upon the Peace, the East India Bill, and the present Crisis." 5. "A Letter to Arthur Young, Esq. on the Bill now pending in Parliament to prevent the Exportation of Wool." 6. "The History of Little Jack," printed in the Children's Miscellany, 1788. 7. "The History of Sandford and Merton;" a work intended for the use of children, 3 vols.

At Ealing, near Brentford, after a very long and afflicting illness, Mrs. Lascelles (the once celebrated Miss Catley), wife of Gen. L. Her disorder was a decline. She has left eight children by the General, four sons and four daughters. The eldest son is a cornet of dragoons. A short time before her death she purchased an handsome house at Ealing, for the future residence of her daughters, to whom she has bequeathed the whole of her fortune, which was not inconsiderable.—Whilst the youthful indiscretions of this lady are held out to the juvenile part of her sex as beacons, to avoid the same course, the brighter side of her character may be recommended as a model worthy of their imitation. The propriety and grace with which she discharged the various relative duties was exemplarily conspicuous, and, if universally adopted, would not only add to the general stock of domestic happiness, but considerably lessen the miseries that occur in the more extended sphere of social life. As a daughter, wife, and mother, her conduct was far above the ordinary level; nor was she less distinguished for generosity and benevolence; in the exercise of which amiable qualities she united delicacy with prudence: her ear was always open, and her hand extended, to the children of affliction; being, by a rigid (tho' not penurious or inelegant) œconomy, empowered to relieve numbers, without injuring those whom Nature had more particularly consigned to her attention and solicitude.

NOVEMBER.

Salisbury, Nov. 4. The oak beam across the upper or east end of the choir of the cathedral was taken down, under the direction of Mr. Wyat, in the presence of the bishop, &c. It was eighty feet long, and four feet square. The reason of its being put up is not easy to say, unless to tie the walls together at the top: but as they had shrunk from it at each end, it was not only disagreeable to the eye, but rather injurious than of aid to the fabrick. It weighed several tons, and was not at all decayed. It was removed with great ease and safety, by erecting a scaffold under the middle, by which a man sawed out the centre part, and let it down

down before the two ends. The architect gave a handsome entertainment in the evening to Messr. Leesh, the clerks of the work, and the workmen, who are daily employed, to the number of fifty, in the alterations now executing in the cathedral.

6th. About 5 minutes after 6 in the afternoon, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt at Comrie, near Crieff, and the neighbouring places. At Lawers the shock was distinct and violent. A loud rumbling noise was heard, resembling thunder; and the shock appeared to strike upwards from a great depth in the earth. Several persons were nearly thrown down, and great numbers of the inhabitants of Comrie left their houses in the utmost consternation. In the course of two hours after the first shock, no less than thirty different lesser noises were distinctly heard. The progress of the first seemed to be towards the North-west, but afterwards more to the Eastward.

11th. On Saturday morning the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, attended by the Beadles, waited on their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William Henry, and Princess Sophia of Gloucester, at the Star Inn, and conducted them to view the principal buildings, &c. of that University. After seeing Trinity, All Souls, Queen's College, the Theatre, Bodleian Library, &c. they proceeded to Christ-Church, where they were received by the Dean and resident Canons in the new Library. The young Noblemen of that Society were then presented to their Royal Highnesses. After viewing the Library, and the noble collection of paintings given to that Society by the late General Guise, they proceeded to the Dining-hall, Chapel, &c. After which they partook of a refreshment at the Dean's lodgings. Their Royal Highnesses left Oxford about two o'clock, highly pleased with the attention paid them by the gentlemen of the University.

15th. Lord Loughborough has ordered the Clerk of Assize for the Home Circuit *not* to estreat into his Majesty's Exchequer the fine of 500l. which he laid upon the County of Essex at the last summer assizes.

The following melancholy accident happened a few nights ago at Cambridge, to a son of Sir Robert Sloper, an accomplished youth of about 18 years of age, who is at College there—As he was returning home from spending the evening with a friend, in turning the corner of a street, he received a blow from a person he did not see, that at once broke both his jaw-bones, and otherways mangled his face in a shocking manner. As the assailant never spoke, it is supposed he was waylaying some person to revenge an injury, and unfortunately mistook Mr. Sloper for that person. The heads of the colleges have offered one hundred guineas reward, but hitherto without success.

20th. Yesterday the Lord Bishop of London, assisted by Sir William Scott, Chancellor, and the Rev. Dr. Parker, Rector of the Parish of St. James, Westminster, consecrated a burial ground for the said parish, consisting of four acres of land, pursuant to an act passed in the last session of Parliament, situated in the road leading from Tottenham Court to Kentish Town, near the Turn-

pike, and inclosed with a brick wall ten feet high, which land is granted by Lord Southampton to the said parish for ever.

On laying the foundation stone of the New College at Edinburgh, two crystal bottles were inclosed therein; in one of these were put different coins of the present reign, each separately enveloped in crystal, in so curious a manner, that the legend could be distinctly read. In the other were deposited seven rolls of vellum, containing the original and present state of the University, &c. with a list of the principal officers, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the magistrates, and officers of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.—The bottles, properly sealed up, were covered with a plate of copper, wrapt in block-tin; and upon the under side of the copper were engraved the arms of the City and University, as also of the Grand Mason. Upon the upper side was the following Latin inscription:

Annuente Deo opt. max.
Regn. Georgio III. Princ. munificentissimo!
Academiæ Edinburgensis
Ædibus,
Initio quidem humillimis,
Et jam, post duo secula, pene ruinosis;
Novi hujus ædificii,
Ubi commoditati simul et elegantiæ,
Tanto doctrinarum domicilio dignæ,
Consulereter,
Primum lapidem posuit,
Plaud. ingenti omn. ordinum frequentia,
Vir nobilissimus Franciscus Dominus Napier,
Reipub. Architect. ap. Scotos Cur. Max.
XVI. kal. Novemb.
Anno salutis humanæ MDCCLXXXIX.
Æræ architectonicæ IↃↃ MDCC LXXXIX.
Consule Thomas Elder,
Academiæ Præfecto Gulielmo Robertson,
Architecto Roberto Adam.
Q. F. F. Q. S.

Gloucester, Nov. 19. This day was effected the greatest object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames, by an intermediate canal ascending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of 343 feet, by 28 locks; there entering a tunnel through the hill of Saperton, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending 134 feet by 14 locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

With respect to the internal commerce of the kingdom, and the security of communication in time of war, this junction of the Thames and Severn must be attended with the most beneficial consequences, as even stores from the Baltic, and provisions from Ireland, may reach the capital, and the ports at the mouth of the Thames, in safety. And all the heavy articles from the mines and founderies in the heart of Wales, and the counties contiguous to the Severn, may find a secure and certain conveyance to the capital.

In short, this undertaking is worthy of a great commercial nation, and does great credit to the exertions of the individuals, who have promoted and completed a work of such magnitude, at an expence of near two hundred thousand pounds.

The arched tunnel, carried through the bowels of a mountain near two miles and a half long, and 15 feet wide, at a level 250 feet below its summit, is a work worthy admiration; and the locks ascending from Stroud, and descending from the summit, are executed in a manner deserving great commendation.

Mr. Adam moved for judgment against Dr. Withers, for a libel 21st.

a libel againſt Mrs. Fitzherbert. Mr. Dallas made an excellent ſpeech, on the part of the Defendant, in mitigation of his puniſhment; and Dr. Withers was indulged in the liberty of pleading for himſelf. He avowed the publication of the pamphlet in queſtion, he ſaid, not knowing that the truth was a libel. His ſpeech did not ſeem to make a very deep impreſſion on the Court in his favour.——The ſentence of the court was, "That you Philip Withers do pay a fine to the King of 50l; that you be impriſoned, in his Majeſty's gaol of Newgate, for one year; and that, at the expiration of that time, you give ſecurity for your good behaviour for the term of five years, yourſelf in 500l. and your two bail in 100l. each."

23d. This day the Logographic Printer was called up to the Court of K. B. to receive ſentence for publiſhing a libel againſt his R. H. the Duke of York.—Mr. Juſtice Aſhurſt prefaced the ſentence with an admirable addreſs to the Defendant; after which he pronounced the ſentence of the Court, which was, a fine of 50l; a year's impriſonment in Newgate; to ſtand on the pillory for one hour, between the hours of twelve and three; to enter into recognizances for his good behaviour for ſeven years, the Defendant in 500l. and two ſecurities in 100l. each.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. Aſtronomical obſervers were gratified this day by a circumſtance that ſeldom occurs; viz. all the planets were above the horizon, and perfectly viſible, the atmoſphere being remarkably clear, in the ſpace of twelve hours, —Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, in the morning; and Venus, Saturn, and the Moon, in the evening.

2d. Was tried at the Admiralty ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, Captain John Weſtwich, of the brig Pilgrim, from Cork to Briſtol, for the murder of his carpenter, by violently ſtriking him with a pump handle. It was clearly proved, that the witneſſes, in conjunction with an attorney, had entered into a conſpiracy againſt the captain, who was honourably acquitted, and a copy of the indictment was granted him.

Eight priſoners were tried for making a revolt on board the Gregſon, Captain W. Coran, at Dick's Cove, about a league and a half from the coaſt of Africa; two of whom, John Williams, and Hugh Wilſon, were capitally convicted.

7th. A fire happened on Monday night at Houghton-Hall, Norfolk, the ſeat of Lord Orford. The North wing of that noble manſion, according to report, is conſumed; and the fire, it is thought, would have entirely deſtroyed the whole building, if its progreſs had not been impeded by a ſtone arcade which divides the wing from the main edifice.

9th. An action was brought by Captain Parſlow, to recover from the Defendant, Mr. Sykes, ſatisfaction in damages for ſeducing, debauching, and carrying away, the

wife of the Plaintiff.—The damages were laid at ten thouſand pounds; the whole of which was given by the verdict of the Jury.

18th. On Saturday laſt, Sir Joſeph Banks, attended by ſome other gentlemen, viſited the Diſcovery, a new ſhip equipping at Deptford, for remote ſervices, to fix on a proper place for a receptacle for any new plants which may be collected by Mr. Menzies, a gentleman of much botanical knowledge, who is to accompany captain Roberts on this voyage; his Majeſty being at all times anxious, when the opportunity offers, to enrich his gardens at Kew.

Accounts have been received that Omai, of Otaheite, is dead; he did not chuſe to live in his native iſland, and therefore ſettled in another, and ſoon ſquandered or gave away the greateſt part of his property; but there being a cow, and a few European animals, belonging to him, the king of Otaheite, his liege lord, demanded them of the king under whoſe protection Omai died; they were refuſed; the conſequence was, a war between the two chiefs, which ended in the ruin of the principality of the latter.

24th. His Majeſty experienced a narrow eſcape, a few days ſince, from being overturned in his carriage in Colnbrooke river, which ſeparates Iver and Uxbridge Moor: when returning from hunting, the two leaders fell into a hole; but, fortunately, were immediately extricated by the extraordinary agility and preſence of mind of the poſtillion. Two days after, a waggon loaded with corn, was overturned at the ſame ſpot, on its way to Uxbridge Market.

Tueſday was held a trial of the pix of moneys, coined at the Mint in the Tower of London, by the Earl of Effingham, in preſence of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, at Weſtminſter Hall, when, upon the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, by an able jury of Goldſmiths, the coins were found fully agreeable to the ſtandard of his Majeſty's exchequer.

At the trial of pix the other day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not attend; and the Lord Chancellor, in his charge to the jury, ſaid, that ſo ſacred was the trial by jury, that he truſted in God the people of England would always conſider it as their indefeſible right, and that under no pretence, either of revenue or of any thing elſe, would this great ſafeguard of their properties be entrenched upon; that an infringement of this right was an act for which the longeſt life of the moſt exalted miniſter that this country was ever bleſſed with could never atone. In maintenance of theſe ſentiments, he related the evils that had been ſuffered by the country in the debaſement of the coin, when a trial of the pix by jury was not neceſſary, previous to a Maſter of the Mint receiving his quietus.

The pix is a box kept at the Mint, into which one piece of every journey is put. A journey is the technical term for the coinage of a certain weight of gold. Each journey contains 677 guineas and a half. Out of this ſum two pieces are taken; one is ſent

to

to the Tower to be aſſayed, the other is put into the pix, to be tried by a jury before the Maſter can have his quietus. The number in the pix, therefore, aſcertains pretty accurately the quantity coined, by which at leaſt the public may form a conjecture.

The money iſſued from the Mint, which Lord Effingham rendered an account of on Tueſday at the trial of the pix in Weſtminſter Hall, amounted to eight millions eight hundred thouſand pounds. His Lordſhip's profits upon this, is about nine thouſand pounds.

DIED.—At Wincheſter, aged 67, the Rev. Harry Lee, LL.D. warden of Wincheſter College, and rector of Rouſham, co. Oxford.

Near Neſtle, in Picardy, M. Cambray, one of the firſt theoretic architects in Europe.—He had written on the riſe and fall of Gothic architecture, in which the characters, proportions, &c. of the antique were elaborately treated of.

At St. Nicholas's poor-houſe, Newcaſtle, of which he was the keeper, Mr. Wm. Umfreville.—By ſeveral indubitable evidences in his poſſeſſion, he appeared to be the ſole repreſentative of one of the greateſt names and moſt illuſtrious families in the North. The pedigree traces back the family to Robert Umfreville, lord of Tours and Vian in the time of William the Conqueror. He had in his cuſtody a ſword which belonged to Sir Robert Umfreville, vice-admiral of England about the time of Richard II.—Mr. U. died in very indigent circumſtances, and has left a widow and one ſon.

At Marcham, Berks, Jn. Elwes, eſq. M. P. for that county, aged upwards of fourſcore; and a more reſpectable member never ſat in parliament. His property in land and money was immenſe. The former devolves to his nephew, the ſon of the late Colonel Timms, of the horſe guards. This is eſtimated at 7000l. per annum. The latter, to the amount of near 300,000l. excepting ſome few legacies, is equally divided between his two ſons.—Mr. E. had, during Lord North's adminiſtration, been offered an Engliſh peerage; but as, under his circumſtances, it could not have been hereditary, he declined it. Great part of the Circus Buildings, Seymour-ſtreet, &c. were his property. He was a man of clear perception, ſound judgment, and unſhaken integrity. In ſuch high eſtimation was he held for his love of juſtice, that numberleſs diſputes amongſt his conſtituents and others, which would have been decided by courts of law, were left to his ſole arbitrement; and his determination was ſure to be thoroughly ſatisfactory to the judicious. Yet, notwithſtanding his great and good character, he was a man (reſpecting himſelf) of an extraordinary penurious or ſingular turn. About 25 years ago, he would travel a whole day, viz. from his ſeat in Berkſhire to London, on horſeback, without baiting. He, at that time, was not only in the habit of gaming very high, but alſo lent large ſums on mortgage to an eminent builder. The money he lent was ſupplied by inſtallments, as the work was carried on. It happened, that on a Saturday a payment became due, and the builder

went to his houſe in Marlborough-ſtreet. Finding it ſhut up, he enquired at the gaming-houſe he belonged to, and was informed that he certainly was in town. (Mr. E. at this time, kept not even a man or maid-ſervant in town, to attend upon him.) The builder, being diſtreſſed, went back to Marlborough-ſtreet, but could gain no admittance. At laſt, he applied to the landlord of the public-houſe adjoining, for leave to get over the garden-wall, which he obtained, and by that means entered the houſe, went up ſtairs, and found Mr. Elwes in his bed, in ſuch an ill ſtate of health as not to be able to get out, and nothing near him but part of a halfpenny roll and a glaſs of water. The builder, procuring a chair, had him conveyed to his own houſe near Portman-ſquare, where he continued to lodge and board for ſeveral years afterwards.

At Scrooby, near Bawtry, aged 101, Mr. Thomas Loveday. He had practiſed the occupation of a blackſmith and farmer 75 years; and has left a ſon, who is now a farmer of the ſame place, aged 75.

In an advanced age, Johanna Horrel, of Exeter. She has left a fortune of upwards of 10,000l. amongſt ſeveral poor relations, one of whom was in the workhouſe at the time of her deceaſe. This ſum was amaſſed by her very rigid œconomy. After her death ſeveral thouſand pounds value of Bank of England notes were found in her lodgings; yet, though poſſeſſed of this wealth, her appearance beſpoke great poverty; and in the ſevereſt weather it was her cuſtom to ſit in the open ſtreet, with a few lemons and nuts for ſale to paſſengers.

At Llantriſſent, co. Monmouth, aged 109, J. Howell, yeoman.

At Galſton, aged 100, Marion Gibſon.—About ten years ago ſhe received a new ſet of teeth, and her eye-ſight was ſo clear that ſhe could read the ſmalleſt print.

At Paris, aged 81, the celebrated Vernet, marine-painter to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſo deſervedly eminent for the action and ſpirit of his figures, for the light and elegant taſte of his landſcapes, for the picturesque choice of the views he took from Nature, and, above all, for the ſoftneſs and harmony of his colouring.

In France, in his 73d year, James Paine, eſq. the celebrated architect.

At his country-ſeat in the county of Meath, aged 75, the celebrated George Cleghorn, M. D. profeſſor of anatomy in Trinity College, Dublin, fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine at Paris.

BIRTHS for the year 1789.

Jan. 8. Lady of the Right Hon. Charles Townſend, a daughter.

The lady of the Hon. the Maſter of the Rolls, a ſon.

14. Lady Elizabeth Yorke, a daughter.

15. The Hon. Lady Clive, a ſon.

16. Ducheſs of Northumberland, a ſon.

Feb. 2. Right Hon. Lady Vernon, a daughter.

23. Counteſs

23. Countess of Aylesford, a son.
28. Lady Augusta Clavering, a daughter.
Lately, Viscountess Maitland, a son.
Duchess of Leinster, a daughter.
Lady of Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart. a daughter.

March 2. Lady Louisa Macdonald, a son.
9. Countess of Cavan, a son.
11. Lady of Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. a daughter.
13. Lady Craysfort, a daughter.
19. Lady Theodosia Maria Vyner, a son.
29. Lady of Sir William Lemon, Bart. a daughter.

April 3. Lady of Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. a son.
21. Lady of Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart. a son.
30. Lady of Sir George Cornwall, Bart. a daughter.
Lady of Lord Kinnaird, a son.

June 1. Georgiana, Dowager Baroness Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, Esq. a daughter.
14. Lady of the Right Hon. Henry Addington, a son.
23. Viscountess Deerhurst, a son.
30. Countess of Plymouth, a son.

July 3. Viscountess Galway, a son.
5. Lady Sarah Crespigny, a son.
6. Her Catholic Majesty, a princess, named Maria Isabella, &c. &c.
8. Countess of Mexborough, a daughter.
14. Countess of Salisbury, a daughter.
15. Lady Arden, a daughter.
28. Lady Melbourne, a daughter.
29. Lady of Lord Saltoun, a daughter.

Aug. 4. Lady of Lieutenant Gen. John Hale, a son, her one and twentieth child.
12. Countess of Glasgow, a son.
14. Lady of Sir John Thorold, Bart. a son.

Sept. 8. Lady of the Hon. Colonel Rodney, a son.
12. Countess Poulett, a son.
Lady of Sir Gregory Page Turner, Bart. a son.
18. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.
27. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Justice Wilson, a son.

Oct. 2. Lady of Sir James Tylney Long, Bart. a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir William Burrel, Bart. a daughter.
8. Lady of Lord Boston, a son.
12. Lady of Sir Geo. Armytage, Bart. a daughter.
17. Lady of the Hon James Thomas Twisleton, a daughter.
18. Countess Spencer, a son.
30. Princess

30. Princeſs Frederica of Denmark, a daughter.

Nov. 5. Lady Geo. Henry Cavendiſh, a ſon.

18. Lady Balgonie, a daughter.

Lady Mary Martin, a ſon.

29. Lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Orde, a ſon.

30. Lady of Sir Tho. Rumbold, Bart. a daughter.

Dec. 2. Counteſs Dowager Waldegrave, a daughter.

3. Lady Mary Horton, a daughter.

11. Lady of Lord Napier, a daughter.

14. Viſcounteſs Stormont, a daughter.

16. Ducheſs of Leeds, a ſon.

25. Counteſs of Abergavenny, a ſon.

MARRIAGES for the year 1789.

Jan. 4. George Talbot, Eſq. ſon of the late Hon. and Rev. Dr. Talbot of Barton, to Miſs Charlotte Drake, daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Drake, of Amertham.

8. Nicholas Calvert, Eſq. to the Hon. Frances Pery, daughter of viſcount Pery of Ireland.

John Wright, jun. Eſq. of Kelvedon-Hall, Eſſex, to Miſs Eliza Lawſon, daughter of Sir John Lawſon, Bart.

11. Major Henry Gage, nephew and heir to Lord Gage, to Miſs Skinner, daughter of the late General Skinner.

18. Major-General Sir H. Calder, Bart. to Miſs Oſborne, daughter of the late Admiral Oſborne.

19. Edward Hales, Eſq. ſon of Sir Edward Hales, Bart. to Miſs Lucy Darell, daughter of Henry Darell, Eſq.

Lately, Lord Roſehill, ſon of the Earl of Northeſk, to Miſs Richetts, daughter of William Henry Richetts, Eſq. of Longwood, Hants.

Charles Blois, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir John Blois, Bart. to Miſs Clara Price, daughter of Jocelyn Price, Eſq. of Camblesforth, Yorkſhire.

Feb. 16. General Rainsford to Miſs Cornwallis Molyneux, daughter of the late Sir More Molyneux.

17. Charles Owen Cambridge, Eſq. to the Hon. Mrs. Cochrane.

21. The Hon. Richard Edgecumbe to Lady Sophia Hobart, daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire.

23. John Holden Strutt, Eſq. ſon to John Strutt, Eſq. M. P. for Malden, to lady Charlotte Fitzgerald, ſiſter to the duke of Leinſter.

24. Thomas Ivie Cooke, Eſq. to Lady Amelia Murray.

Tho.

Tho. Strickland, Esq. of Sizergh, Westmoreland, to Miss Lawson, daughter of Sir John Lawson, Bart.

In Ireland, the Hon. Robert Rochford, to Miss Smyth, of Dumcree.

Lately, Lord de Clifford of Ireland to Miss Mary Bourke, daughter of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Jacob Astley, Esq. eldest son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. to Miss Browne, daughter of the late Samuel Browne, Esq. of Lynn.

March 11. Thomas Horton, jun. Esq. of Holroyde-house, Yorkshire, to Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen.

22. John Lord Lindores, to Miss Jane Reeve, daughter and coheiress of the late Sir Thomas Reeve, Bart.

25. Rev. Edward Townshend, nephew to the late Charles, viscount Townshend, to Miss Louisa Milner, daughter of the late Sir William Milner, Bart.

April 1. Henry Lord Apsley, to Miss Georgina Lenox, daughter of Lord George Lenox.

3. Sir Robert Sinclair, Bart. to Lady Madelina Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon.

Lately, at Utrecht, Lord Aghrim, son of the Earl of Athlone, to Miss Munter.

23. Duke of Aost, son of the king of Sardinia, to the Archduchess Maria Theresa.

24. Bernard Edward Howard, Esq. of Farnham, Suffolk, to Lady Elizabeth Bellasyse, daughter of Earl Fauconberg.

Lately, Captain Barrington Price, to Lady Maria Bowes, daughter of the late Earl of Strathmore.

May 16. Sir John Caldwall, count of the sacred Roman empire, and Bart. to Miss Harriot Meynell, daughter of the late Hugh Meynell, Esq.

20. Sir Simeon Stuart, Bart. to Miss Olmius, daughter of the Hon. John Luttrel Olmius.

23. Lord Leslie, son of the countess of Rothes, to the Hon. Miss Pelham, daughter of Lord Pelham.

John Sullivan, Esq. of Ritechin's Park, Bucks, to Miss Henrietta Anne Barbara Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Hobart.

Edw. Desbrowe, Esq. of Walton upon Thames, to Miss Charlotte Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Hobart.

28. The Hon. Mr. Talbot, brother and heir to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to Miss Clifton, second daughter

daughter of the late Thomas Clifton, Esq. of Leatham, Lancashire.

June 6. Mr. Markham, son of the Archbishop of York, to Miss Sutton, daughter to Sir Richard Sutton.

9. Cholmoley Dering Esq. second son of Sir Edw. Dering, Bart. to Miss Yates, daughter of the late Sir Joseph Yates.

15. Lord William Murray, to Miss Hodges, granddaughter of the late Sir James Hodges.

16. Thomas Lockwood, jun. Esq. to Miss Charlotte Manners Sutton, daughter of the late Lord George Manners Sutton.

22. John Maxwell, Esq. son of the bishop of Meath, to the Hon. Miss Annesley, daughter of viscount Valentia.

30. The Earl of Newburgh to Miss Webb, niece to Sir John Webb, Bart.

Sir Wm. Foulis, bart. to Miss Mary Anne Turner.

July 1. Viscount Powerscourt to Lady Catharine Meade, daughter to the Earl of Clanwilliam.

8. Fitzwilliam Barrington, Esq. second son of Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, Bart. to Miss Marshall, daughter of Captain Samuel Marshall of the Navy.

11. George Douglas, Esq. of Cavers, to Lady Grace Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Moray.

Lord William Russell, to Lady Charlotte Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.

16. Sir Charles Watson, Bart. son of the late Admiral Watson, to Miss Juliana Copley, daughter of the late Sir Joseph Copley, Bart.

27. The Hon. Col. Fane, to Miss Lowe.

28. John Campbell, Esq. to Lady Caroline Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle.

Aug. 3. The Hon. W. Finch, brother to the Earl of Aylesford, to Miss Brouncher, daughter of the late Henry Brouncher, Esq. of St. Christopher's.

4. James Fox Lane, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Pitt, daughter of Lord Rivers.

6. Charles Cameron, Esq. to Lady Mary Hay, daughter of the late Earl of Errol.

7. Michael Angelo Taylor, Esq. M. P. for Poole, to Miss Vane, daughter of Sir Henry Vane, Bart.

Lawrence Palke, Esq. only son of Sir Robert Palke, bart. to Lady Mary Bligh.

Lately, at Lintz, in Upper Lusatia, Geo. Sheldon, Esq. to the Countess Dow. Daun, daughter

daughter of Charles prince of Averſperg, and widow of Leopold Count Daun, prince of Tiano, in Naples, and ſon of the celebrated Marſhal ct. Daun.

10. Charles Stirling, Eſq. of the navy, ſon of Sir William Stirling, to Miſs Charlotte Grote, daughter of the late Andrew Grote, Eſq.

12. Sir Patrick Blake, Bart. to Miſs Phipps, of Bury.

Lately, William Butler, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Maſſey, daughter of the late Lord Maſſey.

Henry Cavendiſh, eldeſt ſon of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendiſh, Bart. to Miſs Cooper.

19. Earl of Maſſareene to Madame Mary Anne Barcier, the Lady that lately accompanied him from France.

29. John King Daſhwood, Eſq. only ſon of Sir John Daſhwood, Bart. to Miſs Broadhead, daughter of Theodore Broadhead, Eſq. of Carſhalton.

Sept. 9. Lieutenant-Colonel Ch. Lenox, to Lady Charlotte Gordon, daughter of the Duke of Gordon.

16. Henry Hervey Aſton, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Ingram, daughter to the late Lord Irvin.

26. Sylveſter Douglas, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs North, daughter of Lord North.

Oct. 12. Robert Blencowe, Eſq. of the Inner Temple, to Miſs Penelope Robinſon, daughter of Sir Geo. Robinſon, Bart.

In Ireland, Sir John Hort, Bart. to Miſs Aylmer.

14. Sir William Dolben, Bart. to Mrs. Scotchmer, relict of the late John Scotchmer, Eſq. of Bury.

Nov. 4. Sir James St. Clair, to Miſs Bouverie, niece to the Earl of Radnor.

Dec. 29. Henry Hare Townſhend, Eſq. of Bruce-caſtle, to Miſs Charlotte Lake, daughter of Sir James Lake, Bart.

30. Captain Sutherland, of the Navy, to Miſs Louiſa Colebrooke, daughter of Sir Geo. Colebrooke, Bart.

PROMOTIONS for the year 1789.

January 5. Right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

— 14. Right hon. Wm. Brabazon Ponſonby, and Charles lord Loftus, to be joint poſtmaſters general of Ireland.

Feb. 27. Robert Lawley, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Robert Lawley Bart. to be equerry to the Duke of Cumberland.

March 11. Earl Delawar, to be a lord

a lord of the bed-chamber.

— 12. Major-general Weſt Hyde, to be Col. of the 20th regiment of foot.

— 14. General Joſeph lord Dover, to be Col. of the 1ſt regiment of life-guards.

Gen. Studholme Hodgſon, to be col. of the 11th regiment of light dragoons.

— 17. Lt. General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. to be Col. of the 7th regiment of dragoon guards.

Major-General Francis Laſcelles, to be Col. of the 8th regiment of light dragoons.

— 21. Dr. Samuel Halifax, biſhop of Glouceſter, to be biſhop of St. Aſaph.

— 28. Dr. Euſeby Cleaver, to be biſhop of Cork and Roſs.

Rev. Mr. Sergrove, elected maſter of Pembroke College, Oxon, vice Dr. Adams, deceaſed.

April 3. John Earl of Chatham, to be a privy-counſellor.

— 7. Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, to be maſter ſurveyor of the ordnance.

— 9. Prince Edward, to be Col. of the 7th regiment of foot.

— 10. Major-General William Gordon, to be Col. of the 71ſt regiment of foot.

— 16. Lord Robert Fitzgerald, to be ſecretary of the embaſſy to France.

Rev. Thomas Williams, to be a prebendary of Canterbury, vice Dr. Lucas, deceaſed.

Rev. William Craven, B. D. elected maſter of St. John's College, Cambridge, vice Dr. Chevalier, deceaſed.

The hon. major Robert Hobart, to be chief ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a privy-counſellor of Ireland.

— 20. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. to be a privy-counſellor.

May 5. Robert, archbiſhop of Dublin, the Right hon. Hugh Carleton, chief juſtice of the common pleas, and Sir Samuel Bradſtreet, one of the juſtices of the King's Bench, to be commiſſioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of Ireland.

— 15. Right hon. Sir William Wynne, to be a privy-counſellor.

George Duke of Montague, to be Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonſhire.

— 16. Right hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, to be envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the ſtates general of the United Provinces.

— 19. Prince William Henry, to be Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews in Great Britain, and Earl of Munſter in Ireland.

— 30. Dr. Richard Beadon, to be biſhop of Glouceſter.

Earl of Leven, to be High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

June 1. Hon. Captain George Keith Elphinſtone, to be treaſurer and comptroller of the houſhold to the Duke of Clarence.

Captains Sir John Borlaſe Warren, Bart. and Charles Morrice Pole, and Col. Wm. Dalrymple, to be grooms of the bedchamber to his Royal Highneſs.

Captains Hugh Clobery Chriſtian and the hon. John Rodney, and Col. John Byde, to be his equerries.

Dr. Wm. Blane and Dr. Benjamin Moſely, to be his phyſicians, and the latter, phyſician of the houſhold.

Thomas Keate, Esq. to be Surgeon.

Rev. Mr. Weston, to be a prebendary of Durham, vice Dr. Chaytor, deceased.

— 2. Hon. Tho. Francis Wenman, LL.D. to be professor of the civil law in Oxford.

Sir William Gibbon, Bart. to be Commissioner of the sick and hurt office, vice Corbet, deceased.

— 5. Right hon. Wm. Wyndham Grenville, to be secretary of state.

Major-General George Ainslie, to be Col. of the 13th regiment of foot.

— 6. General James Murray, to be Col. of the 21st regiment of foot.

Lieutenant General Lord Adam Gordon, to be commander in chief of the army in Scotland.

Lieutenant General James Grant, to be Governor of Stirling Castle.

— 8. Henry Addington, Esq. to be speaker of the house of commons.

— 9. Thomas Lord Sydney, to be viscount Sydney.

— 13. Thomas viscount Sydney, to be chief justice in Eyre South of Trent.

Dr. Euseby Cleaver, bishop of Cork and Ross, to be bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.

Rev. Wm. Forster, A. M. to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

— 16. Hon. John Trevor, envoy extraordinary to the court of Turin, to be minister plenipotentiary to that court.

Rev. Tho. Postlethwayte, B. D. to be master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

— 20. Right hon. John Fitzgibbon, to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

— 23. The Duke of Clarence, and the Right Hon. Henry Addington, to be privy-counsellors.

July 6. Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to be Lord Fitzgibbon.

Major General Robert Prescott, to be Col. of the 28th regiment of foot.

— 17. John Lloyd and John Mitford, Esqs. to be justices of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, &c. and also King's Counsel.

— 18. Martin Eden, Esq. envoy extraordinary at Dresden, to be minister plenipotentiary there.

Charles Henry Fraser, Esq. to be secretary of embassy at the Court of Madrid, and minister plenipotentiary in the absence of the Ambassador.

Alexander Strutton, Esq. to be secretary of legation at the Court of Vienna.

William Lindsey, Esq. the same at the Court of Peterburgh.

Francis James Jackson, Esq. to be the same at Berlin.

Peter Holmes, Richard Townsend Herbert, Edward Fitzgerald, Samuel Hayes, and George Rawson, Eqrs. to be Commissioners of the stamp-duties in Ireland.

Charles Lord Loftus, and Charles Earl of Bellamount, post-masters-general of Ireland.

Edward Tighe, Esq. Sir Frederick Flood, Bart. Charles Henry Coote, and John Reilley, Esqrs. with the auditor of the impress for the time being, to be Commissioners of extraordinary and impress accounts.

The Rev. Dr. Pearce, master of the Temple, to be master of Jesus College Cambridge, vice Dr. Beadon, resigned.

J. W. Rose, Esq. to be Recorder of the City of London, vice Mr. Serjeant

Serjeant Adair, reſigned.

Charles Yorke, Eſq. to be chief juſtice of Ely, vice —— Partridge reſigned.

— 21. Rev. William Bingham, M. A. to be Archdeacon of London.

Aug. 8. Right Hon. William Pitt, Hon. Edward James Eliot, Richard Earl of Mornington, John Jefferies viſcount Bayham, and Henry Lord Apſley, to be Lords of the treaſury.

James Marquis of Graham, to be a privy counſellor, and preſident of the Committee for the conſideration of all matters relative to trade and foreign plantations in the abſence of Lord Hawkeſbury.

In Ireland.

12. Henry Earl of Clanrickard, to be Marquis of Clanrickarde.

Randal William Earl of Antrim, to be Marquis of Antrim.

George Earl of Tyrone, to be Marquis of the country of Waterford.

Wills Earl of Hillſborough, to be Marquis of Downſhire.

Francis Charles viſcount Glerawly, to be Earl Annefley.

William viſcount Enniſkillen, to be Earl of Enniſkillen.

John viſcount Erne, to be Earl Erne.

John Joſhua Lord Carysfort, to be Earl of Carysfort.

John Lord Earlsfort, to be viſcount Clonmell.

John Newport, Robert Bateſon Harvey, Samuel Hayes, and Robert Hodſon Barry, Eſqrs. to be Baronets.

Arthur Wolfe, Eſq. to be a privy-counſellor and attorney-general.

John Toler, Eſq. to be ſolicitor-general.

John Earl of Glandore, and John Joſhua Earl of Carysfort, to be guardians and keepers of the Rolls.

Aug. 15. Joſeph Ewart, Eſq. envoy extraordinary at Berlin, to be miniſter plenipotentiary at that Court.

John Earl of Chatham, Richard Hopkins, Eſq. Charles George Lord Arden, Samuel Lord Hood, Sir Francis Drake, Bart. Robert viſcount Belgrave, and the Hon. John Thomas Townſhend, to be Lords of the admiralty.

Conſtantine John Lord Mulgrave, and James Marquis of Graham, to be paymaſters-general of the forces.

— 18. James Earl of Saliſbury, to be Marquis of Saliſbury.

Thomas viſcount Weymouth, to be Marquis of Bath.

George viſcount Mount Edgcumbe and Valletort, to be Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

Hugh Lord Forteſcue, to be Earl Forteſcue and viſcount Ebrington.

— 19. Hon. Joſeph Hewit, to be ſecond Serjeant at law in Ireland.

Henry Lawes Earl of Carhampton, to be Lieutenant General of the ordnance in Ireland.

— 22. William Henry Earl of Clermont, to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales.

— 29. George Evelyn viſcount Falmouth, to be chief juſtice in Eyre North of Trent.

Sept. 9. Right Hon. Hugh Carleton, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, to be Baron Carleton of Ireland.

Right Hon. William Eden, to be Baron Auckland of Ireland.

Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, to be Baron Mountjoy of Ireland.

Right Hon. Robert Stewart, to be

be Baron Londonderry of Ireland.

Sir John Browne, Bart. to be Baron Kilmaine, of Ireland.

Sir Nicholas Lawleſs, Bart. to be Baron Cloncurry of Ireland.

Henry Gore, Eſq. to be Baron Annaly of Ireland.

Sir Sampſon Eardley, Bart. to be Baron Eardley of Ireland.

— 12. Lord Walſingham, and the Earl of Weſtmoreland, to be poſtmaſters-general.

Earl of Cheſterfield to be maſter of the mint.

Timothy Caſwall, Eſq. to be Commiſſioner of Exciſe.

John Armſtrong and John Agar Eſqrs. to be privy-counſellors of Ireland.

— 18. Thomas Loftus, Eſq. to be principal ſtorekeeper of the ordnance of Ireland.

Robert Wynne, Eſq. to be clerk of the deliveries.

John Armit, Eſq. to be ſecretary to the board of ordnance.

— 20. John Joſhua Lord Carysfort, to be a privy-counſellor of Ireland.

— 26. Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. to be reſident at Venice.

Lieutenant General John Douglas to be colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoon-guards.

Alexander Earl of Balcarras, to be Colonel of the 63d regiment of foot.

Oct. 7. Duke of Dorſet, to be Lord ſteward of the houſhold.

— 14. John Earl of Weſtmoreland, to be a privy counſellor of Great-Britain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Cecil Hamilton, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, M. A. canon of Windſor, deceaſed, brother of the late James Earl of Abercorn, to have precedence as the daughter of an Earl of the kingdom of Great-Britain, by the name of the Right Hon. Lady Cecil Hamilton.

— 31. Ilay Campbell, Eſq. of Succoth, to be preſident of the College of Juſtice in Scotland.

Robert Dundas, Eſq. of Arniſton, to be Lord Advocate of Scotland.

Robert Blair, Eſq. to be Solicitor for Scotland.

Nov. 2. Major Francis Groſe, to be Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales.

— 3. John Laforey, Eſq. Captain in the Royal Navy, to be a Bart.

— John Wm. Roſe, Eſq. Recorder of London, to be Serjeant at law.

— 7. Earl Fauconberg to be Col. of the North York militia.

DEATHS for the year 1789.

Jan. 1. The Right Hon. Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantley, Baron of Markenfield in Yorkſhire, a lord of trade and plantations, Chief Juſtice in Eyre of his Majeſty's foreſts South of Trent, Recorder of Guildford, Surrey, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and LL.D.—He was born June 23, 1716; and married, May 22, 1741, Grace, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Chapple, Knight, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench; by whom he has left iſſue, 1. William, the preſent Lord, born in 1742; 2. Fletcher, a baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, born in 1744; 3. Chapple, a Major-General in the Army, and Colonel in the ſecond Regiment of guards, and M. P. for Guildford, born in

1746. Grace, born in November, 1752. — In 1761, he was appointed Solicitor-General, upon the reſignation of the Hon. Cha. Yorke, and was at the ſame time knighted. In 1763, he was made Attorney-General. In 1765, he was removed from the latter, and ſucceeded by Mr. Yorke. In 1769, he was made chief juſtice in Eyre, South of Trent, which place he held until his death. In 1770, he was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in which ſtation he continued till 1780.—In 1782, he was created a peer.—His Lordſhip was deſcended, paternally, from a very ancient family in Yorkſhire and Suffolk; and was maternally deſcended from Suſan, daughter of Richard Nevil, Lord Latimer, in 1531, deſcended from the firſt Earl of Weſtmoreland, by a daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, ſon of Edward III.

2. The Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and Chief Juſtice in Eyre, North of Trent.

Sir Robert Bernard, Bart.

Lady Betty Archer, ſiſter to the late Earl of Halifax, and relict of Henry Archer, Eſq.

Sir William Maxwell, Bart.

6. The Right Hon. Noel Hill, Lord Berwick. He was created a peer May 19th 1784. He married, November 17th 1768, Anne, dauughter of Henry Vernon, of Hilton in Staffordſhire; by whom he has left iſſue, Thomas, the preſent Lord, born October 7th 1774, William, Richard, Henrietta Maria, Anne, and Amelia Louiſa.

Don Genaro, ſecond ſon of their Sicilian Majeſties.

11. Sir Charles Barrow, Bart. M. P. for Glouceſter.

Lately, James Viſcount Clifden of Ireland.

22. The Hon. Anne Herbert, relict of the Hon. Nicholas Herbert.

Lieutenant General William Wynyard.

The Hon. Harriet Emma Mariana Devereux, daughter of Viſcount Hereford.

25. Admiral James Young.

The Hon. Mrs. Temple, mother of Lord Palmerſton.

Feb. 3. Don Carlos, youngeſt ſon of their Sicilian Majeſties.

Anne, Dow. Viſcounteſs Bangor.

8. Hon. Mr. Talbot, brother and preſumptive heir to the Earl of Shrewſbury.

14. Lady Henrietta Gordon, daughter of Alexander, ſecond Duke of Gordon.

15. Lady Dowager Bamfylde, mother of Sir Charles Warwick Bamfylde, Bart.

Rear Admiral Matthew Whitwell, younger brother to Lord Howard de Walden.

17. The Hon. Miſs Johnſtone, ſiſter to the Marquis of Arundale.

22. The Hon. Eleanor Courtney, ſiſter of Viſcount Courtney.

25. Lady Robinſon, relict of Sir William Robinſon, Bart.

March 7. The Hon. Frances Catharine Legge, daughter of Lord Lewiſham.

11. In her 81ſt year, Right Hon. Ellis Agar, Counteſs of Brandon. Her Ladyſhip was married in the year 1726 to the Right Hon. Sir Theobald Burke, Bart. afterwards Lord Viſcount Mayo; and, ſome years after his deceaſe, to the Right Hon. Francis Lord Athenry, premier baron of Ireland; after whoſe deceaſe, in the year 1758, ſhe was created Counteſs of Brandon.

23. In

23. In his 76th year, the Moſt Noble Thomas Oſborne, Duke of Leeds, Marquis of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viſcount Latimer and Dumblain, Baron Oſborne of Kiveton, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Baronet, one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, LL.D. and F.R.S. His Grace was the only ſurviving ſon of Peregrine Hyde, Duke of Leeds, by his firſt wife, the Lady Elizabeth Harley, daughter of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High Treaſurer of England; was born November 6th 1713, and ſucceeded to his father's honours and eſtates May 9th, 1731. June 6th, 1740, he married the Lady Mary, youngeſt daughter of Francis E. of Godolphin, who departed this life Auguſt 3d, 1764, by whom he had iſſue a ſon, born in 1741, who lived but a few days; Henrietta, born in 1744, who died ſoon after; Thomas Marquis of Carmarthen, born January 29th, 1750, (called up by writ to the Houſe of Peers in May 1776, as Baron Oſborne of Kiveton,) now Duke of Leeds, and one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

April 2d. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. John Lord M^cLeod, Major-General in the Britiſh ſervice, and Colonel of the 71ſt regiment of foot, alſo Count Cromartie, and a commandant of the order of the Sword, in the kingdom of Sweden. He was the eldeſt ſon of the late Earl of Cromartie, and at an early period of life entered into the Swediſh army, where he for many years ſerved with great reputation. On the breaking-out of the American war, he came home, raiſed a good regiment of two battalions of his own countrymen, with whom he went to the Eaſt Indies. On the forfeited eſtates being reſtored, in 1784, his Lordſhip had the family eſtate of Cromartie reſtored to him. He married, in 1786, the eldeſt daughter of Lord Forbes, but has left no iſſue.

5. William Holles, Viſcount Vane of Ireland, great grandſon of the famous Sir Henry Vane. He was born February 4th 1713-14, and married, in 1735, Frances, the widow of Lord William Hamilton, and daughter of William Hawes, Eſq. of Purby, Berks, who died in March 1788, [ſee vol. XXX. p. 231, where, by miſtake, Suſannah Viſcounteſs Fane, is inſerted inſtead of Frances Viſcounteſs Vane.] She was the celebrated beauty of that name, and, dying without iſſue, the title is extinct.

7. Achmet IV. grand ſignior.

8. John Earl of Caithneſs. The title devolves on Sir John Sinclair of May.

9. Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.

13. Brigadier General Hope, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec.

22. The youngeſt daughter of Lord Vernon.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, ſiſter to Lord Caſtlewart.

James Viſcount Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

May 6. The Hon. George Byron, brother to Lord Byron.

12. The Hon. John William Townſhend, only ſurviving ſon of the late Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, and heir to the barony of Greenwich, on the death of his mother, Carolina Counteſs Dowager of Dalkeith.

13. Sir Thomas Willam Trollope, Bart.

17. The Hon. Emily Eliza-

beth Coventry, daughter of Viſcount Deerhurſt.

29. Georgiana Lady Dowager Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, Eſq.

31. Lieut. General Mackay, commander in chief for Scotland.

June 2. At Berlin, Baron Knyphauſen, an Heſſian general, in the Britiſh ſervice in the late war.

3. Lady of Lord Ducie.

4. Louis Joſeph Xavier Benedict, dauphin of France.

The Hon. Mrs. Vane, relict of the Hon. Raby Vane, brother of the Earl of Darlington.

7. Sir Stanier Porter, knight.

15. Sir John Silveſter Smyth, Bart.

26. Ralph Viſcount Wicklow of Ireland.—He was the ſon of Dr. Robert Howard, Biſhop of Elphin, and married the heireſs of William Forward, Eſq. of the county of Donegal.

30. Lady Frances Steuart, ſiſter of the Earl of Wemyſs, and relict of the late Sir James Steuart Denham, Bart.

July 1. Miſs Hannay, daughter of Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart.

8. Mrs. Mary Craven, mother of Lord Craven.

12. James Brydges, Eſq. ſon of the late Hon. and Rev. Henry Brydges, brother to the firſt Duke of Chandos. By his death the inheritance of the Earldom of Carnarvon becomes extinct.

17. Counteſs of Lauderdale.

21. The Earl of Stair: he is ſucceeded by his Son Lord Viſcount Dalrymple, Ambaſſador at the Court of Pruſſia.

23. Chriſtabella Dowager Viſcounteſs Saye and Sele:—ſhe was the daughter of Sir John Terrel, Bart. and died, having been thrice married, at the age of 94. Her favourite amuſement was dancing, in which ſhe indulged to the laſt week of her life.

27. Oſwald Moſley, eldeſt ſon of Sir John Moſley, Bart.

28. Counteſs of Charleville.

29. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. in his 41ſt year, of Wynſtay, co. Denbigh, M. P. for that county, Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Merionethſhire, and a Vice-Preſident of the Weſtminſter General Diſpenſary. He married, firſt, Lady Harriet Somerſet, ſiſter to the Duke of Beaufort, who died without iſſue; 2dly, Miſs Grenville, ſiſter to the Marquis of Buckingham, by whom he has eight children.

30. The Dowager Lady Carberry.

31. Richard Viſcount Boyne.

The Hon. Gen. John Fitzwilliam.

Counteſs Dowager of Caſtlehaven.

Aug. 3. Elizabeth Lady Dowager Cathcart:—ſhe was four times married, and died without iſſue.

Right Hon. Sir John Goodrick, Bart. M. P. for Ripon, and formerly Ambaſſador to Sweden.

8. Louiſa Marchioneſs of Landſdowne, ſiſter of the Earl of Upper Oſſory. She has left a ſon and a daughter.

14. The Hon. Miſs Southwell, daughter of the late Lord Clifford of Appleby.

Lady Mitchell, relict of Sir Andrew Mitchell, Bart.

16. Lady Anne Cole, aged 19, daughter of the Earl of Enniſkillen. Her death was occaſioned by drinking cold lemonade when heated by dancing.

17. Mrs. Burrell, grandmother to Sir Peter Burrell, the ducheſſes of Northumberland and Hamilton, and Lady Lovaine.

17. James

17. James Earl of Lauderdale, Viſcount Maitland, Lord Thurleſtone, Muſſelburgh, and Bolton, heritable Royal Standard-bearer of Scotland, Baronet of Nova Scotia, and formerſy Lord Lieutenant and High Sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, and one of the Lords of Police. His Lordſhip was the eldeſt of eight ſons of Charles ſixth Earl of Lauderdale, by the Lady Elizabeth Ogilvie, daughter of James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, the laſt Chancellor of Scotland. He was born in the year 1718; ſucceeded his father in 1744; was one of the ſixteen repreſentatives of the Scottiſh peerage in the tenth and eleventh parliaments of Great Britain, and again elected, July 24, 1782, during the courſe of the fifteenth parliament. He ſerved early in the army, roſe to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and had the command of the 16th regiment of foot, which he held for ſeveral years, but reſigned in conſequence of a partiality diſcovered in the promotion of a junior officer. In 1749 he married Mary Turner Lombe, daughter and coheireſs of Sir Thomas Lombe, of the county of Kent, whoſe lamented death happened on the 18th of laſt month. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded in honours and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon James Lord Viſcount Maitland, M. P. for Malmſbury, now Earl of Lauderdale.

20. Lord Carlingford, only ſon of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

Sept. 4. The ducheſs of St. Alban's.

5. Counteſs of Dyſert.

Lately, the Hon. Caroline Sackville, ſiſter to Viſcount Sackville.

14. Sir Robert Barker, Bart. many years commander in chief of the Eaſt India company's forces in Bengal.

19 Counteſs of Donegal.

27. Right Hon. Sir Thomas Miller, Bart. of Glenlee, preſident of the court of ſeſſion in Scotland.

29. James Duke of Chandos, Marquis and Earl of Carnarvon, Viſcount Wilton, and Baron Chandos, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſhold, Ranger of Enfield Chace, High Steward of the city of Wincheſter, one of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and LL.D. He was grandſon of the firſt Duke of Chandos, and by the female ſide he was *royally* deſcended. His mother was the coheireſs of Charles Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Ayleſbury, who was the repreſentative, through the noble families of Seymour and Grey, of the eldeſt daughter and coheireſs of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mary Queen-Dowager of France, his wife, youngeſt daughter of Henry VII.—His Grace was born Dec. 27, 1731; and at the general elections in 1754, and 1761, he was elected knight of the ſhire for Radnorſhire. He ſucceeded his father Nov. 28, 1771. On the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, he was appointed one of the Lords of his Majeſty's bed-chamber, which he reſigned in 1764; and, Dec. 26, 1783, he ſucceeded William Earl of Dartmouth in the office of Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſehold.—His Grace was twice married; his firſt lady was Margaret, daughter and ſole heir of John Nicol, eſq; of Minchenden-houſe, Southgate, who died Aug. 14, 1768, and by whom he had no iſſue. His ſecond lady was the preſent Ducheſs, Anne-Eliza, daughter of Richard Gamon, eſq; and

widow of Roger Hope Elletſon, eſq; lieutenant governor of Jamaica, married to the Duke June 21, 1777, and by whom he had two daughters, Lady Georgiana-Charlotte, to whom their Majeſties were ſponſors in perſon, who died the day following, and Lady Anna-Eliza, his only ſurviving child, born Oct. 22, 1779; on whom the bulk of his large fortune deſcends.—He was the laſt male iſſue of James Brydges, eighth Lord Chandos; his couſin, Mr. James Brydges, ſon of the Archdeacon of Rocheſter, dying iſſueleſs about three months before him. The barony is claimed by the Rev. Edward Tymewell Brydges, of Wootton-court, in Kent, as next heir male of the body of the firſt Baron in 1554; and he accordingly has petitioned for his writ of ſummons.

Lady Margaret Graham, relict of the late Nichol Graham, Eſq.

Oct. 2. Francis Earl of Huntingdon, tenth Earl of Huntingdon, Baron Moels (by writ of ſummons 27 Edward I.) Molines (21 Edward III.) Botreux (42 Ed. III.) Hungerford of Heyteſbury (7 Jan. 1425, 4 Henry VI.) and Haſtings of Aſhby de la Zouch (26 July, 1461, 1 Edward IV.) He was born April 5, 1729, and died unmarried. The earldom is ſuppoſed to be extinct, but the baronies deſcend to his only ſurviving ſiſter, Elizabeth Counteſs of Moira, of the kingdom of Ireland.

9. Rt. Hon. James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn and Baron Paiſley in Scotland, Viſcount Hamilton in England, and Viſcount Strabane in Ireland; alſo a privy counſellor of that kingdom. He was born in the year 1712, and was the only nobleman in the kingdom who united in his own perſon the honours of the peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He was ſummoned by writ to the Houſe of Peers of Ireland in 1736; ſucceeded his father as Earl of Abercorn, Jan. 13, 1744; and was created Viſcount Hamilton, Aug. 8, 1786. His Lordſhip died unmarried. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded in his honours and eſtates by his nephew, James Hamilton, Eſq. M. P. for St. Germain's.

12. John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, and Viſcount Dalrymple. He is ſucceeded in titles and eſtate by his ſon John, now Earl of Stair, late one of His Majeſty's ambaſſadors at the court of Berlin.

16. Lady of Lord Macdonald.

17. At the Earl of Aylesford's ſeat at Packington, co. Warwick, the Right Hon. George Waldegrave, Earl Waldegrave, Viſcount Chewton, and Baron Waldegrave, Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, Aid-de-camp to the King, Colonel of the 63d regiment of foot, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council. He was born Nov. 21, 1751; married May 5, 1782, to Lady Elizabeth-Laura Waldegrave, eldeſt daughter of his uncle, Earl James, and her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, by whom he had iſſue one daughter, born July 14, 1783, and a ſon, born July 13, 1784.

18. Lady Mannock, relict of Sir James Mannock, Bart.

20. Anne Counteſs Dowager of Albemarle.

Nov. 8. Admiral John Vaughan.

9. The Hon. Mrs. Howard, wife of Henry Howard, Eſq. and daughter of the laſt Lord Archer.

18. Rear Admiral Sir Francis Samuel Drake, Bart.

Sir John Read, Bart.

Thomas Beddingfield, Eſq. ſon of Sir Richard Beddingfield, Bart.

At

At Bologna, the Ducheſs of Albany, natural daughter of the late Pretender, who ſent for her from France ſome time before his death, and had her legitimated. Her complaint was an abſceſs in the ſide, and is attributed to a fall from her horſe ſome time before ſhe left France. She was the laſt direct deſcendant (if a natural child can be ſo called) of the Stuarts, except the Cardinal of York, who is her heir, excepting a few ſmall legacies to domeſtics.

20. Archducheſs Maria Anna of Auſtria.

21. Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.

Dec. Lately, Sir J. Liſter Kaye, Bart.

13. Lady of the Hon. George Keith Elphinſtone.

22. At Florence, the Right Hon. George Naſſau Clavering Cowper, Earl Cowper, Viſcount Fordwich, Baron Cowper of Wingham, and Baronet of England and Nova Scotia; Prince of Milan in the Holy Roman Empire, and Knight of the Order of St. Hubert. He was born Aug. 26, 1738, and ſucceeded his father, Earl William, Sept. 18, 1764. His Lordſhip was married, in the year 1775, to Miſs Hannah A. Gore, youngeſt daughter of Charles G. eſq. of Southampton; by whom he has left iſſue. 1. George-Auguſtus, born Auguſt 9, 1776, who ſucceeds to his titles and eſtates; 2. Peter-Leopold-Louis-Francis, born May 6, 1778; and, 3. Edward-Spencer, born July 16, 1779. —The late Lord was grandſon to the famous Sir William Cowper (who, in 1705, was made lord-keeper of the great ſeal, created Baron of Wingham in Kent, Nov. 9, 1706, and Viſcount Fordwich, and Earl Cowper, March 18, 1718) and was created a Prince by the preſent Emperor.

26. Lady Forbes, relict of Sir William Forbes, Bart.

27. At Melville-houſe in Scotland, John Lord Ruthven, great-grandſon of Thomas firſt Lord, by his grand-daughter Iſabella, the wife of Col. James Johnſton, ſummoned to the coronations of Geo. I. and II. as Baroneſs Ruthven. The honour, forfeited by the famous Gowrie conſpiracy againſt James I. was revived by Charles II. 1651, in the perſon of Sir Thomas Robert Freeland.—His Lordſhip married, in 1776, Lady Mary Leſlie, daughter of the Earl of Leven, and has left a numerous family. He ſucceeded his father in 1783, who had been twice married; firſt, to Miſs Janet Neſbet, of Dirleton, who was the mother of the late Lord; ſecondly, to Lady Anne Stewart, ſiſter to the Earl of Bute, by whom he had ſeveral children.

SHERIFFS *appointed for the Year* 1789.

Berkſhire. Edward Golden, of Maiden Earley, Eſq.

Bedfordſhire. Samuel Boyden, of Milton Erneſs, Eſq.

Bucks. Richard Davenport, of Great Marlow, Eſq.

Camb. and Hunt. Thomas Panton, of Fen Ditton, Eſq.

Cheſhire. Sir John Chetwode, of Agden, Bart.

Cornwall. Robert Lovell Gwatkin, of Kiliow, Eſq.

Cumberland. Thomas Denton, of Warnal-hall, Eſq.

Derbyſhire. Martin Farnell, of Coton in the Elmes, Eſq.

Devonſhire. Montague Edmund Parker, of Whiteway, Eſq.

Dorſetſhire. Frederick Thomas Wentworth, of Henbury, Eſq.

Eſſex. Thomas Fowell Buxton, of Earl's Colne, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. George Miller, of Ozleworth, Eſq.

Herefordſhire. William Taylor, of Tillington, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire. Drummond Smith, of Tring Park, Eſq.

Kent. John Cartier, of Bedgbury, Eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. Joſiah Cockſhutt, of Oſbaldiſton, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Lewis Dymoke, of Screvelſby, Eſq.

Monmouthſhire. Thomas Lewis, of Saint Peer, Eſq.

Norfolk. Brampton Gurdon Dillingham, of Letton, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire. Richard Hanwell, of Long Buckby, Eſq.

Northumberland. Robert Liſle, of Acton, Eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. John Chamberlin, of Sutton Bonnington, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire. John Blackall, jun. of Haſley, Eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Benjamin Cramp, of Oakham, Eſq.

Shropſhire. Joſeph Oldham, of Cainham, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire. George Templar, of Shapwick, Eſq.

Staffordſhire. Thomas Leverſage Fowler, of Penford, Eſq.

Suffolk. Nathaniel Lee Acton, of Livermore, Eſq.

County of Southampton. William Harris, of New Arlesford, Eſq.

Surrey. Thomas Sutton, of Eaſt Moleſey, Eſq.

Suſſex. Sir Ferdinando Poole, of Lewes, Bart.

Warwickſhire. Thomas Ward, of Moreton Morrell, Eſq.

Worceſterſhire. John Spooner, of Leigh-court, Eſq.

Wiltſhire. Thomas Grove, of Fern, Eſq.

Yorkſhire. Walter Fawkes, of Farnley-hall, Eſq.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. Walter Thomas, of Wainrhydod, Eſq.

Pembroke. George Roche, of Clareſton, Eſq.

Cardigan. John Jones, of Derry Ormond Eſq.

Glamorgan. John Lewellyn, of Welch St. Donats, Eſq.

Brecon. Jeffreys Wilkins, of Brecon, Eſq.

Radnor. Thomas Duppa, of Knighton, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. John Williams, of Nantannog, Eſq.

Carnarvon. William Hughes, of Nantcall, Eſq.

Denbighſhire. Charles Brown, of Marchwiel, Eſq.

Flint. Richard Wilding, of Preſtatyn, Eſq.

Merioneth. Edward Lloyd, of Palan, Eſq.

Montgomery. Francis Lloyd, of Domgay, Eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

March 2, 1789.

AN order has been made by the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council for diſcontinuing the form of prayer for the recovery *of his majeſty's health, and reading in lieu the following:

"Almighty God, Father of all comforts, and the ſtrength of thoſe who put their truſt in thee; we proſtrate ourſelves before thy Divine Majeſty, and humbly preſume to offer up our praiſes and thankſgivings for thy mercy vouchſafed to our moſt gracious ſovereign.

"Thou haſt raiſed him from the bed of ſickneſs; thou haſt again lifted up the light of thy countenance upon him, and bleſſed him with ſure truſt and confidence in thy protection. Confirm, O Lord, we beſeech thee, the reliance which we have on the continuance of thy goodneſs; and ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh in him, if it be thy good pleaſure, the work of thy mercy.

"Grant that he may lead the reſidue of his life in thy fear, and to thy glory: that his reign may be long and proſperous; and that we, his ſubjects, may ſhew forth our thankfulneſs for thy loving-kindneſs, and for all the bleſſings which, through his juſt and mild government, thou beſtoweſt upon us. To this end may we be enabled by thy grace to maintain a deep and lively ſenſe of thy good providence, to pay due obedience to his lawful authority, to live in chriſtian charity towards each other, and to walk before thee in all virtuous and godly living.

"Finally, we pray thee to keep him in perpetual peace and ſafety, and to grant that, this life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlaſting, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

Account of the Proceſſion to St. Paul's *Church on the Day of Thankſgiving for his Majeſty's Recovery.*

Whitehall, April 25.

THURSDAY laſt being appointed by his majeſty's proclamation to be obſerved as a day of general thankſgiving to Almighty God for the ſignal interpoſition of his good providence, in removing from his majeſty the late illneſs with which he had been afflicted, his majeſty was pleaſed, for the greater ſolemnity of the day, to go to the cathedral church of St. Paul, accompanied by the queen, their royal highneſſes the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the princeſs royal, the princeſs Auguſta, the

* See Appendix to Chronicle in the Ann. Reg. for 1788.

princeſs

princeſs Elizabeth, the duke of Glouceſter, and the duke of Cumberland, and his highneſs prince William; and attended by both houſes of parliament, the great officers of ſtate, the judges, and other public officers, to return thanks to God for his great mercies and bleſſings.

The proceſſion was begun at eight o'clock in the morning by the houſe of commons, in their coaches, followed by their ſpeaker, in his ſtate-coach. Next came the maſters in chancery, the judges, and after them the peers, in the order of precedency, as they were marſhalled by the officers of arms at Weſtminſter, the youngeſt baron going firſt, and the lord chancellor, in his ſtate coach, cloſing this part of the proceſſion. Such of the peers as were knights wore the collars of their reſpective orders.

Afterward came the royal family, in order of precedency, with their attendants, eſcorted by parties of the royal regiment of horſe-guards.

Their majeſties ſet out from the queen's palace ſoon after ten o'clock, in a coach drawn by eight cream-coloured horſes, (in which were alſo two of the ladies of her majeſty's bed-chamber) followed by their royal highneſſes the princeſſes, and proceeded through the gate at the Stable-yard, along Pall-mall, and through the Strand, amid the loyal acclamations of a prodigious concourſe of people.

The ſtreets were lined, as far as Temple-bar, by the brigade of foot guards, the grenadier companies of which were poſted in St. Paul's church, and in the church-yard, and patrolled by parties of the royal regiment of horſe guards. The avenues into the ſtreets through which the proceſſion paſſed were guarded by the queen's light dragoons. From Temple-bar to the church, the ſtreets were lined by the artillery company and the militia of the city; the peace officers attending both within and without the city, to preſerve order.

At Temple-bar his majeſty was met by the lord mayor in a gown of crimſon velvet, by the ſheriffs in their ſcarlet gowns, and a deputation from the aldermen and common-council (being all on horſe-back) when the lord mayor ſurrendered the city ſword to his majeſty, who having returned it to him, he carried it bare-headed before the king to St. Paul's.

His majeſty being come to St. Paul's was met at the weſt door by the peers, the biſhop of London, the dean of St. Paul's (biſhop of Lincoln) the canons reſidentiary, and the kings and other officers of arms; the band of gentlemen penſioners, and the yeomen of the guard attending.

The ſword of ſtate was carried before his majeſty by the marquis of Stafford into the choir, where the king and queen placed themſelves under a canopy of ſtate, near the weſt end, oppoſite to the altar.

The peers had their ſeats in the area, as a houſe of lords, and the commons in the ſtalls. The upper galleries were allotted to the ladies of her majeſty's bedchamber, the maids of honour, and ſuch other ladies of diſtinction as attended on this occaſion. The foreign miniſters were placed in the two lower galleries, next to the throne; and the lord mayor and aldermen in the lower galleries near the altar.

The prayers and litany were read and chanted by the minor canons.

nons. The *Te Deum* and anthems compoſed for the occaſion were ſung by the choir, who were placed in the organ-loft, and were joined in the chorus, as alſo in the Pſalms, by the charity children, in number about ſix thouſand, who were aſſembled there previous to their majeſties arrival. The communion ſervice was read by the dean and reſidentiaries; and the ſermon preached by the lord biſhop of London, from Pſalm xxvii. 16. "O tarry thou the Lord's leiſure: be ſtrong, and he ſhall comfort thine heart: and put thou thy truſt in the Lord."

Then followed this anthem, expreſsly ſelected and commanded by the King.

Three voices.

Contratenor, Rev. Mr. Clarke, M. A.—Tenor, Mr. Hodſon, M. B.—Baſs, Mr. Sale.

1. "O Lord, thou haſt ſearched me out, and known me; thou knoweſt my down-ſitting and mine up-riſing; thou underſtandeſt my thoughts long before."

Solo. Baſs Rev. Mr. Hayes, M. A.

2. "Thou art about my path, and about my bed: and ſpieſt out all my ways.

3. For lo, there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, O Lord, knoweſt it altogether."

Solo. Contratenor, Rev. Mr. Clarke, M. A.

6. "Whither ſhall I go then from thy ſpirit, or whither ſhall I go then from thy preſence?

7. If I climb up into heaven, thou art there; if I go down to hell, thou art there alſo.

8. If I take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermoſt parts of the ſea."

Three voices.

Contratenor, Rev. Mr. Clarke; Tenor, Mr. Guiſe; Baſs, Rev. Mr. Hayes, M. A. and Chorus.

9. "Even there alſo ſhall thy hand lead me; and thy right hand ſhall hold me."

The patrons of the charity children appeared with large gold and ſilver medals by Pingo, pendant on ribbands, in commemoration of the royal viſit. On the face of the medal is the portrait of his Majeſty. Motto, GEORGIUS III. MAG. BR. ET HIB. REX.

On the reverſe is the weſt front view of St. Paul's cathedral. Motto round the legend,--LÆTITIA CUM PIETATE. On the exergue, DEO OPT. MAX. REX PIENTISS. PRO SALVTE. REST. V. S. L. M. APR. 23, 1789.

Divine ſervice being ended, their majeſties returned with the ſame ſtate to the queen's palace, at about half an hour after three o'clock. The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times, firſt upon the king's ſetting out, ſecondly at the ſinging of *Te Deum*, and thirdly upon his majeſty's return; after which the brigade of foot guards fired a *feu de joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the front of the queen's palace.

The public demonſtrations of joy and loyalty by the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter, on the occaſion of his majeſty's firſt appearance in public ſince his happy recovery, exceeded all expreſſion; and yeſterday evening the illuminations in all parts of this metropolis ſurpaſſed in ſplendor and magnificence all former exhibitions.

Among the Galas and Entertainments given upon the Recovery of the King, the following were the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent.

The

The Gala given by the Princeſs Royal at Windſor, on the 1ſt of May.

THE cards of invitation were in her royal highneſs's name to the unmarried branches of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction who were honoured on this occaſion; the married were invited by Lord Aileſbury, in the name of the queen.

The company, conſiſting of all the foreign ambaſſadors, and thoſe of the nobility and commoners who were foremoſt in diſtinguiſhing themſelves during the late political diſputes, made two hundred and twenty-eight perſons, who began to aſſemble in the ball-room about eight o'clock.

The dreſſes were the Windſor uniform, with a ſmall diſtinction between the old and the young ladies, the former having a long purple train, the latter without any train at all.

The gown was white tiffany, with a garter blue body. The ſleeves were white, and ornamented, as was the coat, which had three rows of fringe at equal diſtances from each other, to anſwer the fringe at the bottom of the gown, which fell only juſt low enough to appear like another row of fringe over the uppermoſt of thoſe three, as if there was no ſeparation between the gown and coat.

All the ladies wore bandeaus round the front of their head dreſſes, with the words "God ſave the King;" and many of them had beautiful medallions of his majeſty, ſome plain, ſome in pearl, and ſome ſet in diamonds.

The dances did not begin until near ten o'clock, their majeſties and the princeſſes being more than an hour intermixed with the company, converſing in the moſt affable manner with every perſon in the room. The ſix princeſſes were preſent.

The ſupper exceeded any thing of the kind ever given in this kingdom.

There were two long tables, and at the upper end, oppoſite the center, one table under a throne, laid out for thirteen, and raiſed above the reſt, to which the king led his conſort, and then, wiſhing the company a good night, retired.

At the royal table ſat

The Queen.

On her left.	On her right.
Duke of York,	Prince of Wales,
Princeſs Auguſta,	Princeſs Royal,
Duke of Cumberland,	Duke of Glouceſter,
Princeſs Mary,	Princeſs Elizabeth,
Duke of Glouceſter's daughter.	Duke of Glouceſter's ſon.

Her majeſty's table was diſtinguiſhed by gold plates, gold diſhes, gold tureens, gold ſpoons, gold candle-branches, and gold knives and forks.

On the ground-works of the royal table were the figures of Peace and Plenty, with the olive-branch and cornucopiæ,—the accompaniments various Genii weaving wreaths of flowers,—the pedeſtals preſented vaſes of fruits.

On one of the long tables, the platform was covered with dancing figures,—the other had emblematical figures, Hope, Charity, Peace, Plenty, Britannia, &c. &c. which being done on ſand, gliſtened with the reflected light of the candles.

That part of the ſupper which was hot, conſiſted of twenty tureens of different ſoups, roaſt ducks, turkey pouts, cygnets, green geeſe, land rails, chickens, aſparagus, peas, and beans. The cold parts of the collation were the ſame kind of poultry boned, and ſwimming or ſtanding

ing in the center of tranſparent jellies, where they were ſupported by paſte pillars not in circumference thicker than a knitting-needle. This, with the lights playing from the candles, and reflected on by the poliſh of the plates and diſhes, made a moſt beautiful appearance.

Crayfiſh pies of all kinds were diſtributed with great taſte; and the ham and brawn in maſquerade, ſwimming on the ſurface of pedeſtals of jelly, ſeemingly ſupported but by the ſtrength of an apparent liquid, called for admiration.

The ornamental parts of the confectionary were numerous and ſplendid. There were temples four feet high, in the different ſtories of which were ſweetmeats. The various orders of architecture were alſo done with inimitable taſte.

The ſide-tables contained large gold goblets, and a new ſervice of gold and ſilver plates. In the center of the latter were emboſſed that part of the hiſtory of the Roman Father, where his daughter is in the pious and filial act of feeding him in priſon with her own milk.

The deſert comprehended all the hot-houſe was competent to afford —and, indeed, more than it was thought art could produce at this ſeaſon of the year. There was a profuſion of pines, ſtrawberries of every denomination, peaches, nectarines, apricots, cherries of each kind, from the Kentiſh to the Morella, plums, and raſberries, with the beſt and richeſt preſerved fruits, as well thoſe that are dried as thoſe that are in ſyrup.

There were forty ſilver branches, each holding two large wax tapers, on the long tables, and ſix gold branches on the queen's tables—and at the ſide-boards were two magnificent candelabra, which gave a very great light.

The hall was elegantly illuminated, and in a ſtyle ſuperior to what it ever before experienced.

The ſtone gallery on one ſide was hung with tranſparencies by Rebecca, and on the other with paintings by Weſt. It had a pretty effect.

The Prince and Duke of York arrived about five in the afternoon, and ſet off for Newmarket at a quarter paſt four in the morning.

French Ambaſſador's Gala.

At this magnificent entertainment were preſent the royal family, and all the principal nobility of both parties.

His excellency's houſe, which is on a large ſcale in Portman-ſquare, was laid out in the moſt convenient ſtyle the apartments could afford.

On the ground floor, at the right of the grand entrance, was an oblong temporary room, raiſed for the occaſion, with a ſpace in the centre railed in for a certain number of dancers, which his excellency had ordered for the amuſement of the company.

At the head of the room was a chair of ſtate, prepared for her majeſty, and chairs on each ſide, for the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, Duke of Clarence, Princeſs Royal, Princeſſes Elizabeth, Auguſta, and Mary; Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, Prince William of Glouceſter, and his ſiſter Princeſs Sophia.

On each ſide of the grand ſaloon was a tranſparent painting;—that on the right of her majeſty, repreſenting the genius of France congratulating the genius of England on the

the recovery of the king, an excellent likeneſs of whom the goddeſs of health held in her hand;—on the left was a repreſentation of the graces attending her majeſty, and an angel preparing to crown her.

The dances continued until near one o'clock, when the ſupper rooms were opened, and diſplayed a ſcene of luxury and magnificence ſcarcely to be deſcribed.

About nine hundred cards of invitation were given out.

Grand Gala at Ranelagh, May 7.

The club at Bootle's gave their promiſed fête in remembrance of his majeſty's recovery,—which, in point of magnificence, ſtood unrivalled amongſt things of this ſort.

Two temporary buildings were erected on the occaſion—of which, that placed near the canal, at the bottom of the garden, was of extraordinary dimenſions, being 150 feet in length, and 100 in width.

It was finiſhed within in the moſt ſuperb ſtyle, with pillars, painted in imitation of marble, and hung with lights the moſt brilliant imaginable.

The ſupper was profuſe, and well ſerved. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to make it the moſt magnificent entertainment perhaps ever given in this country.

Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Gala.

June 9. The Marquis del Campo gave his promiſed fête, at Ranelagh, in compliment to the Queen of England, on his Majeſty's recovery.

The whole of the external front of Ranelagh-houſe was illuminated in a novel manner, and with uncommon brilliancy.

The anti-rooms were all ſplendidly decorated, and gave a promiſe of what was to follow.

The portico immediately leading to the rotunda, was filled on each ſide with rows of myrtle and roſe-trees, with carnations and pinks between.

The rotunda, at the firſt opening to the ſight, had the moſt ſuperb appearance ever ſeen. The continued lamps ſpread around the roof had a ſtriking effect.

The lower boxes of the rotunda formed a Spaniſh camp, ſtriped blue and red. Each tent guarded by a boy, dreſſed in a beautiful Spaniſh uniform. The gallery formed a Temple of Flora, which was lighted by a great number of gold baſkets, containing wax tapers, ornamented with roſes, &c.

A rich fire-work was diſplayed in the garden, which her Majeſty had an opportunity of viewing from the gallery behind her box. It was formed in the ſhape of a triumphal arch, with tranſparent medallions of the King and Queen, and over the bow the inſcription of "God ſave the King."

At one o'clock, on a ſignal given, the curtains before the receſſes were inſtantly drawn, and an elegant ſupper diſcovered at one moment.

The company amounted in the whole to two thouſand.

Coronation of the King *of* Spain.

Madrid, Sept. 28.

ON the 21ſt inſtant, being the day appointed for the ceremony of the King of Spain's coronation, or, as it is here termed, his Public Entry, their Catholic Majeſties,

jeſties, together with all the royal family of Spain, in different ſtate-coaches, preceded by the three companies of life guards, and the great officers of ſtate, and followed by the attendants in waiting of each individual of the royal family, in different ſtate carriages, forming altogether a moſt numerous, ſplendid, and magnificent proceſſion, left the palace about ſix o'clock in the evening, and proceeded through ſome of the principal ſtreets of this city, to the church of St. Mary, where Te Deum was ſung; and from thence their Majeſties returned, in like manner, through other ſtreets, to the palace. The ſtreets through which the proceſſion paſſed, were lined with the foot guards, and the other troops in garriſon here, and orders had been previouſly given for all the houſes to be decorated and illuminated in the beſt manner poſſible on that and the two following days.

On the 22d in the afternoon, their Majeſties and the royal family went in the ſame ſtate to the Plaza Mayor, or principal ſquare in the city, to ſee the royal bull-feaſt. On ſuch occaſions it has been the ancient cuſtom for the bulls to be fought by noblemen, or gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed birth: on the preſent, four gentlemen entered the liſts, and fought the ſix firſt bulls on horſeback; they have been rewarded in the uſual manner with a penſion, and with the rank of *Caballerizo de Campo*, or Equerry to the King.—The reſt of the bulls were fought by the moſt famous bull-fighters that could be collected from every part of the kingdom. The balconies of the firſt, ſecond, and third ſtories of the houſes in the ſquare were appropriated to the reception of the great officers of ſtate and their ladies, of both the male and female part of the royal houſehold, the members of the council of Caſtile, thoſe of the other ſupreme councils of the kingdom, and of the heads of many other departments of the ſtate, who all attended, with their ladies, in court dreſſes. The ambaſſadors and other foreign miniſters were invited to the feaſt, and a balcony was allotted to each: the ambaſſadors had their ſeats on the firſt ſtory, and the miniſters of the ſecond order and the chargés des affaires on the ſecond. By the moſt exact computation of the number of ſpectators in the ſquare, they amounted to about forty-five thouſand.

On the 22d their Majeſties and the royal family went early in the morning, in private, to the old palace of the Buen Retiro, to which the church of St. Jerome joins. At nine o'clock the King and Queen, with the Prince of Aſturias, and the Infant Don Antonio, entered the church. Their Majeſties took their ſeats on a throne to the right of the high altar, and the Prince of Aſturias, and the Infant Don Antonio, on chairs to the left of the throne, oppoſite to which was ſeated the Cardinal Patriarch of the Indies, and next to his eminence thirteen archbiſhops and biſhops on a bench. The remaining ſpace of the platform raiſed before the high altar was occupied by the great officers of ſtate, and of the houſehold. At the entrance of it ſtood four heralds at arms, and on the ſteps four mace-bearers with the royal maces. In the body of the church was ſeated, according to their rank, a certain number of the grandees of Spain, of the *Titulos* of Caſtile, and the *Procuradores*

Procuradores de Cortes, or repreſentatives of thoſe cities and towns who have the right of vote in the *cortes* of the nation. After the maſs was ended, at which the cardinal archbiſhop of Toledo officiated, his eminence took his ſeat at the foot of the high altar, and before him was placed a table, with the book of the goſpel open, and a golden croſs on it. The ſenior herald at arms then read the proclamation for the oath of allegiance, which was afterwards repeated by the ſenior law-officer. This oath declares allegiance to the king of Spain, and to the prince of Aſturias, acknowledged his royal highneſs to be the prince of this realm during his majeſty's life, and to be the lawful king, lord, and heir of the dominions of Spain, at his majeſty's death. After the oath was read, the Infant Don Antonio moved from his ſeat, and knelt before the cardinal archbiſhop to ſwear to the obſervance of it. His royal highneſs then did homage to the king, and after embracing his majeſty and the queen, and the prince of Aſturias, returned to his ſeat. The *mayordomo*, *mayor*, or lord ſteward of the houſehold, was then appointed by the king to receive the homage of all thoſe who were preſent. The cardinal patriarch roſe firſt, who, having ſworn before the archbiſhop and the *mayordomo*, *mayor*, kiſſed their majeſties and the prince of Aſturias' hands. The ſame ceremony was ſucceſſively obſerved, firſt by the prelates, next by the grandees, after them by the *titulos*, and laſtly by the *procuradores de cortes*. The patriarch then took the archbiſhop's place, in order to adminiſter the oath to the latter, and the ceremony concluded with ſinging Te Deum. The diplomatic body were invited to ſee this ſolemn act, and a gallery oppoſite to the throne was allotted for their reception. Their majeſties and the royal family dined at the *Buen Retiro*, and late in the evening returned in ſtate to the palace.

The decorations and illuminations of ſome of the houſes of the grandees and others of the nobility, which happened to be ſituated in the ſtreets through which the proceſſion paſſed on the three before-mentioned days, were very ſplendid and coſtly; and thoſe of the *Plaza Mayor*, and of the great ſquare before the palace, were executed with the utmoſt magnificence.

Account of the New Settlement at Botany Bay.

AN authentic account has been received, that his Majeſty's ſhips the Sirius and Supply, under the command of commodore Phillips, with the tranſports under their convoy, having the convicts on board for Botany Bay, have made good their paſſage. It was not till the 14th of January, 1788, after having left the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of September, 1787, that the Commodore arrived at the place of his deſtination. On the 28th, the lieutenants Shetland and King landed. The natives, who had in ſmall bodies witneſſed their approach, appeared in great conſternation, on ſeeing theſe officers on their territory, and after ſetting up a yell, fled to the woods. They returned ſoon after more compoſed, and from the ſigns made by Captain Phillips, were prevailed on to receive ſome preſents of beads, necklaces, and other trifles; but they

they were depoſited on the ground, and the captain withdrawn to a diſtance, before they would venture to take them. After this, they appeared ſo friendly as to conduct, by ſigns, the officers to a rivulet, where they found ſome excellent water, though not in a very abundant ſupply. In the evening the commodore, with his party, returned on board; and the next day the three tranſports, which he had outſailed, came to an anchor; on which the commodore went again on ſhore, principally to cut graſs for the uſe of the cattle and ſheep; the hay on board being nearly exhauſted. On the dawn of the day following, the Sirius, Captain Hunter, with the remainder of the tranſports under his convoy, appeared in ſight, and three hours after brought to, and anchored in the bay.

Captain Hunter immediately waited on the commodore; and theſe gentlemen, with a ſmall party of officers and men, went on ſhore again towards the ſouth coaſt of Botany Bay, the former viſits having been made to the north of the bay. — Here, as in moſt of the early interviews with the natives, commodore Phillips uſually laid his muſquet on the ground, and advancing before it, held out preſents. A green bough held aloft, or their lances thrown down, were like ſigns of amity in them.—It was a practice with the ſeamen, in theſe intercourſes, to dreſs up the inhabitants with ſhreds of cloth, and tags of coloured paper;—and when they ſurveyed each other, they would burſt in loud laughter. and run hollowing to the woods.—The marines one day forming before them, they appeared to like the fife, but fled at the ſound of the drum, and never more would venture near it.

On the convicts being landed, Mr. Phillips aſſumed his office of governor, and cauſed the commiſſion given him by the king, to exerciſe ſuch authority, to be read; and alſo the abridgment of the code of laws by which he was to govern.—By this the ſettlers were informed, that four courts would occaſionally be held, as the nature of the offence required; namely,

A Civil Court,
A Criminal Court,
A Military Court,
And an Admiralty Court.

The ſettlers were then told, that nothing could draw theſe laws into exerciſe, but their own demerits; and as it was then in their power to atone to their country for all the wrongs done at home, no other admonitions than thoſe which their own conſciences would dictate, it was hoped, would be neceſſary to effect their happineſs and proſperity in their new country.

But ſuch is the inveteracy of vice, that neither lenient meaſures, nor ſevere whipping, operated to prevent theft; rigorous meaſures were therefore adopted, and after a formal trial in the criminal court, two men were hung in one day, and ſoon after two others ſuffered in like way.

It is here neceſſary to obſerve, that while the ſquadron were under way from Botany Bay to Jackſon's Port, two ſtrange ſail appeared, with their hulls juſt in view; and, ſoon after Governor Phillips had landed in Sydney's Cove, he was waited upon by a party bearing a French flag.—Theſe ſhips proved to be two French frigates, which ſailed from Europe in Auguſt 1785, under the

command of Monſ. La Peyrouſe, on a voyage of diſcoveries to the South Seas. They were in ſome diſtreſs for ſtores and proviſions, but the Governor could not contribute much to their relief. However, they remained five weeks in Botany Bay, and during that time viſits were continually and reciprocally made, as the diſtance from that place to Sidney's Cove was but ten miles acroſs the land.

The convicts, during this interval, were employed in cutting wood for fences, and to collect provender for the cattle and ſheep, as the ſoil produced very indifferent paſture, although it was in the middle of the New Hollanders ſummer. An averſion to labour, however, induced ſome of the new ſettlers to project an eſcape for Europe, on board of the French ſhips; theſe efforts were, however, in a meaſure fruſtrated; the officers of the French ſhips would not hearken to any propoſals except thoſe made by the fair; for it was diſcovered, two days after Monſ. La Perieux had ſailed, that two women were miſſing. We muſt not omit ſaying, that Monſ. Perieux loſt two boats crews in a ſtorm, and that he related he had fourteen of his people murdered at Navigator's Iſland.

The natives killed three of our men in the woods, two of whom were gathering buſhes for thatching; but they did not eat them, as their bodies were reſtored and buried. After this hoſtility, they became very ſhy, and did not for ſome time approach the colony.

Though we by no Means approve of the ſavage Practices recorded in the following Detail; yet, as it contains an authentic Account of the Mode of Boxing at preſent practiſed by the moſt celebrated Profeſſors of that Art, we have given it a Place in the Appendix.

October 22.

THIS day, at Banbury in Oxfordſhire, the much-talked-of fight, between Perrins, of Birmingham, and Johnſon, of London, took place.

At twenty minutes before one, the combatants ſet-to.

Great caution was exhibited on either ſide in the onſet, and near five minutes elapſed before one blow was attempted, and that blow was aimed by Perrins.

His antagoniſt ſeeing it come with great force, and knowing no other way of avoiding it, dropped upon his knee.

Here an inſtant murmur aroſe, and a cry of "Foul! foul!" was heard from ſeveral parts of the ring.

By the articles, many inſiſted, and as many contended againſt it, that the battle was loſt, Johnſon having failed to meet his opponent in the manly manner expreſſed in the agreement. Perrins, with a commendable gallantry, put an end to the diſpute himſelf, declaring that he did not wiſh to take advantage of what might only happen by accident.

The conteſt was immediately recommenced.

In the next ſet-to, almoſt inſtantaneouſly Johnſon gave, what is termed, a *knock-down blow*—and in the direct following rounds, two others.

After this ſeveral falls enſued caſually—but on the whole, for the firſt twenty minutes or half an hour, Perrins

Perrins ſhewed the utmoſt ſtrength and agility, having at leaſt thrown in three blows for two of his adverſary's.

About this time, Johnſon began to ſtand up to his man—and fought a round or two fiſt to fiſt—blow for blow——in the ſtriking and taking of which, he ſeemed equally ſtrong with Perrins. One extraordinary ſtroke he now darted at the eye, and as he ſeldom ſtruck but with ſecurity, he ſucceeded in it, and nearly cloſed it up.

The victory appeared to be juſt hovering over Johnſon; for beſides the loſs of half his ſight, Perrins, at this time, looked to be much out of wind, turning himſelf, whenever he fell, on his belly to recover it.

Another hard blow followed on his noſe, which, to appearance, ſhewed as if it had been cut through.—Bets now run very high—and odds offered with ſo vaſt a difference as a hundred to ten.

In a few rounds, however, Perrins much regained his breath, and fought with freſh vigour, and directed a blow which took place in Johnſon's right eye.

The next half hour was obſtinately kept up, during which Johnſon received numberleſs hits; but not plied with a power to do much harm. In his turn, it may well be ſuppoſed he was not idle, but dealt about him with ſome fury.

Perrins now, as a laſt ſtake, had recourſe to a blow with the back of his hand, which ſtood him in ſome ſtead, and annoyed his opponent at firſt greatly—but after receiving two or three ſtrokes in that way, Johnſon, with his collected mind, found how to guard againſt it.

Foiled at this, his utmoſt effort, and receiving a full blow under the ear, Perrins gave in—having maintained the moſt ſevere battle almoſt ever beheld, for the ſpace of an hour and a quarter.

Perrins, at his firſt ſetting-to, kept his guard cloſe to his body, ſeldom altering it, and coolly waiting for the attack of his adverſary. Seeing Johnſon, however, repeatedly ſhifting and running round the ſtage, he attributed it to fear, and preſſed him cloſe. By a frequency of this practice, he *winded* himſelf, and was oftentimes induced to ſtrike out of all meaſure.

A long blow, underneath, he was particularly fond of aiming, and on which he depended, but it did not once ſucceed.

In reſources he was always fruitful—if he miſſed in one, he had recourſe to another—ſuch as back-handed blow—the long one noticed—and an attempt to trip up the advanced foot of his opponent—Theſe were all put in uſe occaſionally.

Too much reliance was placed in ſtrength, and that ſtrength would certainly have prevailed, had it undergone a previous exerciſe.—Something too was to be attributed to the want of a proper ſecond; not but that Perrins's brother was active and attentive, yet he wanted that art, and, may be, that petulance, which ſeemed to be no mean excellence in the ſecond of Johnſon.

Of Johnſon's fighting, little need be ſaid—it being ſo fully known. All that differed from his uſual conduct here, was a perpetual ſhift—copied, as it ſeemed, from Ward; ſo different from his cuſtom, that the ſpectators often hooted at his ſubterfuges. Scarcely throughout the battle did he dare attack; always waiting for the aſſault. Much

may be ſaid in excuſe of this, when the power he had to ſtand againſt be conſidered.

The ſtage on which they fought was 24 by 24 feet, erected on a common ſpot of ground within the town, which was defended on two ſides by a wall and houſes, and on the other two, ſtrongly railed in. When the fight commenced, the mob broke through, but afterwards were extremely orderly.

Colonel Tarleton, and Mr. Meadows from Birmingham, were the umpires.

Bill and Joe Ward, were Johnſon's ſecond and bottle-holder.—Perrins's brother, and Pickard, thoſe of Perrins.

The door money amounted to near 700 l.

Above three thouſand people were within the quadrangle.

The battle between Johnſon and Perrins, at this place, was only a prelude to ſimilar conteſts; and the diſcomfiture of the Birmingham *hero* was, unfortunately, but too ominous for all his countrymen who entered the liſts after him; for on Friday, after a dreadful conflict of upwards of an hour, Jacombs yielded the palm to Big Ben, the *quondam* challenger of Johnſon, but who had paid forfeit, that Perrins might be *indulged*.

At one o'clock preciſely, the combatants entered the ring; after the uſual ceremonies of ſhaking hands, &c. they *ſet-to*. On the firſt onſet, Big Ben was knocked down ſeven times; from this circumſtance the bets were conſiderably againſt him; but recovering his breath, he attacked his antagoniſt with the utmoſt ferocity, and followed up his blows with ſo much keenneſs and intrepidity, that victory, which before ſeemed doubtful, was now declared in his favour.

Bill Ward was ſecond, Joe Ward bottle-holder, to Big Ben. Jacombs' ſecond and bottle-holder we have not learned.

The battle was for one hundred pounds a ſide; and Jacombs, tho' equally unſucceſsful, fought in a ſtile far ſuperior to Perrins, though he ſeemed to poſſeſs the ſame diſproportion to his antagoniſt, being at leaſt three ſtone heavier.

In about a quarter of an hour after theſe champions quitted the ſtage, George the brewer, and Pickard, (Perrins's ſecond) had perhaps the moſt bloody conflict that was ever remembered upon any ſtage. This battle, though fought without any attempt at manœuvre or delay whatſoever, laſted half an hour; and our correſpondent adds, that leſs humanity, between man and man, was abſolutely impoſſible. Savage ferocity ſeemed to poſſeſs the minds of the combatants, who, in their thirſt for victory, were almoſt tranſported to madneſs; and Pickard, in particular, was ſo dreadfully mauled about the face, that it would have been impoſſible for him to be recognized by his moſt intimate friends. In this ſituation he reluctantly reſigned the palm of victory to George the brewer.

Account of their Majeſties' Journey to Weymouth *and* Plymouth.

Thurſday, June 25.

THEIR Majeſties, with the three eldeſt Princeſſes, (Princeſs Royal, Auguſta, and Elizabeth) left Windſor about ſeven in the morning,

morning, on their journey to Weymouth; and at ten minutes after three in the afternoon arrived at Lyndhurſt, in perfect health.—In their way, Sir Charles Mills, who holds the manor of Langley on condition of preſenting the King with a brace of *white greyhounds with ſilver collars*, coupled with a gold chain, and led with a ſilken ſtring, whenever his Majeſty paſſes through the foreſt, waited on his Majeſty, and performed the covenant. In like manner all the keepers, in their green uniform, with round hats laced with gold, decorated with ribbands inſcribed, *God ſave the King*, met their Majeſties at the entrance of the foreſt, and rode with them to the King's houſe. The concourſe of people that lined the road was aſtoniſhing.—The Duke of Glouceſter received their Majeſties at the King's houſe, which in the evening was brilliantly illuminated.

Friday 26. Their Majeſties and the royal ſuite went to Southampton, and were received by the corporation in their audit-houſe, where a very elegant addreſs was read to them.

Tueſday 30. Their Majeſties, with their ſuite, arrived at Weymouth about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were met by the mayor, aldermen, and common council, walking in proceſſion, with colours flying, and a band of muſic playing God ſave the King. At their arrival at Glouceſter-lodge, a royal ſalute of 21 guns was given from the men of war lying in the road, and returned from the royal battery on the Eſplanade.

In the evening general illuminations took place; and the day following, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, waited on his Majeſty with an addreſs, and were all graciouſly received.

Tueſday July 7. His Majeſty bathed in the ſea for the firſt time.

Thurſday 9. The Magnificent came to an anchor in Portland-road.—On her arrival was diſplayed a moſt ſplendid naval exhibition. A little before five o'clock, four barges, rowed by ten men each, and two cutters manned with eight each, all in uniform, were ſeen coming from Portland-road to the Pier in the bay, each commanded by an officer.—At ſix their Majeſties, the Princeſſes with their ſuite, embarked on board the barges, and were rowed into Portland-road. The barge that carried their Majeſties, was the Duke of Clarence's, ſent on purpoſe from Portſmouth for their accommodation. She was ſteered by the firſt lieutenant of the Magnificent. As ſoon as their Majeſties turned Portland Point, in full view of the ſhips of war, a royal ſalute of 21 guns from each took place.—The king, ſince he bathed, finds his health conſiderably improved.—He uſually riſes at ſix, walks the Parade till eight, takes breakfaſt before ten, rides till three, dines at four, and reſumes the promenade with the Queen and Princeſſes till late in the evening, provided the weather is fine.

Monday 13. Their Majeſties, notwithſtanding the rain and rough weather, went in their barge, attended by ſome other barges, and made a ſhort excurſion round the bay; their plan was to have boarded the Southampton frigate, which, however, they found impracticable. At half after three they returned, and landed at the Pier.

Thurſday 14. On a ſignal given,

their Majeſties, with the Princeſſes, embarked at the quay, and were rowed round the Magnificent on board the Southampton. Both theſe ſhips were manned, and richly dreſſed, and made a fine appearance. Very ſoon after the royal viſitors were on board, the Southampton weighed, and ſtood out of the bay for the channel. After ſailing round Portland, and in the mouth of the channel, at half paſt two their Majeſties returned, and landed at the Pier.

Wedneſday 15. Their Majeſties, in the evening, went to the play. Mr. Hughes, the manager, intended erecting a ſuperb box for the royal family; but their Majeſties with great condeſcenſion forbad it. Three rows were therefore raiſed in front for their accommodation; and over the center was placed a beautiful canopy of crimſon ſatin, richly fringed with gold, which had a very good effect.

Thurſday 16. Their Majeſties viſited the fine ſeat of Mr. Pitt, at Kingſton, near Dorcheſter. In the evening they went on board the Magnificent in the bay.

Monday 20. Their Majeſties embarked very early in their boats, to go on board the Southampton, which they accompliſhed about ten, though it blew freſh with a hollow ſea. The frigate on their entrance inſtantly put to ſea, and was *hull* down by one. The King and Princeſſes experienced little or no inconvenience from being far out to ſea; but her Majeſty was very ſeaſick, and it was with great difficulty that ſhe kept from fainting till ſhe reached the ſhore, when ſhe landed about three, not quite ſo well ſatisfied with this trip as with her former marine excurſions.—The Princeſſes bore the rolling of the ſea with aſtoniſhing firmneſs.

Tueſday 21. Notwithſtanding her Majeſty's indiſpoſition the day before, ſhe was not ſo much daunted as to truſt his Majeſty to the perils of the ſea without her friendly care. At eleven their Majeſties went again in their barges from the new pier, on board the Southampton, when ſhe weighed and ſtood out for the channel. After a pleaſant trip of five hours, they returned, and were landed at the pier, whence they walked to Glouceſter-houſe to dinner.

Wedneſday 22. His Majeſty bathed in the ſea early, and walked on the ſands till breakfaſt. Soon after ten the Royal Family with their attendants embarked on board the Southampton, which ſoon weighed and put to ſea, with a ſmart breeze at S. W. After a cruize of ſeveral hours, on an unruffled ocean, they put back by her Majeſty's deſire.

Friday 24. The royal party went on board the Magnificent in the *Bay*, where they lay at anchor till two o'clock, while the Southampton kept manœuvring round the men of war.

Monday Aug. 3. His Majeſty having ſignified his pleaſure to make his long-intended viſit to Lulworth caſtle, the ancient and hoſpitable ſeat of Mr. Weld, the Southampton was got in readineſs to convey their Majeſties and ſuite to that delightful ſeat; but both wind and tide proving contrary, they were more than ſix hours on their paſſage. At four in the afternoon, the company were ſafely landed on the beach, and conveyed in their own carriages [two miles] to the caſtle. As ſoon as they approached the gate, they were met by

by the country-people for ſome miles round, aſſembled in ſporting groups about the caſtle, with muſic playing, in the higheſt extaſy of joy; and, on their entrance, were received with the utmoſt politeneſs by Mr. Weld and family. On aſcending the ſteps, eight of the children, dreſſed in uniform, and placed one above another, joined in chorus, ſinging "God ſave the King," as their Majeſties entered the veſtibule. Their Majeſties, highly gratified, ſtaid and partook of an elegant collation, ſerved in new gilt plate, and diſplayed in the higheſt taſte. They then were conducted to the beautiful chapel, where they heard an anthem performed in ſo excellent a ſtyle, that their Majeſties could not help expreſſing their approbation of the performers, both vocal and inſtrumental. The guns of the caſtle fired a royal ſalute both on their Majeſties approach, and at their departure: and though they were ſix hours in beating-up, they were not more than two on their return. Their Majeſties were landed at the pier at Weymouth at a quarter after nine, in high ſpirits, having ate, drunk, and ſung, the whole trip.

Tueſday 4. The Royal Family left Weymouth early, in order to viſit Sherborn caſtle, the ſeat of Lord Digby.

Saturday 8. At eight o'clock the Privy-council met at Glouceſter-houſe, which did not break up till twelve; after which their Majeſties, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds, took a ſhort trip at ſea, in the Southampton, for three hours; and in the evening the whole Court went to the play. This day a long liſt of promotions took place in Council.

Sunday 9. The Royal Family attended divine ſervice in the morning, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds, Mr. Pitt, and moſt of the miniſters who compoſed the Privy-council the day before. In the evening they went to Stacie's rooms, and continued there till a late hour.

Thurſday 13. Their Majeſties, with their whole ſuite, ſet off for Plymouth; for which port the Southampton ſet ſail the ſame day.

On their arrival at Exeter, in the evening, they were met at the bounds of the city by the Mayor and Corporation, with an excellent band of muſic; and, at the entrance of the city, the King was preſented with the keys, which his Majeſty politely returned, ſaying. "They are already in very good hands." The Royal Family were then conducted to the Deanery, where, after ſhewing themſelves at the windows, to gratify the eager curioſity of the populace, they partook of an elegant ſupper provided for them by the Dean.

Friday 14. About eleven o'clock in the morning, the Mayor and Corporation attended with an addreſs, followed by an addreſs from the clergy of the dioceſe. Theſe ceremonies over, the Royal Party proceeded to view the cathedral, where the organ was touched by Mr. Jackſon, and the choir ſung *Te Deum laudamus* in a maſterly ſtyle. They then, attended by the Mayor, Dean, &c. proceeded to view every thing curious or intereſting that was to be ſeen, and returned to dine at the Dean's.

In their journey, on Thurſday,

at Axminſter, they ſtopped to ſee the carpet manufactory, and were ſhewn the whole proceſs. The Queen gave orders for ſeveral pieces, and a handſome ſum was left to be diſtributed among the work-people.

Saturday 15. The Royal Family, with their ſuite, ſet off for Plymouth, about nine in the morning; and about three in the afternoon reached Saltram-houſe, the ſeat of Lord Boringdon, near Plymouth. Their arrival was announced by a royal ſalute. In the evening Saltram-houſe was brilliantly illuminated.

Monday 17. Their Majeſties and the Princeſſes left Saltram-houſe about nine in the morning. At the entrance of the town of Plymouth, they were received under a triumphal arch by the Mayor and Corporation, and conducted to the bottom of Stonehouſe-lane, where the Corporation took leave.

About eleven they reached the Dock, where they were received by the troops in garriſon, and ſaluted by a *feu de joye*. The cannon on the ramparts were fired, and were anſwered by another ſalute from the fort at Plymouth. Their Majeſties alighted at Commiſſioner Laforey's in the Dock-yard, where they were received by the Earls of Cheſterfield, Chatham, and Howe.

After taking ſome refreſhment, the Royal Family went on board the Impregnable, of 90 guns, Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton. As their Majeſties aſcended the Impregnable, a royal ſalute was fired, as well from her as from every other ſhip in the harbour and in the Sound. The citadel and ſmall forts paid the ſame reſpect. The Lynx, a Dutch ſhip of war, alſo dreſſed ſhip and ſaluted. Their Majeſties ſtayed on board near an hour.

As ſoon as their Majeſties put off from the Impregnable, the ſtandard and admiralty flags were hauled down, and in their ſtead, in leſs than a minute, the ſhip was dreſſed in all the variegated colours that the world could ſupply.

A very handſome cutter, rowed by ſix fine young women, and ſteered by a ſeventh, all habited in looſe white gowns, with nankeen ſafeguards, and black bonnets, each wearing a ſaſh acroſs her ſhoulders of royal purple, with *Long live their Majeſties!* in gold, accompanied the royal barge till it returned to ſhore.

At half after three, his Majeſty, the Queen, and Princeſſes, left the Dock, and proceeded, in ſtate-barges, up Catwater to Saltram, attended by an immenſe number of ſloops, barges, and boats; the fort, all the ſhips at anchor, and laſtly all the guns in the park, ſaluting them as they paſſed.

Tueſday 18. This day the Naval Review took place.—About eight in the morning, his Majeſty was rowed on board the Southampton, in the Sound. At half after nine the Southampton got under way. The Duke of Richmond attended in his yacht. In a few minutes the firſt ſhip in the fleet appeared off Statton Height, ſteering due weſt, the wind eaſt, with two points to the ſouth, blowing a gentle breeze. When the King's ſhip had weathered Mowſtone Point, ſhe deſcried the whole of the fleet, and fired one gun. At this time the view was beautiful beyond deſcription, there being above an hundred different veſſels, ſloops, and

and yachts in motion, and the ſhore covered with ſpectators.

The fleet formed in two ſeparate lines of battle. Capt. M^cBride, in the Cumberland, with three other ſhips, formed a line a-head, ſuppoſed for the enemy.

Commodore Goodall, in the Carnatic, formed the line with the other ſhips. As ſoon as he got up with the enemy's rear, he engaged.

The next ſhip paſſed to windward, and attacked the next ſhip a-head, and ſo till the rear ſhip of the Britiſh line was oppoſite the van of the enemy.

When the Southampton came in full view of the fleet, a general ſalute took place; after this ceremony was ended, and the Captains having been introduced to his Majeſty, as he paſſed the line of battle, the diſpoſitions were made for an action between the two diviſions. The Magnificent had by this time joined the ſecond line. After manœuvring for ſome time upon different tacks, in order to bring each other to action, the engagement began with a moſt furious cannonade between the two Commanders; the others ſpeedily joined in the thundering feſtivity.

In about a quarter of an hour, both fleets wearing weſtward, the firſt line gave way, and were furiouſly aſſailed by the ſecond, and covered in their flight by Capt. M^cBride, the Commodore. The people on ſhore conceived it was all over, but they were miſtaken, for the French line (as it was called) wore upon the larboard tack, and faced the Engliſh with redoubled vigour. This continued until half after one, when they were a ſecond time obliged to give way.

His Majeſty returned, highly pleaſed with his excurſion, about half after three, under a ſalute of the fort, &c.

Thurſday 20. His Majeſty, unaccompanied by any of the Royal Family, left Saltram, and went to the Victualling Office, to examine the ſtate of the proviſions. He ordered a caſk to be opened, and a piece to be taken out, and ſent to Saltram, for his own taſting. He then viſited the Lower Fort, the citadel, the ramparts, the ſtorehouſe, and laſt of all the ſubterraneous works, the mines, &c. in which no perſon but the Duke of Richmond, Lord George Lenox (the Governor), and the Chief Engineer, was permitted to accompany him. When he mounted the upper part of the garriſon, he was received by the Mayor and Corporation, the Invalids, and a detachment of the South Devon militia, their muſic playing "God ſave the King," and who attended in his walk round the ramparts. When he came to the Governor's houſe, the Mayor and Corporation were admitted to the Royal preſence, and a dutiful and loyal addreſs was preſented, and moſt graciouſly received. The Corporation had the honour of kiſſing hands. His Majeſty left the fort, and proceeded by water to the Gun Wharf, and ſurveyed the ordnance.

Friday 21. Their Majeſties viſited Mount Edgcumbe.—On their landing, ſixteen young maidens, dreſſed in white, preceded the Royal Pair, ſtrewing roſes, carnations, and myrtles; and when they came to the ſteps that lead to the grand arcade, each maiden, on her knee, preſented a curious flower to their Majeſties, which was graciouſly received. The dinner and deſert were ſumptuous and elegant.

At

At six the King retired, and took water, accompanied by a large fleet of boats and barges, and was rowed through the Sound of Saltram.

Saturday 22. The Royal Family visited Marslow, the seat of Mr. Hayward, situated on the banks of the Tamar. The woods belonging to this gentleman extend nearly three miles down the river, in the most striking and romantic situations. Several new roads were cut through these woods, for the accommodation of the Royal Visitors, who spent two hours in admiration of their beauties, and repeated their visit on Monday the 24th.

The two following days were spent in exploring the course of the Tamar. On Wednesday, they landed at Kitley, an ancient seat of the Edgecumbe family, situated about fourteen miles up the Tamar. Triumphal cars, with four wheels each, and two ponies, were provided to convey their Majesties and the Princesses to the castle, which stands on a proud eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the banks of the river. On their arrival at the outer gate 21 pateraroes were fired. After viewing the ancient curiosities of the castle, amongst which are several pieces of old armour, and partaking of some refreshment, the whole party reimbarked, and returned to Saltram at two in the afternoon, highly gratified by the novelty of the fresh-water navigation.

The next morning they left Saltram, on their return to Weymouth. Before his Majesty's departure, he was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Thomas Bayard, Esq; Captain of the Impregnable, who had the honour to steer his Majesty's barge in his excursions during his stay at this port.

Friday 28. Their Majesties arrived at Weymouth; where Lord Thurlow, and several other great officers of state, waited to attend the King in Council.

Monday 31. The weather, which for some days past had proved unfavourable, cleared-up; and their Majesties recommenced their sea-excursions.

The Queen this day presented to Captain Douglas, a small gold medallion of the ship he commands, to be given by him to Mrs. Douglas, as an ornament to be worn about her neck; and which the ladies of her Majesty's suite are likewise in possession of.

Friday 4. His Majesty bathed, and afterwards took his usual exercise on horseback. In this excursion he was overtaken by a smart shower, and returned dripping wet; but fortunately took no cold.

Saturday 5. The whole Royal Family, with their suite, made an agreeable trip, on board the Southampton; and were so well satisfied with their excursion, that they extended the usual distance, and exceeded considerably the wonted time of their return. Notwithstanding which, they honoured the theatre with their presence in the evening, when Mr. Chalmers, from the Dublin theatre, made his first appearance, in the character of Marplot, and was favourably received.

Sunday 6. The Royal Family attended divine-service on board the Magnificent. The Rev. Mr. Clifton officiated, and delivered an excellent discourse on the quarter-deck, of which the King, Queen, and Royal Family, occupied the starboard side, under the quarter-deck awning. The larboard,

or

or left, contained the Nobleſſe. In the centre of the quarter-deck ſat the officers of the ſhip; and behind them were placed the ſhip's company and marines, who formed themſelves into a creſcent.

As ſoon as ſervice was over, their Majeſties went forward to the clergyman, and thanked him for his ſermon, and the Queen expreſſed her wiſh to have it tranſcribed.—The Princeſs Elizabeth, with her wonted good-humour and affability, went to the foremoſt part of the gangway, for the curioſity of ſeeing the ſeamen's dinner ſerved to them; where ſhe remained near ten minutes, ſeemingly highly delighted.

At two o'clock, his Majeſty, after partaking of ſome refreſhments in the great cabin, deſired his boat might be manned; when the ſame etiquette took place as on his *entré*, viz. manning the yards and cheering.

Monday 7. Their Majeſties viſited Milton Abbey, and were received at the entrance by Lord Milton and Miſs Damer. Green baize, ſtrewed with flowers, was ſpread from the carriage to the houſe. The Princeſs Royal, Lady Courtoun, and Miſs Damer, got into an open carriage, drawn by ſix grey ponies, mounted by three poſtillions. The Princeſſes Auguſta and Elizabeth, with Lady Waldegrave, accompanied them in the ſame kind of vehicle. His Majeſty, Lord Milton, and attendants, rode on horſeback. They went round the grounds, and viewed the ſurrounding country. The company returned about four o'clock to dinner, which was ſumptuous and elegant, and worthy of the Royal Gueſts. Their Majeſties left the Lodge about half after ſix, and arrived at Glouceſter-lodge at half after nine, well pleaſed with their viſit.

Tueſday 8. In the evening, a ſelect party met at Glouceſter-houſe, by invitation of their Majeſties, to dance and ſup. The Noblemen who had the honour of ſtanding up with the Princeſſes were the Lords Weſtmorland, Chatham, Cheſterfield, and Courtoun; ten couple were as many as they could muſter, and they did not break up till near three in the morning. This feſtival was in celebration of their Majeſties marriage, it being the anniverſary of that happy event.

The three following days were ſpent in excurſions upon the ſea on board the Southampton; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on Andrew Snape Douglas, captain of the Southampton frigate.

Monday 14. This day the Royal Family took their departure from Weymouth. On the King's ſtepping into his coach, the guns from the batrery were fired, and the ſalute returned by the Magnificent and Southampton, with every ſhip in the harbour.

In the evening, the Royal Family arrived at Longleat, the ſeat of the Marquis of Bath, where they reſted during the night, and the next day were entertained with viewing the delightful proſpects that every where ſurround that beautiful manſion.

On the 16th, they ſat out from Longleat, about eleven o'clock, and arrived at Tottenham Park, the ſeat of Lord Ayleſbury, about four in the afternoon. Here they were not leſs magnificently received, nor leſs aſſiduouſly attended. Whatever could charm the eye, or gratify taſte, abounded here in full profuſion.

On

On the 17th, they left Tottenham Park about ten in the morning; and,

On the 18th, their Majesties and Princesses arrived at Windsor, about three in the afternoon, in full health, and joyous spirits.

Correct and authentic Copies of the Twelve Propositions, submitted, on Tuesday Evening, by Mr. Wilberforce, *to the Consideration of the Committee, to whom the Report of the Privy Council, various Petitions for the Abolition of the SLAVE TRADE, and other Papers relative thereto, had been referred: which Propositions were, by Consent, ordered to lie on the Table.*

I.

THAT the number of slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa, in British vessels, is supposed to amount to about 38,000.

That the number annually carried to the British West-India Islands has amounted to about 22,500, on an average of four years, to the year 1787 inclusive.

That the number annually retained in the said islands, as far as appears by the custom-house accounts, has amounted, on the same average, to about 17,500.

II.

That much the greater number of the Negroes carried away by European vessels are brought from the interior parts of the continent of Africa, and many of them from a very great distance.

That no precise information appears to have been obtained of the manner in which these persons have been made slaves.

But that from the accounts, as far as any have been procured on this subject, with respect to the slaves brought from the interior parts of Africa, and from the information which has been received respecting the countries nearer to the coast, the slaves may in general be classed under some of the following descriptions:

1st. Prisoners taken in war.

2d. Free persons sold for debt, or on account of real or imputed crimes, particularly adultery and witchcraft, in which cases they are frequently sold with their whole families, and sometimes for the profit of those by whom they are condemned.

3dly. Domestic slaves sold for the profit of their masters, in some places at the will of the masters, and in some places on being condemned by them, for real or imputed crimes.

4th. Persons made slaves by various acts of oppression, violence, or fraud, committed either by the princes and chiefs of those countries on their subjects, or private individuals on each other, or lastly by Europeans, engaged in this traffic.

III.

That the trade carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa, for the purchase of slaves, has necessarily a tendency to occasion frequent and cruel wars among the natives, to produce unjust convictions and punishments for pretended or aggravated crimes, to encourage acts of oppression, violence, and fraud, and to obstruct the natural course of civilization and improvement in those countries.

IV.

That the continent of Africa, in its

its preſent ſtate, furniſhes ſeveral valuable articles of commerce, highly important to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, and which are in a great meaſure peculiar to that quarter of the globe. And that the ſoil and climate have been found by experience well adapted to the production of other articles, with which we are now either wholly or in a great part ſupplied by foreign nations.

That an extenſive commerce with Africa in theſe commodities might probably be ſubſtituted in the place of that which is now carried on in ſlaves, ſo as at leaſt to afford a return for the ſame quantity of goods as has annually been carried thither in Britiſh veſſels: and laſtly, that ſuch a commerce might reaſonably be expected to increaſe in proportion to the progreſs of civilization and improvement on that continent.

V.

That the Slave Trade has been found by experience to be peculiarly injurious and deſtructive to the Britiſh ſeamen, who have been employed therein. And that the mortality among them has been much greater than in his Majeſty's ſhips ſtationed on the coaſt of Africa, or than has been uſual in Britiſh veſſels employed in any other trade.

VI.

That the mode of tranſporting the ſlaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies, neceſſarily expoſes them to many and grievous ſufferings, for which no regulations can provide an adequate remedy; and that in conſequence thereof, a large proportion of them has annually periſhed during the voyage.

VII.

That a large proportion of the ſlaves ſo tranſported has alſo periſhed in the harbours in the Weſt Indies, previous to their being ſold; That this loſs is ſtated by the aſſembly of the Iſland of Jamaica, at about four and a half per cent. of the number imported; and is by medical perſons of experience in that iſland aſcribed in great meaſure to diſeaſes contracted during the voyage, and to the mode of treatment on board the ſhips, by which thoſe diſeaſes have been ſuppreſſed for a time, in order to render the ſlaves fit for immediate ſale.

VIII.

That the loſs of newly-imported negroes, within the firſt three years after their importation, bears a large proportion to the whole number imported.

That the natural increaſe of population among the ſlaves in the iſlands appears to have been impeded principally by the following cauſes.

1ſt. The inequality of the ſexes in the importations from Africa.

2d. The general diſſoluteneſs of manners among the ſlaves, and the want of proper regulations for the encouragement of marriages, and of rearing children.

3d. The particular diſeaſes which are prevalent among them, and which are in ſome inſtances attributed to too ſevere labour, or rigorous treatment, and in others too inſufficient or improper food.

4th. Thoſe diſeaſes which affect a large proportion of negro children in their infancy, and thoſe to which the negroes newly imported from Africa have been found to be particularly liable.

X.

That the whole number of the ſlaves in the iſland of Jamaica, in

in 1768, was about 167,000
That the number in 1774 was, as ſtated by Governor Keith, about 193,000
And that the number in December 1787, as ſtated by Lieut. Governor Clarke, was about — — — 256,000

That by comparing theſe numbers with the numbers imported into and retained in the iſland in the ſeveral years from 1768 to 1774 incluſive, as appearing from the accounts delivered to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Fuller, and in the ſeveral years from 1775 incluſive, to 1787 alſo incluſive, as appearing by the accounts delivered in by the Inſpector General, and allowing for a loſs of about 1-22d part by deaths on ſhip-board after entry, as ſtated in the reports of the Aſſembly of the ſaid iſland of Jamaica, it appears, that the annual exceſs of deaths above births in the iſland, in the whole period of 19 years, has been in the proportion of 7-8ths per cent. computing on the medium number of ſlaves in the iſland during that period. That in the firſt ſix years of the ſaid nineteen, the exceſs of deaths was in the proportion of rather more than one on every hundred on the medium number. That in the laſt thirteen years of the ſaid nineteen, the exceſs of deaths was in the proportion of about three-fifths on every hundred on the medium number: and that a number of ſlaves, amounting to 15,000, is ſtated by the report of the iſland of Jamaica, to have periſhed during the latter period, in conſequence of repeated hurricanes, and of the want of foreign ſupplies of proviſions.

XI.

That the whole number of ſlaves in the iſland of Barbadoes was, in the year 1764, according to the account given in to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Braithwaite, 70,706
That in 1774, the number was, by the ſame account 74,874
In 1780, by ditto — — 68,270
In 1781, after the hurricane, according to the ſame account — — 63,248
In 1786, by ditto — — 62,115

That by comparing theſe numbers with the number imported into this iſland, according to the ſame account, (not allowing for any re-exportation) that the annual exceſs of deaths above births, in the ten years, from 1764 to 1774, was in the proportion of about five on every hundred, computing on the medium number of ſlaves in the iſland during that period.

That in the ſeven years from 1774 to 1780, both incluſive, the exceſs of deaths was in the proportion of about one and one-third on every hundred on the medium number.

That between the year 1780 and 1781, there appears to have been a decreaſe in the number of ſlaves of about 5000.

That in the ſix years from 1781 to 1786, both incluſive, the exceſs of deaths was in the proportion of rather leſs than ſeven-eighths in every hundred on the medium number.

And that in the four years from 1783 to 1786, both incluſive, the exceſs of deaths was in the proportion of rather leſs than one-third in every hundred on the medium number.

And that during the whole period there is no doubt that ſome were

were exported from the iſland, but conſiderably more in the firſt part of this period than in the laſt.

XII.

That the accounts from the leeward iſlands, and from Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent's, do not furniſh ſufficient grounds for comparing the ſtate of population in the ſaid iſlands at different periods, with the number of ſlaves which have been from time to time imported into the ſaid iſlands, and exported therefrom.—But that from the evidence which has been received reſpecting the preſent ſtate of theſe iſlands, as well as of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and from a conſideration of the means of obviating the cauſes which have hitherto operated to impede the natural increaſe of the ſlaves, and of leſſening the demand for manual labour, without diminiſhing the profit of the planter, it appears that no conſiderable or permanent inconvenience would reſult from diſcontinuing the farther importation of African ſlaves.

THE public ſtatue of the late Sir G. Savile, Bart, is at length finiſhed, and erected in York cathedral. It is fixed on an elegant marble pedeſtal, ſix feet high, on the frize of which are introduced the emblems of Wiſdom, Fortitude, and Eternity. Sir George is repreſented leaning on a pillar, holding in his right hand a ſcroll, on which is written, *The Petition of the Freeholders of the County of York.* The back ground is of white marble, and the whole height of the monument is ſixteen feet, and is executed in ſo maſterly a ſtyle as to do great credit to the ſtatuary. On the front of the pedeſtal is the following inſcription:

To the memory of
Sir GEORGE SAVILE, Bart.
who,
In five ſucceſſive parliaments,
Repreſented the county of
York,
The public love and eſteem of his
Fellow-citizens
Have decreed this
Monument.
In private life he was benevolent and
ſincere;
His charities were extenſive and ſecret;
His whole heart was formed on principles
Of generoſity, mildneſs, juſtice, and
Univerſal candour.
In public, the patron of every national
improvement;
In the Senate, incorrupt;
In his commerce with the world, diſintereſted.
By genius enlightened in the means of
doing good,
He was unwearied in doing it.
His life was an ornament and a bleſſing
to the age in which he lived;
And, after death, his
Memory
Will continue to be beneficial to mankind,
By holding forth an example of
Pure and unaffected virtue,
Moſt worthy of imitation,
To the lateſt poſterity.
He departed this life, January the 9th,
1784,
In the 58th year of his age,
Beloved and lamented.

Account of the Opening of the Academy at Windſor *in* Nova Scotia.

Halifax, Nov. 11.

ON Saturday the 1ſt of this month, the Academy at Windſor was opened by the Right Reverend the biſhop of Nova Scotia.—A numerous and reſpectable company, conſiſting of the magiſtrates and principal gentlemen of the county

county of Hants, attended, which added much to the ſolemnity that was obſerved on an occaſion ſo truly pleaſing as the founding and opening the firſt public ſeminary for learning in this province.

The Biſhop began with prayers, and then delivered a Latin oration, in which he pointed out the many advantages the public would derive from the inſtitution; and ſeverally addreſſed the magiſtrates, the tutors, and the ſtudents.

He next read over the regulations that were eſtabliſhed by the gentlemen appointed to undertake the general government of the Academy—Theſe regulations are well calculated to preſerve order, to enforce diligence in the tutors, and promote application and improvement in the ſtudents; and the books to be read by the ſeveral claſſes are ſpecified, being the ſame that are read in the beſt ſeminaries in England.

Seventeen ſtudents, the number then preſent, were next admitted into the Academy; and the Biſhop very earneſtly addreſſed them and the tutors, in Engliſh, on the ſubject of their reſpective duties.

The buſineſs of the Academy being finiſhed, the magiſtrates and gentlemen of the county of Hants preſented the following Addreſs to the Biſhop:

Right Reverend Sir,

The magiſtrates and gentlemen who have the honour to attend you this day, in behalf of themſelves and the inhabitanrs of Hants, beg leave to expreſs their happineſs on the occaſion, when the eſtabliſhment of a public ſeminary for learning, under your guidance and government, affords them the comfort and hope, that the children, as well as in general the youth of this province, will have the ineſtimable advantage of ſuch education as forms the man of learning, with the ſentiments that diſtinguiſh the gentleman, and the morality and piety of the true chriſtian.

Happy as the occaſion is, it is rendered infinitely more ſo to us, as well as to every parent, and every perſon in the diſtrict we repreſent, by the particular ſatisfaction ariſing from the influence your preſence and encouragement has had with all claſſes of people; and, we truſt, will yield every bleſſing to be expected from piety, morality, and learning, while the charge allotted to you in this province is ſupported with ſuch eminent abilities and zeal for the public good.

We humbly offer our grateful thanks to our benign Sovereign, for the gracious and diſtinguiſhed mark of his regard for this province, in the appointment of a divine, poſſeſſed of every virtue and qualification, to inſpire univerſal reverence, affection, and love of religion, as Biſhop of this province, to ſuperintend this eſtabliſhment, and to extend the light of the goſpel among his faithful ſubjects: and to Heaven we offer our fervent prayer, that you may live happy to complete the work you have begun, and long to witneſs the comfort and happineſs of all who benefit by thoſe inſtances of Royal favour, till the Saviour, whoſe goſpel you teach, ſhall reward your merits with everlaſting bliſs.

To which the Biſhop returned the following Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I feel myſelf exceedingly obliged by this affectionate and polite addreſs,

dreſs, for which be pleaſed to accept of my ſincereſt thanks.

Permit me at the ſame time to congratulate you on an event ſo intereſting, as the founding and opening a public ſeminary of learning at Windſor, which promiſes many advantages to the province.

This inſtitution, and its concomitant benefits, originated from our moſt gracious and beloved Sovereign, who, among other inſtances of his royal attention to the welfare of his faithful ſubjects, ſtrongly recommended the meaſure; and the legiſlature of this province, with a promptneſs and zeal which reflect honour on all its members, inſtantly adopted, and took the proper ſteps to carry into effect the Royal inſtruction——Happy in promoting the beneficent views of his Majeſty, and in co-operating with my worthy fellow-ſubjects in ſo uſeful a deſign, I endeavoured, with all good faith and ſincerity, to execute the truſt repoſed in me; and that the buſineſs is happily brought to its preſent ſtage, is greatly owing to the ready concurrence and aid which I received from his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, and the other gentlemen, who, with me, were appointed by the late Act of the Province to undertake the general government of the Academy. The approbation which you are pleaſed to beſtow on my conduct is very flattering, and will ſerve to ſtimulate my future exertions in the ſame good cauſe.

To you, gentlemen, it would be needleſs to enlarge on the advantages of literature and a virtuous education, as you appear to be totally ſenſible of them. I ſhall only obſerve, that from ſcience the enlightened philoſopher derives his ſuperiority over the untutored ſavage, and that to the diſcipline and inſtructions received in early youth, the devout Chriſtian is indebted, next to God, for thoſe enlarged and liberal ſentiments, that integrity of heart, and glowing ardour for the good of others, which place him ſo high above the ignorant, vicious, and ſelfiſh part of mankind.

As this Academy is fixed in your vicinity, I earneſtly recommend it to your patronage and aſſiſtance in any difficulties that may occaſionally ariſe. In particular, I requeſt the worthy magiſtrates rigorouſly to enforce the laws againſt drunkenneſs, profane ſwearing, profanation of the Lord's day, and other vices, agreeable to his Majeſty's late proclamation, that the ſtudents may not be injured by bad examples.

It is unneceſſary to aſſure you, that I feel the utmoſt anxiety for the ſucceſs of this Academy. May the Almighty bleſs and proſper it! —may it flouriſh, and become, as it is intended, a public bleſſing!—and may uſeful learning, pure religion, virtue, order, and loyalty, flow from hence, as from a common ſource, and extenſively diffuſe their ſalutary effects through every part of the province!

Mr. Burke's *Letter to Mr.* Montague, *on the Subject of the Cenſure moved in the Houſe of Commons, reſpecting Words ſpoken by him in Weſtminſter Hall.*

My dear Sir,

WITH the conſent, as you know, and the approbation of the Committee, I am reſolved to perſevere

perſevere in the reſolution I had formed, and had declared to the Houſe, that nothing ſhould perſuade me, upon any occaſion, leaſt of all upon the preſent, to enter into a laboured, litigious, artificial defence of my conduct. Such a mode of defence belongs to another ſort of conduct, and to cauſes of a different deſcription.

As a faithful and ingenuous ſervant, I owe to the Houſe a plain and ſimple explanation of any part of my behaviour, which ſhall be called in queſtion before them. I have given this explanation; and in doing ſo, I have done every thing which my own honour and my duty to the Houſe could poſſibly require at my hands. The reſt belongs to the Houſe.

They, I have no doubt, will act in a manner fit for a wiſe body, attentive to its reputation. I muſt be ſuppoſed to know ſomething of the duty of a proſecutor for the public; otherwiſe neither ought the Houſe to have conferred that truſt upon me, nor ought I to have accepted it. I have not been diſapproved of by the firſt abilities in the kingdom, appointed by the ſame authority, not only for my aſſiſtance, but for my direction and controul. You, who have honoured me with a partial friendſhip, continued without intermiſſion for twenty-four years, would not have failed in giving me that firſt, and moſt deciſive proof of friendſhip, to enlighten my ignorance, and to rectify my miſtakes. You have not done either; and I muſt act on the inference. It is no compliment to mention what is known to the world, how well qualified you are for that office, from your deep parliamentary knowledge, and your perfect acquaintance with all the eminent examples of the ancient and modern world.

The Houſe having, upon an opinion of my diligence and fidelity, (for they could have no other motive) put a great truſt into my hands, ought to give me an entire credit for the veracity of every fact I affirm or deny: but if they fail with regard to me, it is at leaſt in my power to be true to myſelf. I will not commit myſelf in an unbecoming contention with the agents of a criminal, whom it is my duty to bring to juſtice. I am a member of a Committee of Secrecy, and I will not violate my truſt, by turning myſelf into a defendant, and bringing forward in my own exculpation, the evidence which I have prepared for his conviction. I will not let him know on what documents I rely. I will not let him know who the witneſſes for the proſecution are, nor what they have to depoſe againſt him. Though I have no ſort of doubt of the conſtancy and integrity of thoſe witneſſes, yet becauſe they are men, and men to whom, from my own ſituation, I owe protection, I ought not to expoſe them either to temptation or to danger. I will not hold them out to be importuned or menaced, or diſcredited, or run down, or poſſibly to be ruined in their fortunes by the power and influence of this delinquent, except where the national ſervice ſuperſedes all other conſiderations. If I muſt ſuffer, I will ſuffer alone! No man ſhall fall a ſacrifice to a feeble ſenſibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of thoſe libels, which, by deſpiſing through ſo many years, I have, at length

length obtained the honour of being joined in commiſſion with this Committee, and becoming an humble inſtrument in the hands of public juſtice.

The only favour I have to ſupplicate from the Houſe is, that their goodneſs would ſpare to the weakeſt of their members any unneceſſary labour; by letting me know, as ſpeedily as poſſible, whether they wiſh to diſcharge me from my preſent office. If they do not, I ſolemnly promiſe them, that, with God's aſſiſtance, I will, as a member of their Committee, purſue their buſineſs to the end—That no momentary diſfavour ſhall ſlacken my diligence in the great cauſe they have undertaken—That I will lay open, with the force of irreſiſtible proof, this dark ſcene of bribery, peculation, and groſs pecuniary corruption, which I have begun to unfold, and in the midſt of which my courſe had been arreſted.

This poor Indian ſtratagem of turning the accuſer into a defendant, has been too often and too uniformly practiſed by Devi Sing, Mr. Haſtings, and Gunga Govant Sing, and other Banyans, black and white, to have any longer the ſlighteſt effect upon me, whom long ſervice in Indian Committees has made well acquainted with the politics of Calcutta. If the Houſe will ſuffer me to go on, the moment is at hand when my defence, and included in it the defence of the Houſe, will be made in the only way, in which my truſt permits me to make it, by proving juridically on this accuſing criminal the facts and the guilt which we have charged upon him. As to the relevancy of the facts, the Committee of Impeachment muſt be the ſole judge until they are handed over to the Court competent to give a final deciſion on their value. In that Court the agent of Mr. Haſtings will ſoon enough be called upon to give his own teſtimony with regard to the conduct of his principal. The agent ſhall not eſcape from the neceſſity of delivering it; nor will the principal eſcape from the teſtimony of his agent.

I hope I have in no moment of this purſuit (now by me continued, in one ſhape or other, for near eight years) ſhewn the ſmalleſt ſymptoms of colluſion or prevarication. The laſt point in which I ſhould wiſh to ſhew it, is in the charge concerning pecuniary corruption—a corruption ſo great and ſo ſpreading, that the moſt unſpotted characters will be juſtified in taking meaſures for guarding themſelves againſt ſuſpicion. Neither hope, nor fear, nor anger, nor wearineſs, nor diſcouragement of any kind, ſhall move me from this truſt—nothing but an act of the Houſe, formally taking away my commiſſion, or totally cutting off the means of performing it. I truſt we are all of us animated by the ſame ſentiments.

This perſeverance in us may be called obſtinacy, inſpired by malice. Not one of us, however, has a cauſe of malice. What knowledge have we of Sir Elijah Impey, with whom, you know, we began; or Mr. Haſtings, whom we afterwards found in our way? Party views cannot be our motive. Is it not notorious, that, if we thought it conſiſtent with our duty, we might have at leaſt an equal ſhare of the Indian intereſts, which now is almoſt to a man againſt us?

I am ſure I reverence the Houſe,

as a member of Parliament and an Engliſhman ought to do; and ſhall ſubmit to its deciſion with due humility. I have given this apology for abandoning a formal defence, in writing to you, though it contains in effect not much more than I have delivered in my place. But this mode is leſs liable to miſrepreſentation, and a trifle more permanent.—It will remain with you either for my future acquittal, or condemnation, as I ſhall behave.

I am, with ſincere affection and reſpect;

My dear Sir,
Your faithful friend,
And humble ſervant,

Gerrard ſtreet, (Signed)
May 1, 1789. EDMUND BURKE.
(A TRUE COPY.)

The following is ſaid to be an authentic Tranſcript of the Speech of Mr. Haſtings, *addreſſed to the High Court of Parliament.*

"My Lords,

"MAY I be permitted to offer a few words to your Lordſhips:——

"I feel myſelf unequal to the occaſion which ſo ſuddenly calls upon me to ſtate to your Lordſhips what I feel of the unexampled hardſhips of this trial. I came here to-day utterly unprepared for ſuch an event, as that which I perceive now impending; I therefore entreat your Lordſhips to indulge me for a few moments, while I recollect myſelf—

"I muſt beg you will be pleaſed to conſider the ſituation in which I ſtand, and the awe which I muſt unavoidably feel, in addreſſing this auguſt aſſembly. I have already, in a petition preſented to your Lordſhips in the beginning of this year, repreſented the hardſhips and grievances, and but a part of the hardſhips and grievances, which I thought I had ſuſtained when only one year of this Impeachment had paſſed; theſe have accumulated.—Many of them have proportionably accumulated, with the time that has ſince elapſed, but in my ſenſe of them, they have been infinitely aggravated, when I have ſeen ſo little done, and ſo much time expended; ſuch a long period conſumed, and yet not one tenth part, of one ſingle article of the twenty, which compoſe the charge, brought to a concluſion on the part of the proſecution only. If five months have been thus conſumed, what period, my Lords, ſhall I eſtimate, as neceſſary for the remainder of the Impeachment? My life, in any eſtimation of it, will not be ſufficient. It is impoſſible that I ſhould ſurvive to its cloſe, if continued, as it has hitherto proceeded: and although I know not what to make the ſpecific prayer of my petition, I do beſeech your Lordſhips to conſider what injury my health, and my fortune muſt ſuſtain, if it be your determination that I muſt wait till it ſhall pleaſe the juſtice, or the candour of the honourable Houſe of Commons, which has impeached me before your Lordſhips, to cloſe this proſecution.

"My Lords, I hope I ſhall not be thought to deviate from the reſpect which I feel, equally, I am ſure, with any man living, for this high court, if I ſay, that had a precedent exiſted in England, of a man accuſed, and impeached as I have been, whoſe trial had actually been protracted to ſuch a length, or

if

if I had conceived it poſſible that mine could have been ſo protracted, I hope your Lordſhips will pardon me if I ſay—I would at once have pleaded guilty; I would not have ſuſtained this trial; I would have reſted my cauſe and my character, which is much dearer to me than life, upon that truth, which ſooner or later will ſhew itſelf. This, my Lords, I would have done, rather than have ſubmitted to a trial, which of itſelf has been a puniſhment a hundred times more ſevere, than any puniſhment your Lordſhips could have inflicted upon me, had I pleaded guilty. What muſt I not continue to experience, by a life of impeachment?

"And now, my Lords, I beg leave to ſubmit my caſe to your Lordſhips, well knowing that if it is in your power to apply a remedy to the hardſhips which I have ſuſtained, and to thoſe which I am yet likely to ſuffer, your Lordſhips will do it. I cannot be ſo unreaſonable as to expect that your Lordſhips ſhould waſte more time in the continuation of this trial, when the year is ſo much advanced, and when, as I believe, by the cuſtom of Parliament, it has been uſual for your Lordſhips to retire from the buſineſs of the ſeſſion; I do therefore humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhips juſtice and goodneſs. Yet if the honourable managers could propoſe a ſhort time, ſuch a period as your Lordſhips could afford, in order to cloſe this impeachment, which I have been told, (perhaps falſely) was to end with the preſent article, I ſhould be willing in that caſe even to wave any defence, rather than protract the deciſion to another year—it may be for many years; I would pray your Lordſhips to proceed to judgment on the evidence which my proſecutors have adduced for my conviction.

"My Lords, I hope I have ſaid nothing that is diſreſpectful to your Lordſhips, I am ſure I have felt no other ſentiment than thoſe of deference and reſpect for this great aſſembly."

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 16, 1788, to DECEMBER 15, 1789.

Christened			Buried			Increased in the Burials this Year 1052.
	Males	9341		Males	10611	
	Females	8822		Females	10138	
		18163			20749	

Died under Two Years	6936	—Fifty and Sixty	1686	A Hundred and Two	0
Between Two and Five	2237	—Sixty and Seventy	1455	A Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	800	—Seventy and Eighty	1093	A Hundred and Four	0
—Ten and Twenty	810	—Eighty and Ninety	415	A Hundred and Five	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1459	—Ninety and a Hundred	66	A Hundred and Six	0
—Thirty and Forty	1889	A Hundred	0		
—Forty and Fifty	1893	A Hundred and One	1		

DISEASES.					
Abortive and Stillborn	725	Diabetes	0	Measles	534
Abscess	16	Dropsy	909	Miscarriage	1
Aged	1278	Evil	8	Mortification	212
Ague	4	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2380	Palsy	79
Apoplexy and Sudden	216	Fistula	4	Pleurisy	11
Asthma and Phthisic	472	Flux	17	Quinsy	4
Bed-ridden	8	French Pox	44	Rash	2
Bleeding	9	Gout	66	Rheumatism	8
Bloody Flux	0	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	45	Rickets	1
Bursten and Rupture	12	Grief	2	Rising of the Lights	0
Cancer	78	Head-Ach	1	Scald Head	0
Canker	7	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	45	Scurvy	3
Chicken Pox	0	Jaundice	41	Small Pox	2077
Childbed	177	Impostbume	2	Sore Throat	6
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	9	Inflammation	190	Sores and Ulcers	8
Cold	4	Itch	0	St. Anthony's Fire	2
Consumption	5172	Leprosy	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	4
Convulsions	4651	Lethargy	1	Surfeit	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	374	Livergrown	1	Swelling	6
		Lunatick	71	Teeth	474
				Thrush	54
				Tympany	1
				Vomiting and Loosenes	2
				Worms	4

CASUALTIES.	
BIT by a mad dog	3
Broken Limbs	3
Bruised	0
Burnt	11
Choaked	1
Drowned	90
Excessive Drinking	10
Executed	*9
Found Dead	12
Fractured	2
Frighted	1
Frozen	5
Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	35
Killed themselves	21
Murdered	3
Overlaid	0
Poisoned	1
Scalded	2
Shot	0
Smothered	3
Starved	5
Suffocated	5
Total	218

* There have been 29 executed, in Middlesex and Surry; of which number 9 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received, thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January 1790.

EXPORTED.

1789.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	66,820	6,983	
Wheat Flour	185,770	3,310	
Rye	37,089	2,718	
Barley	190,197	360	
Malt	125,049		76,551 16 1¼ Bo.
Oats	23,997	1,434	
Oatmeal	537	194	Nil Dr.
Beans	14,374	4,126	
Peaſe	8,931	238	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	3,289		
Wheat Flour	2,346		
Rye	139		
Barley	19,127		
Barley hulled	100		
Bear or Big	10,972		5,999 5 0 Bo.
Bearmeal	61		
Malt	9,799		
Oats	1,402		
Oatmeal	5,118		
Peaſe and Beans	222		
Groats	12		

IMPORTED.

1789.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	72,379	
Wheat Flour	16,172	
Rye	14,844	
Barley	8,749	
Oats	359,754	4,814 3 7¼
Oatmeal	6,213	
Beans	162	
Peaſe	99	
Indian Corn	54	

1789. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.
Wheat	19,722	1,334 1 9
Wheat Flour	2,228	
Barley	2,378	
Oats	63,754	
Peaſe and Beans	130	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1789.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	4¾	3	8¾	2	10¼	2	0	3	4¼

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6 d.	3 d.	3 d.	3 d.	6 d.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1789.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr. Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January —	169 3/4	72 1/8	71 5/8	92 3/8	109 1/2	21 1/2	13 1/8	161 3/4	68 1/4	70	80 1/2	71 1/8	70	1 3/4	23	15 8 0
	170 1/2	73 3/8	74 1/4	93 1/2	113 1/2	21 7/8	13 3/8	166 1/4	68 3/8	78	82 1/2	72 5/8	71 5/8	1 7/8	28	16 3 8
February —	169 3/4	72 3/8	71 3/4	92 3/4	109 3/4	21 9/16	13 1/16	162	67 7/8	70	80 1/2	72 1/8	71 5/8	1 3/4	22	14 18 0
March —	175 7/8	74 3/8	74	96 3/8	113 3/4	22 7/16	13 5/16	165	68 3/4	75	83 1/4	74	72 5/8	1 3/4	25	15 18 0
	173 3/4	74 1/2	73 1/2	95 7/8	113 1/2	22 5/16	13 1/16	165	69 7/8	74	83 3/4	73 3/4	73 1/8	1 3/4	23	
April —	176 1/2	75 1/4	74 1/8	96 5/8	114 1/8	22 5/8	13 3/4	169 1/2	70 1/4	78	84	74 1/2	73 1/2	1 3/4	25	
	173 3/8	73 7/8	74 1/8	94 3/4	113 3/8	22 1/16	13 1/4	168	69	73	85 3/4	73 1/2	73 5/8	1 5/8	26	
May —	176 3/8	75 5/8	75 1/8	96 3/4	114 1/8	22 9/16	13 1/16	169	69 1/2	80	86 1/2	73 3/4	74 1/2	1 1/2	30	
	173 1/2	74	74 3/8	94 7/8	114 1/16	22 1/8	13 3/8	168 1/2	69 5/8	78	85 3/4	73 1/2	74 3/8	1 1/2	29	
June —	179	76 3/8	77 1/8	97	116 5/8	22 11/16	13 9/16	170	70 1/2	85	86 1/2	75 3/8	76 3/8	1 5/8	30	
	176 7/8	75 3/8	76 1/8	95 7/8	115 5/8	22 3/8	13 3/8	169 1/2	69 5/8	78	86 1/2	74 1/2	75 1/2	1 1/2	29	
July —	180	77	77 3/4	97 1/2	116 1/2	23 1/4	13 3/8	174	70 3/8	85	86 7/8	76 1/2	75 5/8	1 5/8	30	
	179 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/8	97 1/8	115 7/8	22 5/8	13 9/16	170 1/4	70 3/8	81	85 1/2	76	76 3/8	1 5/8	30	15 16 6
August —	185 7/8	79 7/8	79 7/8	99 7/8	117 7/8	23 1/4	13 5/8	175	73 1/4	100	87 1/2	79	78 1/4	1 5/8	33	15 18 0
	184 1/2	78 1/4	78 3/8	98 3/4	115 7/8	23 1/16	13 1/16	173 1/2	72 3/4	97	86 3/4	78 1/8	77 1/4	1 3/4	36	15 16 0
	191	80 3/8	79 7/8	99 7/8	116 7/8	23 1/2	14	179 1/4	74	107	88 5/8	79 1/4	78 3/4	1 3/4	60	16 1 6
September —	189 1/8	79 1/2	79 1/2	99 1/2	116 1/2	23 7/16	13 15/16	175	74 1/4	99	88 3/4	79 1/4	78 3/4	1 3/4	58	15 18 0
	194 7/8	82	81 1/8	104	122 1/8	24 1/8	14 3/16	178 1/2	76	109	90 1/4	80 7/8	80 7/8	1 7/8	60	16 1 6
October —	183 3/4	77 7/8	78 3/4	97 1/4	117 1/4	23 1/16	13 7/16	176 1/4	72 5/8	102	88 1/8	77 1/4	78 1/4	1 7/8	57	15 18 0
	191 1/2	78 7/8	80 5/8	102	118 1/4	23 7/8	13 1/2	179 3/4	73 3/4	107	89 1/4	78 1/8	79 1/4	1 7/8	59	16 0 0
November —	181 1/2	76 3/4	77 5/8	96 7/8	117 1/4	22 11/16	13 5/16	175	72 1/4	101	87 1/2	76 1/4	76 3/4	1 7/8	55	15 16 6
	183	78 5/8	79 1/8	97 7/8	118 1/4	23 1/16	13 1/2	179 1/4	72 3/4	110	88 5/8	77 3/8	77 7/8	1 7/8	57	16 1 0
December —	181	76 7/8	77 3/8	97 1/8	117 1/4	22 3/4	13 1/4	172	71 5/8	105	87 1/4	76 1/2	77 1/4	1 7/8	48	15 15 6
	183 1/2	78	78 7/8	99 3/8	118 1/8	23 1/16	13 7/16	175 1/4	72 1/4	110	87 3/4	77 1/2	77 1/2	1 7/8	50	16 0 0

Paynic

Public Acts paſſed in the Sixth Seſſion of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

ACT to repeal the duty on ſhops.

Act to ſuſpend, for a limited time, an act of laſt ſeſſions, for the better ſecuring of the rights of freeholders at county elections, and for indemnifying the perſons appointed to carry it into execution.

Act for repealing the ſaid act of laſt ſeſſion.

Act for the importation of bread, flour, corn, &c. from the United States of America into the province of Quebec.

Act to continue an act for the encouraging of the arts of deſigning and printing linens, &c.

Act to amend the hawkers and pedlars act.

Act to incorporate certain perſons under the name of the Northumberland fiſhery.

Act for repealing the duties on ſpirits, &c. in Scotland.

Act to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for public offices, &c.

Act for allowing further time for the enrollment of the deeds and wills of papiſts, &c.

Act to prevent the wilful burning and deſtroying ſhips, or deſtroying any woollen, linen, ſilk, or other goods in Scotland.

Act for granting additional duties on horſes and carriages.

Act for granting additional duties on probates of wills, letters of adminiſtration, receipts for legacies, &c.

Act for granting additional duties on newſpapers, advertiſements, cards, and dice.

Act for the more effectual encouragement of the manufacture of flax and cotton.

Act reſpecting the importation and exportation of corn, ſtarch, rapeſeed, &c.

Act to explain the American intercourſe bill.

Act to regulate the Newfoundland, Greenland, and Southern whale fiſheries,

Act to regulate the trade of pawnbrokers.

Act reſpecting piece goods wove in this kingdom, perſons licenſed to retail ſpirituous liquors, &c.

Act for allowing a drawback on the exportation of tea to Guernſey, &c.

Act for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the emoluments of the officers of the cuſtoms in Scotland.

Act for continuing for a time the ſlave-trade regulating bill.

Act for appointing commiſſioners to enquire further into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts.

Act for the more effectual executing the laws reſpecting gaols.

Act to enable the Eaſt India company to raiſe money by further increaſing their capital ſtock.

Act for repealing the duties on tobacco and ſnuffs, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1789.

NAVY.

MARCH 17.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 20,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 4l. per man per month — — —	1,040,000	0	0

MAY 21.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of the marines — — —	713,000	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building and repairing veſſels, over and above the allowance for wear and tear — — —	575,570	0	0
Total of the navy —	2,328,570	0	0

ARMY.

MARCH 17.

For 17,448 men, including 1,620 invalids, as guards and garriſons in Great Britain — —	638,562	14	1
For forces and garriſons in the plantations and Gibraltar — — — —	315,915	8	9
For making good the deficiency in the difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment for 1788 -	2,891	17	11½
For defraying the difference between the ſame for 7 regiments of foot ſerving in North America, and the Weſt Indies, for one year — —	8,245	10	1
For advance of pay to the forces in the Eaſt Indies —	11,435	12	10½
For the deficiency in full pay of ſuperannuated officers for 1788 — — — —	1,023	11	10
For the charge of full pay to the ſame for 1789 —	10,871	14	10¼
For the pay of general and general ſtaff-officers in Great Britain — — —	6,409	8	0
For allowances to the poſtmaſter general, ſecretary at war, &c. — — — —	63,043	5	0
For reduced officers of the land forces and marines —	172,787	5	5

For

	£.	s.	d.
For the reduced officers and private gentlemen of the troops of horſe and grenadier guards — —	212	14	7
For the officers late in the Dutch ſervice —	3,392	14	2
For the reduced officers of Britiſh American forces —	55,092	10	0
For allowances to ſeveral of the ſame — —	4,907	10	0
For officers widows, and expences attending the ſame	9,943	3	3
For the Heſſian ſubſidy — — —	36,093	15	0
For the Chelſea penſioners — —	177,465	0	8
MAY 28.			
For the army extraordinaries for 1788 — —	898,769	1	3
Total of the army —	1,917,062	17	9¾

ORDNANCE.

MARCH 17.			
For the charges of the office of ordnance for the land ſervice for 1789 — — —	220,576	15	8
For five companies of military artificers —	9,620	0	0
MARCH 19.			
For land ſervice, not provided for in 1788 —	9,306	4	1
For extraordinaries for 1789 — —	218,017	6	4
For one company of military artificers — —	1,924	1	8
Total of ordnance —	459,444	7	9

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

MARCH 17.			
For Scotch roads and bridges — —	4,000	0	0
APRIL 28.			
To the Britiſh muſeum — — —	3,000	0	0
MAY 28.			
To pay off the exchequer bills of the laſt ſeſſions —	5,500,000	0	0
To the commiſſioners of American claims —	2,111	0	6
For American ſufferers — — —	41,559	4	0
To diſcharge bills drawn by the governors of Nova Scotia, the Bahama Iſlands, and New Brunſwick —	1,286	19	9¾
For the ſame, drawn by the commiſſary at New South Wales — — — —	2,075	6	1
For American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers —	313,659	2	5
For money iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes —	34,370	1	4
For the convicts at Plymouth and on the Thames —	56,598	7	9
To the clerk to the commiſſioners of fees and offices —	761	8	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves — — —	500	0	0

To

	£.	s.	d.
To the commiſſioners of crown lands —	3,000	0	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of the Eaſt Florida claims — — — —	900	0	0
To ditto of American loyaliſts — —	4,693	8	6
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia — —	6,218	17	6
The like of New Brunſwick — —	5,400	0	0
The like of St. John's Iſland — —	1,900	0	0
The like of Cape Breton — — —	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland — —	1,182	10	0
The like of the Bahama Iſlands — —	4,080	0	0
The like of New South Wales — —	2,877	10	0
To the chief juſtice of Dominica — —	600	0	0
To ditto of the Bermuda Iſlands — —	580	0	0
JUNE 15.			
For ſecret ſervice-money abroad — —	191,342	13	0
For Carlton houſe — — —	35,260	0	0
For the African forts — — —	13,000	0	0
JULY 7.			
To John Reader, eſq. a compenſation for his loſs by diſmantling of an iron foundery in Jamaica, in 1782, by order of ſir Archibald Campbell —	3,000	0	0
JULY 20.			
For proſecution of Warren Haſtings, eſq. —	20,312	6	4
Total of miſcellaneous ſervices —	6,256,309	2	2¾

DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15.			
Deficiency of laſt year's grants — —	331,649	18	3¾

Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy — — — —	2,328,570	0	0
Army — — — —	1,917,062	17	9¾
Ordnance — — —	459,444	7	9
Miſcellaneous ſervices — —	6,256,309	2	2¾
Deficiencies — — —	331,649	18	3¾
Total of ſupplies for 1789 —	11,293,036	6	1¾

Ways

Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1789.

	£.	s.	d.
MARCH 23.			
By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound — —	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
JUNE 11.			
By annuities with benefit of survivorship —	1,002,500	0	0
By annuities for 18¾ years, from April 5, 1789 —	187,000	0	0
Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at 15l. 8s. 7½d.	271,562	10	0
Exchequer bills — — —	5,500,000	0	0
Surplus of consolidated fund — —	1,530,000	0	0
JULY 21.			
Balance in the hands of the paymaster general —	398,769	0	0
Total ways and means —	11,639,831	10	0
Total supplies —	11,293,036	6	1¼
Excess of ways and means	£. 346,795	3	10¾

NEW TAXES.

Additional halfpenny on newspapers — —	28,000	0	0
—— sixpence on advertisements —	9,000	0	0
—— duty on cards and dice — —	9,000	0	0
—— —— probates and wills — —	18,261	0	0
—— —— legacies to collateral relations only	5,000	0	0
—— duties on carriages and horses —	41,739	0	0
	111,000	0	0

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

The Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Phyſicians who have attended His Majeſty, during his Illneſs, touching the State of His Majeſty's Health.

Doctor Richard Warren *called in, and examined.*

WHETHER, in his opinion, the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is, or is not, ſuch as to render his Majeſty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public buſineſs?

His Majeſty's ſtate of health is ſuch as to render him incapable of coming to parliament, or attending public buſineſs.

What hopes has Dr. Warren of his Majeſty's recovery?

The hopes of his Majeſty's recovery muſt depend on the probability of cure; and that can only be judged of by what has happened to others in ſimilar caſes; and as the majority of others have recovered, there is a probability that his Majeſty may recover likewiſe.

Can Dr. Warren form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majeſty's illneſs is likely to laſt?

No.

What degree of experience has Dr. Warren had of the particular ſpecies of diſorder with which his Majeſty is afflicted?

In the courſe of 27 or 28 years practice I have ſeen many perſons diſordered in a manner ſimilar to that of his Majeſty; ſome have ſoon recovered under my ſole care; when that has not happened, I have always called in the perſons who make this branch of medicine their particular ſtudy, and have ſometimes attended in conjunction with them, but have oftener left the patients to their care, and have afterwards attended in conſultation only, and in many caſes not at all.

Whether, when Dr. Warren ſpeaks of others in ſimilar caſes to that of his Majeſty, he means to include all the different ſpecies of the diſorder, or to confine himſelf to that particular ſpecies with which his Majeſty is afflicted?

I do not mean to confine myſelf to that particular ſpecies with which his Majeſty is afflicted, but to include all the different ſpecies of the diſorder.

Can Dr. Warren ſtate how many particular ſpecies there are of this diſorder?

No.

Can he ſtate any diſtinct ſpecies of the diſorder?

Yes—though the immediate cauſes of this diſorder cannot be aſcertained, yet ſome of the remote

ones

ones are well known. Injuries received from blows or falls—ſudden affections of the mind—the effect of fever. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral internal cauſes of this diſorder; namely, exoſtoſes, indurations, and ill-conformation of the parts.

Whether this diſorder may not ſometimes exiſt, when it cannot be referred to any of thoſe cauſes which Dr. Warren has ſpecified.

Yes.

Is his Majeſty's diſorder, in your opinion, referrible to any of the cauſes enumerated by you, or can you aſſign any known cauſe to which, in your judgment, it is referrible?

I cannot aſſign his Majeſty's malady to any cauſe whatever, as I have not data ſufficient to ground an anſwer upon.

In thoſe ſpecies of the diſorder, which are not referrible to any aſſignable cauſe, is the probability of cure greater, or leſs, than the probability eſtimated on all the ſpecies taken together?

I cannot tell.

Can Dr. Warren ſtate what the comparative probability is, in each of the cauſes which he has aſſigned?

The diſorder proceeding from external injuries, ſuch as blows, is frequently cured if medicine be expeditiouſly applied. When the malady ariſes from ſudden affections of the mind, it is very frequently cured—when from the effect of fever, it is oftener cured than when from any other cauſe. When the malady proceeds from the internal cauſes mentioned above, no good can be done by medicine.

Can Dr. Warren ſtate what portion, of the whole number of perſons afflicted with this malady, have been ſo, owing to each of the cauſes he has enumerated, and what proportion, where it can be referred to no aſſignable cauſe?

I cannot ſtate any preciſe proportion; but, out of a great number, there are very few caſes where it is poſſible to aſcertain that it proceeds from any aſſignable cauſe.

Is there any one of the particular cauſes enumerated, to which Dr. Warren can ſay, that the diſorder with which his Majeſty is afflicted is not to be referred?

I do not think his Majeſty's diſorder appears to proceed from any one of the cauſes enumerated by me.

Can Dr. Warren ſay with certainty, whether his Majeſty's diſorder may, or may not, have proceeded from injury by blows or falls?

I cannot.

Can Dr. Warren ſay with certainty, whether his Majeſty's diſorder may, or may not, have proceeded from ſudden affections of the mind?

I cannot.

Can Dr. Warren ſay with certainty, whether his Majeſty's diſorder may, or may not, have been the effect of fever?

I can ſay with certainty it has not.

Can Dr. Warren ſay with certainty, whether his Majeſty's diſorder may, or may not, have proceeded from any of the internal cauſes he has mentioned?

I cannot.

Whether, in thoſe ſpecies of the diſorder which cannot be referred to any aſſignable cauſe, the probability of cure may not be various in different caſes, according to the ſymptoms

ſymptoms of the particular caſe, or the apparent degree of the diſorder?

I think not, unleſs ſigns of convaleſcence are coming on.

Whether the knowledge of the remote cauſe is of aſſiſtance towards promoting the cure?

In many caſes I think it is, but ſometimes not.

Whether, in his Majeſty's diſorder, Dr. Warren ſees any preſent ſigns of convaleſcence?

No.

Whether every cure, in the ſame perſon, of a diſorder which has returned, is included in the calculations of the whole number of cures?

I conſider every caſe that comes as a new caſe, and have included them in that calculation; but I believe that, excluding them, the majority ſtill are cured.

Whether, of thoſe perſons whoſe diſorder cannot be referred to any aſſignable cauſe, the greater number have, or have not, been cured?

I cannot anſwer that with accuracy.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this diſorder, recovered?

Yes.

Has the greater number of perſons recovered, whoſe diſorder has laſted, without ſigns of convaleſcence, as long as that of his Majeſty has already done?

Yes.

Sir George Baker *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is, or is not, ſuch as to render his Majeſty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public buſineſs?

I think that the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is ſuch, as renders him incapable of coming to parliament, or of doing any other public buſineſs.

What hopes has Sir George Baker of his Majeſty's recovery?

I hope that his Majeſty will recover, becauſe I think it probable. My own experience, and the experience of other phyſicians, leads me to think that his Majeſty's diſorder is curable.

Can Sir George Baker form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majeſty's illneſs is likely to laſt?

I can form no judgment or conjecture as to the probable duration of his Majeſty's diſorder.

What degree of experience has Sir George Baker had of the particular ſpecies of diſorder with which his Majeſty is afflicted?

I was formerly a pupil of Dr. Batty's, who attended an hoſpital, where I had an opportunity of ſeeing many inſtances of this diſorder. I have likewiſe had private patients, from to time, under that diſorder; but whenever the diſorder has been of ſome continuance, I have deſired the aſſiſtance of phyſicians who particularly attended perſons ſo diſordered.

Whether Sir George Baker founds his opinion, in his anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, upon the particular ſymptoms of his Majeſty's caſe, or upon his experience of the diſorder in general, or upon both?

Upon my experience of the diſorder in general.

Whether, in his Majeſty's diſorder, Sir George Baker ſees any preſent ſigns of convaleſcence?

I do not see any present signs of convalescence.

Whether Sir George Baker learns from experience, that the greater number of persons, who have been afflicted with this disorder, have recovered?

Upon general experience, the greater part have recovered.

Whether every case, in the same person, of a disorder which has returned, is included in the calculation of the whole number of cures?

I will not undertake to answer that question.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this disorder, recovered?

I think so.

Has the greater number of persons recovered, whose disorder has lasted, without signs of convalescence, as long as that of his Majesty has already done?

Yes, I can answer that in the affirmative.

Was Sir George Baker in attendance upon his Majesty, as his physician, previous to his being afflicted with his present disorder?

Yes.

Whether Sir George Baker can assign any known cause, to which, in his judgment, his Majesty's present disorder is referrible?

I can assign no known cause to which his Majesty's present disorder is referrible.

Was the attack of his Majesty's disorder sudden or gradual?

Sudden.

When did that attack take place?

The first suspicion I had of this disorder was in the evening of Wednesday the 22d of October last.

Whether any fever, or other complaint, had preceded that attack?

There had been fever and other complaints; but on that morning his Majesty had no fever.

Whether, in cases where the attack has been sudden, the recovery has been sudden also?

My observations on this disorder do not enable me to answer that question.

The Reverend Doctor Francis Willis *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in his opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

He certainly is not capable.

What hopes has Dr. Willis of his Majesty's recovery?

I have great hopes of his Majesty's recovery. If it were any other person but his Majesty, I should scarce entertain a doubt: when his Majesty reflects upon an illness of this kind, it may depress his spirits, and retard his cure more than a common person.

Can Dr. Willis form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which His Majesty's illness is likely to last?

I cannot.

What degree of experience has Dr. Willis had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

A great deal for twenty-eight years; I imagine I have never had less than thirty patients every year of the time.

Whether Doctor Willis founds his opinion, in his answer to the second

ſecond queſtion, upon the particular ſymptoms of his Majeſty's caſe, or upon his experience of the diſorder in general, or upon both?

Upon both.

Whether, in his Majeſty's diſorder, Dr. Willis ſees any preſent ſigns of convaleſcence?

I cannot ſay that I do; at the ſame time there is every thing leading towards it, as the irritation has, in a great meaſure, ſubſided, which muſt precede convaleſcence, or any appearance of it: it muſt come on very gradually.

Whether Dr. Willis learns from experience, that the greater number of perſons, who have been afflicted with this diſorder, have recovered?

A very great majority: I do not think I ſhould ſpeak falſe, if I ſaid nine out of ten, of thoſe that have been put under my care, within three months after they had begun to be afflicted with the diſorder.

Whether every cure in the ſame perſon, of a diſorder which has returned, is included in the calculation of the whole number of cures?

If a perſon has been twice brought under my care, and twice cured, I reckon two cures, as I ſhould of a fever.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this diſorder, recovered?

I never calculated that; I did not think there was any difference between the two ſexes as to the facility of cure.

What ſtate of his patients does he conſider as a cure?

Their being able to take upon themſelves the conduct of their own affairs, and to do the ſame buſineſs they were uſed to do before they fell ill.

What is the ſhorteſt ſpace of time within which, in his experience, he has known perſons, affected as his Majeſty is, reſtored to health?

Six weeks or two months is the ſhorteſt, I believe.

Does Dr. Willis ſee any thing in his Majeſty's caſe which enables him to pronounce that his Majeſty may not be reſtored to health within that compaſs of time from the commencement of his attendance on his Majeſty?

I do not ſee any thing to enable me to pronounce that he may not.

Does Dr. Willis ſee any thing in his Majeſty's caſe, which enables him to pronounce that his Majeſty will be reſtored to health within that ſpace of time?

I cannot preſume to ſay that he will.

What has been the longeſt ſpace of time for which the diſorder has laſted, in the caſe of ſuch patients as have been brought to him within three months from the beginning of the attack, and have recovered?

A year and a half, I believe, has been the longeſt of ſuch patients as have been brought to me; and few have been ſo long.

What is the moſt ordinary ſpace of time he has found neceſſary for the cure of ſuch patients?

I ſhould think five or ſix months, as near as I can calculate.

How long has Dr. Willis attended his Majeſty?

Since Friday morning laſt.

Whether, from your own obſervation, or from the particulars which have been communicated to you, you can aſſign any known cauſe to which, in your judgment, his Majeſty's diſorder is referrible?

From my own experience with regard to his Majeſty, I cannot ſay any thing; but from a very particular detail of his mode and manner of life for twenty-ſeven years, I do imagine, that weighty buſineſs, ſevere exerciſe, and too great abſtemiouſneſs, and little reſt, has been too much for his conſtitution.—It is very early to give an opinion, and I may be miſtaken; but I am the more inclined to think myſelf right, becauſe the medicine that has been given his Majeſty ever ſince Sunday morning, and was intended to meet and counteract thoſe cauſes, has had as much effect as I could wiſh; and his Majeſty has certainly been gradually better from the firſt ſix hours of his taking it.

Whether you have reaſon to believe, that the circumſtances you have enumerated are frequently cauſes of this diſorder?

I believe they are very frequently.

Where the diſorder has ariſen from ſuch cauſes, have you frequently known it cured?

Very frequently.

Have the greater number of thoſe caſes been cured or not?

Certainly. I believe they are more eaſily to be cured, than where the diſorder proceeds from exceſſive drinking, or other intemperance, or ſome other cauſes.

Doctor Thomas Giſborne *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in his opinion, the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is, or is not, ſuch as to render his Majeſty incapable of coming to Parliament, or of attending to public buſineſs?

I think he is abſolutely incapable.

What hopes has Doctor Giſborne of his Majeſty's recovery?

I think there are hopes.

Can Dr. Giſborne form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majeſty's illneſs is likely to laſt?

I think that is impoſſible.

What degree of experience has Dr. Giſborne had of the particular ſpecies of diſorder with which his Majeſty is afflicted?

Not much particular experience. I have ſeen perſons affected in the ſame way, even to a greater degree, who have recovered.

Whether Dr. Giſborne founds his opinion, in his anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, upon the particular ſymptoms of his Majeſty's caſe, or upon his experience of the diſorder in general, or upon both?

Upon both.

Whether, in his Majeſty's diſorder, Dr. Giſborne ſees any preſent ſigns of convaleſcence?

I think that can hardly be ſaid.

Whether Dr. Giſborne can aſſign any known cauſe to which, in his judgment, his Majeſty's preſent diſorder is referrible?

No.

Doctor Anthony Addington *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is, or is not, ſuch as to render his Majeſty incapable either of coming to Parliament, or of attending to public buſineſs?

I think he is incapable, at leaſt he was when I ſaw his Majeſty laſt. It was about a week ago.

What hopes has Dr. Addington of his Majeſty's recovery?

I think

I think there are very good grounds of hope.

Can Dr. Addington form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majeſty's illneſs is likely to laſt?

It is a very hard matter to form any certain judgment or conjecture.

What degree of experience has Dr. Addington had of the particular ſpecies of diſorder with which his Majeſty is afflicted?

I had patients, in a houſe that I built at Reading, for five years antecedent to the year 1754, when I came to London.

Do you found your opinion, in your anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, upon the particular ſymptoms of his Majeſty's caſe, or upon your experience of the diſorder in general, or upon both?

I think there is ſome reaſon to found it upon ſymptoms, as well as experience. Though I have ſeen his Majeſty very unquiet, it did not ariſe to that degree of inquietude which denoted a diſeaſe that would be of very long duration. I thought there was ſomething in the very habit of body, as well as in his Majeſty's complexion, and in what had been his way of life, that was very favourable to a cure. Where there is not a very great exertion of body or mind, perſons who have lived in the way his Majeſty has done, are very rarely liable to this illneſs.—From the account I had from my brethren, who had the honour to attend his Majeſty, I had very great expectations that it would end happily, from this circumſtance—that it had not for its forerunner that melancholy which uſually precedes a tedious illneſs of this ſort. I never knew an inſtance of an illneſs, that, under proper care, run to any great length, which had not been ſo preceded.—As for experience, I have viſited a conſiderable number of patients in that diſeaſe, in and round Reading.—Finding they could not be taken ſo much care of as they ought to be in their houſes, and that I might be as little interrupted as poſſible in the practice of other branches of my profeſſion, I built a houſe, contiguous to my own, for the reception of ſuch patients.—I viſited them there conſtantly every day.—I had from eight to ten patients there uſually at a time. During that time, two patients were admitted, who were reaſonably deemed to be incurable at the time of their coming, and for years before. During the charge of my patients, for five years together, at that houſe, I never had more than two other patients that were not cured within the year, and continued well, as far as ever I knew. Some recovered in much ſhorter time; and I had ſeveral that were quite well within a quarter of a year. If any of thoſe perſons had relapſed, I believe, from the partial opinion of their families, I ſhould have heard of it. Where there is a relapſe, I ſhould not call it a perfect cure.

What ſtate of the patients did Dr. Addington conſider as a cure?

When the patient was able to do every thing that a man in health does.

What were the particular circumſtances of the two patients before mentioned by Dr. Addington, which occaſioned their being deemed incurable?

One of thoſe perſons had been for many years under the care of a very ſkilful phyſician, in an houſe for the reception of patients under this diſ-

order. It was a case that was different from all others with which I have been acquainted, both in the cause, and in the circumstances which preceded and attended it. The other was a patient who, I believe, had been ill very many years; she had been for some time under the care of an eminent physician, who wished her to be put into a house where she might be taken care of for life; she was atrabilious in the highest degree, and died, from the effects of that disorder, in about a week.

Whether the majority of the patients under your care were men or women?

I think nearly equal.

Whether Dr. Addington professed to take, and did in fact take, all patients that were offered him?

I had not always room. I excluded none on account of the nature of the disorder.

What has been Dr. Addington's attendance on his Majesty?

I saw his Majesty for three days successively, and for twice each day for a considerable time.

Whether, during the time of that attendance, he observed any signs of actual convalescence in his Majesty?

No.

Whether, from your own observation, or from the particulars which have been communicated to you, you can assign any known cause to which, in your judgment, his Majesty's disorder is referrible?

I cannot pretend to say wh t the cause was, either from what I saw, or what was communicated to me. I do not chuse to hazard a conjecture.

Sir Lucas Pepys *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

The state of his Majesty's health is certainly such as to render him incapable of coming to parliament, or attending to public business.

What hopes has Sir Lucas Pepys of his Majesty's recovery?

I have the same hopes of his Majesty's recovery as I should have if he were labouring under any other disease, of which I knew that the majority labouring under it did recover. That the majority do recover, I am satisfied from my own experience, and from the assurance of a person who has most experience in cases of this sort.

Can Sir Lucas Pepys form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

It is impossible to form any conjecture on that subject.

What degree of experience has Sir Lucas Pepys had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I have occasionally seen several persons under that disorder, sometimes alone, but more frequently with those whose practice leads them more particularly to attend to it.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, Sir Lucas Pepys sees any present signs of convalescence?

His Majesty is more quiet than he has been; but there are no present signs of immediate convalescence.

Are there any actual symptoms at present, which lead Sir Lucas Pepys to entertain more favourable hopes of his Majesty's recovery, than he has hitherto had during his attendance?

I think

I think there are very material ſymptoms, as his Majeſty's general ſtate of health is certainly much better than it was.

Is the amendment that has taken place, only in his Majeſty's general ſtate of health, or is there any abatement of his particular diſorder?

From his Majeſty's general ſtate of health being better, his ſleep is more quiet, his appetite is better, and he is more in his uſual ſtate; all which circumſtances muſt previouſly occur before recovery; but theſe are only leading ſteps towards recovery—the diſorder ſtill remains; it is difficult to ſay whether it is actually abated.

What does Sir Lucas Pepys mean by his Majeſty being more in his uſual ſtate?

More quiet, and in a leſs perturbed ſtate.

Whether it is Sir Lucas Pepys's opinion, that there is, or is not, at preſent any abatement of his Majeſty's diſorder?

I have anſwered it, by ſaying that it is difficult to ſay whether there is any actual abatement, and I wiſh to explain my meaning in theſe words. The only way of explaining it is by analogy to ſome other complaint. In the caſe of a mortification, where the bark would moſt probably effect a cure, I could not ſay, during ſeveral hours after its being taken, whether there was, or was not, any abatement of the mortification: ſo, in the caſe of his Majeſty, I cannot ſay whether the return of general health has, or has not, yet produced any actual abatement of the particular diſorder; but ſuch a return of general good health would lead me to be of opinion that an evident abatement might be expected. I can, however, ſay, that no actual evident abatement has yet taken place.

When Sir Lucas Pepys, in his anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, ſtates that the majority of perſons labouring under the ſame diſorder with his Majeſty do recover, does he mean to include all the different ſpecies of the diſorder, or to confine himſelf to that particular ſpecies with which his Majeſty is affected?

I mean in that eſtimate to ſpeak of the diſorder generally, and not ſpecially.

Can you aſſign any known cauſe to which, in your judgment, his Majeſty's preſent diſorder is referrible?

I know no evident or aſſignable cauſe.

Is his Majeſty's a frequent ſpecies of the diſorder?

It is a frequent ſpecies of the diſorder.

In this ſpecies, do the majority recover?

Certainly, in this ſpecies the majority do recover.

Doctor Henry Revel Reynolds *called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the ſtate of his Majeſty's health is, or is not, ſuch as to render his Majeſty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public buſineſs?

His Majeſty is certainly incapable of it.

What hopes has Doctor Reynolds of his Majeſty's recovery?

I think there are well-founded hopes of his Majeſty's recovery.

Can Dr. Reynolds form any

judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

No.

What degree of experience has Dr. Reynolds had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I have been almost twenty years in business, and in the course of that time I have seen a great number under this disorder, both singly and together with others.

Whether you found your opinion, in your answer to the second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon your experience of the disorder in general, or upon both?

Rather upon general experience; though I think there is nothing peculiar in his Majesty's case which forbids the presumption of recovery.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, you see any present signs of convalescence?

I do not see any present signs of convalescence; though I think his Majesty's being quieter, and in a better state of general health, would lead me to hope that it is a step towards it.

Whether Dr. Reynolds learns from experience, that the greater number of persons afflicted with this disorder have recovered?

The greater number, I think, have recovered.

Whether Dr. Reynolds apprehends, that in calculations founded on general experience, every cure in the same person is included?

I apprehend that it is—they consider every distant relapse as a new disease.

Whether Dr. Reynolds can assign any known cause to which, in his judgment, his Majesty's disorder is referrible?

No; I cannot.

Resolutions of the House *of* Commons, *delivered to the* Lords *at a Conference on the 23d of* December, 1788.

I. THAT it is the opinion of this House,

"That his Majesty is prevented, "by his present indisposition, from "coming to his parliament, and "from attending to public busi- "ness, and that the personal exer- "cise of the royal authority is "thereby for the present inter- "rupted."

II. That it is the opinion of this House,

"That it is the right and duty "of the Lords spiritual and tem- "poral and Commons of Great "Britain now assembled, and law- "fully, fully, and freely repre- "senting all the estates of the peo- "ple of this realm, to provide the "means of supplying the defect of "the personal exercise of the royal "authority, arising from his Ma- "jesty's said indisposition, in such "a manner as the exigency of the "case may appear to require."

"RESOLVED,

"That for this purpose, and for "maintaining entire the constitu- "tional authority of the King, it "is necessary that the said Lords "spiritual and temporal and Com- "mons of Great Britain should "determine on the means whereby "the royal assent may be given in "parliament to such bill as may be "passed by the two Houses of Par- "liament respecting the exercise "of the powers and authorities of "the crown, in the name, and on

"the

" the behalf of the King, during the " continuance of his Majeſty's pre- " ſent indiſpoſition."

Proteſt of the Lords, *on the Regency.*

THE order of the day being read for taking into conſideration the report from the Committee of the whole Houſe appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, and the reſolutions of the Commons relative to his Majeſty's indiſpoſition, and the means of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the Royal Authority ariſing therefrom, delivered at a conference on the 23d December inſtant, which were referred thereto. And the report of the ſaid reſolutions being read by the clerk,

Moved to agree with the Commons on the ſaid reſolutions.

The queſtion was put thereupon. Reſolved in the affirmative.

Diſſentient.

1ſt. Becauſe we adhere to the antient principle recognized and declared by the act of the 13th of Charles the Second, that no act or ordinance with the force and virtue of a law, can be made by either or both Houſes of Parliament, without the King's aſſent, a principle ſtanding as a bulwark to the people againſt the two Houſes, as the two Houſes are their ſecurity againſt the Crown.

2dly. Becauſe this principle is tacitly admitted by the third reſolution, while it overthrows the practice by the ſimilate appearance of the Royal Aſſent under a commiſſion to paſs bills, a commiſſion which would be inconſiſtent with the proviſions of an act of the 33d Henry the Eighth, requiring that every commiſſion ſhall be ſigned by his Majeſty's hand. In our preſent unhappy ſituation that eſſential requiſite being unattainable, we cannot condeſcend to give a ſanction to a counterfeit repreſentation of the Royal ſignature, and we dare not aſſume a power to diſpenſe with the law which makes that ſignature eſſential to the validity of a commiſſion to paſs bills.

3dly. Becauſe we conceive that the unqueſtionable rights of the people, ſo fallaciouſly repreſented as being upheld by theſe reſolutions, are violently infringed by an unneceſſary aſſumption on the part of the two Houſes, of powers beyond thoſe which the nation has aſſigned them. Invariable practices in all good times, and poſitive laws eſtabliſhed by compleat parliaments, truly and conſtitutionally repreſenting the nation, have defined thoſe powers. And we cannot but regard with the utmoſt apprehenſion, any propoſal to overſtep thoſe boundaries, when the conſequence of ſuch uſurpation is ſo fatally marked in the hiſtory of our country.

4thly. Becauſe it was confeſſed in the debate, that the powers of this commiſſion were not to be confined ſolely to the act of appointing a Regent; to what other purpoſes they may extend were not explained. State neceſſity, the avowed ground of the meaſure, may ſerve as the pretext to any diminution of the juſt prerogative of the Crown, and of the liberties of the people, that beſt ſuits the deſigns of ambition. Fatal experience had ſhewn to our anceſtors the boundleſs miſchief of power thus uſurped under plauſible appearances: and it is particularly the duty of the Houſe

House of Peers to check the renewal of a practice to assume the name, without the substance of the Royal Authority, by which this House was once annihilated, the monarchy overthrown, and the liberties of the people subdued.

5thly. Because these dangerous and alarming consequences of the measure adopted, would have been obviated by the amendment rejected. It proposed to substitute a measure conformable to the practice of our ancestors at the glorious æra of the revolution. They seized not upon public necessity as a convenience for the usurpation of new powers, but proceeded in a plain and explicit form to the revival of the Royal Authority with full efficacy, before they entered upon the exercise of their legislative functions. Pursuing a similar course, the amendment proposed the immediate nomination of the natural representative of the King, the Heir Apparent of the Crown, to whom alone, it was universally admitted, the eyes and hearts of all men, during the present unhappy conjuncture, were turned: that with a perfect and efficient legislature, such future provisions might be enacted as the preservation of the full and undiminished authority of the crown, and the liberties of the people, may require.

FREDERICK
NORTHUMBERLAND
SUFFOLK and BERKS
MAYNARD
RAWDON
AUDLEY
CLIFTON
CHEDWORTH
WENT. FITZWILLIAM
WALPOLE
DERBY
SCARBOROUGH
PORTCHESTER
SOUTHAMPTON
HERTFORD
FALMOUTH

HENRY
PONSONBY
SPENCER
NORFOLK, E. M.
BREADALBANE
MALMESBURY
RODNEY
SELKIRK
PORTLAND
HEREFORD
CHOLMONDELEY
FOLEY
BOYLE
LOVEL and HOLLAND
ABERGAVENNY
TEYNHAM
BEDFORD
CADOGAN
CARLISLE
CASSILIS
CARDIFF
HAY
KINNAIRD
LOUGHBOROUGH
PELHAM
DEVONSHIRE
CHR. BRISTOL
CRAVEN
HUNTINGDON
LOTHIAN
TOWNSHEND

Letter from the Right Hon. William Pitt to the Prince of Wales, Dec. 30.

Sir,

THE proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the house of commons, the particular measures to be taken for

for ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority, during the preſent interval, and your Royal Highneſs having ſome time ſince ſignified your pleaſure, that any communication on this ſubject ſhould be in writing, I take the liberty of reſpectfully entreating your Royal Highneſs's permiſſion to ſubmit to your conſideration the outlines of the plan, which his Majeſty's confidential ſervants humbly conceive (according to the beſt judgment which they are able to form) to be proper to be propoſed in the preſent circumſtances.

It is their humble opinion, that your Royal Highneſs ſhould be empowered to exerciſe the Royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, during his Majeſty's illneſs, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his Majeſty; with proviſions, nevertheleſs, that the care of his Majeſty's royal perſon, and the management of his Majeſty's houſehold, and the direction and appointment of the officers and ſervants therein, ſhould be in the Queen, under ſuch regulations as may be thought neceſſary. —That the power to be exerciſed by your Royal Highneſs ſhould not extend to the granting the real or perſonal property of the King, (except as far as relates to the renewal of leaſes), to the granting any office in reverſion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majeſty's pleaſure, any penſion, or any office whatever, except ſuch as muſt by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any perſon except his Majeſty's iſſue who ſhall have attained the age of 21 years.

Theſe are the chief points which have occurred to his Majeſty's ſervants. I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the ſuppoſition that his Majeſty's illneſs is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix beforehand, the preciſe period for which theſe proviſions ought to laſt; but if unfortunately his Majeſty's recovery ſhould be protracted to a more diſtant period than there is reaſon at preſent to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wiſdom of parliament, to reconſider theſe proviſions, whenever the circumſtances appear to call for it.

If your Royal Highneſs ſhould be pleaſed to require any farther explanation on the ſubject, and ſhould condeſcend to ſignify your orders, that I ſhould have the honour of attending your Royal Highneſs for that purpoſe, or to intimate any other mode in which your Royal Highneſs may wiſh to receive ſuch explanation, I ſhall reſpectfully wait your Royal Highneſs's commands.

I have the honour to be,
With the utmoſt deference and
ſubmiſſion,
Sir,
Your Royal Highneſs's
Moſt dutiful and devoted ſervant,
W. PITT.

Downing-ſtreet, Tueſday Night, December 30, 1788.

Anſwer to the foregoing Letter, delivered by his Royal Highneſs to the Lord Chancellor, Jan. 1, 1789.

THE Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in parliament are

now in a train, which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the plan which his Majeſty's confidential ſervants conceive to be proper to be propoſed in the preſent circumſtances.

Concerning the ſteps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is ſilent. Nothing done by the two houſes of parliament can be a proper ſubject of his animadverſion; but when, previouſly to any diſcuſſion in parliament, the outlines of a ſcheme of government are ſent for his conſideration, in which it is propoſed that he ſhall be perſonally and principally concerned, and by which the Royal authority, and the public welfare, may be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjuſtifiable, were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his ſentiments. His ſilence might be conſtrued into a previous approbation of a plan, the accompliſhment of which every motive of duty to his father and ſovereign, as well as of regard for the public intereſt, obliges him to conſider as injurious to both.

In the ſtate of deep diſtreſs, in which the Prince and the whole Royal Family were involved, by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King, and at a moment when government, deprived of its chief energy and ſupport, ſeemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all deſcriptions of good ſubjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that a plan ſhould be offered to his conſideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any perſon intended to repreſent the King's authority, much leſs in the hands of his eldeſt ſon—the heir apparent of his kingdoms, and the perſon moſt bound to the maintenance of his Majeſty's juſt prerogatives and authority, as well as moſt intereſted in the happineſs, the proſperity, and the glory of the people.

The Prince forbears to remark on the ſeveral parts of the ſketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it muſt have been formed with ſufficient deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument of his producing an alteration of ſentiment in the projectors of it. But he truſts, with confidence, to the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, when the whole of this ſubject, and the circumſtances connected with it, ſhall come under their deliberation.

He obſerves, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt—and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the obſervation, that he ſees in the contents of that paper, a project for producing weakneſs, diſorder, and inſecurity in every branch of the adminiſtration of affairs.—A project for dividing the Royal Family from each other—for ſeparating the court from the ſtate; and therefore, by diſjoining government from its natural and accuſtomed ſupport, a ſcheme for diſconnecting the authority to command ſervice, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of ſoftening them to the public, by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity.

The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan, are alſo rendered ſtill more painful to him, by obſerving that it is not founded on any

any general principle, but is calculated to infuſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions (wholly groundleſs, he truſts) in that quarter, whoſe confidence it will ever be the firſt pride of his life to merit and obtain.

With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and reſtrictions propoſed, the Prince can have but little to obſerve. No light or information is offered him by his Majeſty's miniſters on theſe points. They have informed him *what* the powers are which they mean to refuſe him, not *why* they are withheld.

The Prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this conſtitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are veſted there, as a truſt for the benefit of the people; and that they are ſacred only as they are neceſſary to the preſervation of that poiſe and balance of the conſtitution, which experience has proved to be the true ſecurity of the liberty of the ſubject—muſt be allowed to obſerve, that the plea of public utility ought to be ſtrong, manifeſt, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any one of thoſe eſſential rights in the ſupreme power or its repreſentative; or which can juſtify the Prince in conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment ſhall be made, to aſcertain with how ſmall a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

The Prince has only to add, that if ſecurity for his Majeſty's repoſſeſſing his rightful government, whenever it ſhall pleaſe Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any meaſure is neceſſary, or even conducive, to that end, to be the firſt to urge it as the preliminary and paramount conſideration of any ſettlement in which he would conſent to ſhare.

If attention to what is preſumed might be his Majeſty's feelings and wiſhes on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the trueſt ſincerity the Prince expreſſes his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge, that the government of his ſon and repreſentative had exhibited the ſovereign power of the realm in a ſtate of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminiſhed energy—a ſtate, hurtful in practice to the proſperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the ſecurity of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and perſonal property, the Prince feels himſelf compelled to remark, that it was not neceſſary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to ſuggeſt to the Prince, the reſtraint he propoſes againſt the Prince's granting away the King's real and perſonal property. The Prince does not conceive, that, during the King's life, he is, by law, entitled to make any ſuch grant; and he is ſure, that he has never ſhewn the ſmalleſt inclination to poſſeſs any ſuch power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to conſider the eventual intereſts of the Royal Family, and to provide a proper and

natural

natural ſecurity againſt the miſmanagement of them by others.

The Prince has diſcharged an indiſpenſable duty, in thus giving his free opinion on the plan ſubmitted to his conſideration.

His conviction of the evils which may ariſe to the King's intereſts, to the peace and happineſs of the Royal Family, and to the ſafety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its preſent maimed and debilitated ſtate, outweighs in the Prince's mind, every other conſideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful truſt impoſed upon him by the preſent melancholy neceſſity (which of all the King's ſubjects he deplores the moſt) in full confidence, that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and the generoſity which has always diſtinguiſhed this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties, inſeparable from this moſt critical ſituation, with comfort to himſelf, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public.

(Signed)

Carleton Houſe, G. P.
January 2, 1789.

Reſolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, and preſented to the Prince of Wales, *on Friday, Jan.* 30.

RESOLVED, that for the purpoſe of providing for the exerciſe of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch extent, as the preſent circumſtances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, being reſident within the realm, ſhall be empowered to exerciſe and adminiſter the Royal Authority, according to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, and under the ſtyle and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to uſe, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and adminiſtration of the ſame, which belong to the king of this realm to uſe, execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, ſubject to ſuch limitations and exceptions as ſhall be provided.

Reſolved, that the power, ſo to be given to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, ſhall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any perſon whatever, except to his Majeſty's royal iſſue who ſhall have attained the full age of twenty-one years.

Reſolved, that the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reverſion, or to the granting of any office, ſalary, or penſion, for any other term than during his Majeſty's pleaſure, except ſuch offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

Reſolved, that the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting of any part of his Majeſty's real or perſonal eſtate, except ſo far as relates to the renewal of leaſes.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that the care of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs, ſhould be committed to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty; and that her Majeſty ſhould have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhall think proper, to the ſeveral offices in his Majeſty's houſehold; and to diſpoſe, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, during the time aforeſaid: and that, for the better enabling her Majeſty to diſcharge this important truſt, it is alſo expedient that a council ſhould be appointed, to adviſe and aſſiſt her Majeſty in the ſeveral matters aforeſaid, and with power from time to time, as they may ſee cauſe, to examine upon oath the phyſicians and others attending his Majeſty's perſon, touching the ſtate of his Majeſty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Die Mercurii, 28° *Januarii*, 1789.

Reſolved, that a committee be appointed, to attend his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with the reſolutions which have been agreed to by the Lords and Commons for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the Royal Authority during his Majeſty's illneſs, by impowering his Royal Highneſs to exerciſe ſuch authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, ſubject to the limitations and reſtrictions which the circumſtances of the caſe appear at preſent to require; and that the committee do expreſs the hope which the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, entertain, that his Royal Highneſs, from his regard to the intereſts of his Majeſty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in his Royal Highneſs, as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhall have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid Reſolutions into effect.

Proteſt of the Lords, who voted on Friday Jan. 23, againſt agreeing to the aforeſaid Reſolutions delivered at a Conference on the preceding Tueſday.

DISSENTIENT.

1ſt. BECAUSE we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we diſapproved the Reſolutions formerly paſſed by this houſe, eſpecially when the legiſlative power of the two Houſes of Parliament, unconſtitutionally aſſumed by thoſe Reſolutions, is meant to be employed to reſtrict or ſuſpend many important and eſſential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the King.

2dly. Becauſe we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is neceſſary to the royal authority, in order to afford an incitement to vigorous exertions in the ſervice of the ſtate, and is more peculiarly neceſſary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exerciſed by a ſubſtitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative ſufficiently power-

ful

ful to afford a remedy againſt ſuch a combination in this houſe, as other parts of this ſyſtem of reſtriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And becauſe we conceive that this reſtriction may create an intereſt in the members of this houſe, to withhold their aſſent to reſtore the ancient powers of the crown in this reſpect.

3dly. Becauſe we conceive, that by the ſubſiſting law of the land, his Majeſty's property is ſufficiently ſecured from any undue diſpoſition and alienation, and the Reſolution on that ſubject can have no other effect, but to convey to the public injurious ſuſpicion, and unjuſt imputation, on the character and intentions of his Royal highneſs the Prince of Wales.

4thly. Becauſe we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preſerve the due influence and reſpect which ariſes from the great offices of the ſtate, it is neceſſary that the perſon exerciſing the Royal Authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, ſhould be attended by thoſe diſtinguiſhed ſervants, whoſe functions have been eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of adding weight and ſplendor to the regal office. We cannot agree to a diviſion of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth eſtate, unknown to the conſtitution of this country.

FREDERICK
HENRY
LOTHIAN
DEVONSHIRE
AUDLEY
CRAVEN
BEDFORD
CARLISLE
PORTCHESTER
PELHAM
BREADALBANE
CASSILIS
ABERGAVENNY
LOUGHBOROUGH
SCARBOROUGH
FOLEY
PONSONBY
DOUGLAS
RAWDON
ST. JOHN
R. LLANDAFF
CHOLMONDELEY
HEREFORD
PETERBOROUGH
STAWELL
CARDIFF
SOUTHAMPTON
SHAFTESBURY
CHEDWORTH
PORTLAND
HUNTINGDON
EGREMONT
PONSONBY
MALMESBURY
SONDES
MONTFORT
DERBY
HERTFORD
CADOGAN
BOYLE
MAYNARD
EGLINGTON
SANDWICH
KINNAIRD
ABERDEEN
CHR. BRISTOL
HAY
RODNEY
NORTHUMBERLAND
W. FITZWILLIAM
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Diss. for the 2d, 3d, and 4th reaſons,

ST. ALBANS.

Diss. for the 1ſt, 2d, and 4th reaſons only,

CLIFTON
SPENCER
SUFFOLK and BERKS
HAWKE.

DISS. For all the reasons given in this protest, except those in the latter parts of the 2d reason, viz. beginning at these words, "but especially on, &c." and thence to the end of that second reason.

SELKIRK.

Answer of the Prince of Wales *to the Lords and Gentlemen, appointed to deliver to him the foregoing Resolutions.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for communicating to me the Resolutions agreed upon by the two houses; and I request you to assure them, in my name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered, by a longer suspension of the exercise of the Royal Authority; together with my respect for the united desires of the two houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me, in conformity to the Resolutions now communicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust, in the peculiar circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But confiding that the limitations, on the exercise of the Royal Authority, deemed necessary for the present, have been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his Majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope, that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his crown, and people, may be successful.

Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, presented to Her Majesty *on* Friday, Jan. 30, 1789.

RESOLVED, that the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, should be committed to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, and that her Majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household, and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the time aforesaid. And that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters, and with power, from time to time as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touch-

ing the ſtate of his Majeſty health, and all matters relative thereto.

Reſolved, that the reſolution agreed to by the Lords and Commons, reſpecting the care of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and the direction of his Majeſty's houſehold, be laid before her Majeſty, with an humble addreſs, expreſſing the hope which the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons entertain, that her Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to undertake the important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in her Majeſty, as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhall have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid Reſolution into effect.

Her Majeſty's *Anſwer to the Lords and Gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing Reſolutions.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY duty and gratitude to the king, and the ſenſe I muſt ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will certainly engage my moſt earneſt attention to the anxious and momentous truſt intended to be repoſed in me by parliament. It will be a great conſolation to me to receive the aid of a council, of which I ſhall ſtand ſo much in need, in the diſcharge of a duty wherein the happineſs of my future life is indeed deeply intereſted, but which a higher object, the happineſs of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders ſtill more important.

Speech of Earl Bathurſt, *in the Name of the Lords Commiſſioners, appointed by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, under the Great Seal, to declare certain Cauſes of the Meeting of Parliament,* Tueſday, Feb. 3.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN purſuance of the authority given to us by his Majeſty's commiſſion under the great ſeal, which has been read, amongſt other things, to declare the cauſes of your preſent meeting, we have only to call your attention to the melancholy circumſtances of his Majeſty's illneſs; in conſequence of which, it becomes neceſſary to provide for the care of his Majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the Royal Authority, during the continuance of this calamity, in ſuch manner as the exigency of the caſe ſeems to require.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor *to both Houſes of Parliament,* Tueſday, March 10.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HIS Majeſty not thinking fit to be preſent here this day in his royal perſon, has been pleaſed to cauſe a commiſſion to be iſſued under his great ſeal, authorizing and commanding the commiſſioners, who are appointed by former letters patent to hold this parliament, to open and declare certain further cauſes for holding the ſame: which commiſſion you will now hear read.

[The commiſſion ſtated, that whereas his majeſty had found it convenient to call his parliament in May, 1784, and that it had afterwards been adjourned and prorogued, from time to time, until the 20th of November laſt; and

that

that as his Majeſty, for certain reaſons, could not then attend in perſon, it had undergone various adjournments, until the February following, when he had been pleaſed to iſſue his orders, that it ſhould be opened by commiſſion, appointing the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, lord privy ſeal, preſident of the council, lord ſteward of the houſehold, duke of Richmond, lord chamberlain, viſcount Wentworth, lord Bathurſt, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and the lord chief juſtice of the court of King's Bench, commiſſioners for that purpoſe; and that, as there were ſtill certain reaſons why he could not attend in parliament in perſon, as uſual, he had thought proper to command another commiſſion, appointing the ſame commiſſioners to communicate his royal meſſage to parliament.]

And the ſaid commiſſion being read accordingly, the lord chancellor ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In obedience to his Majeſty's commands, and by virtue of both commiſſions already mentioned to you (one of which has now been read), we proceed to lay before you ſuch further matters as his Majeſty has judged proper to be now communicated to his parliament.

His Majeſty being, by the bleſſing of Providence, happily recovered from the ſevere indiſpoſition with which he has been afflicted: and being enabled to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, has commanded us to convey to you his warmeſt acknowledgments for the additional proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to his perſon, and of your zealous concern for the honour and intereſts of his crown, and the ſecurity and good government of his dominions.

The interruption which has neceſſarily been occaſioned to the public buſineſs, will, his Majeſty doubts not, afford you an additional incitement to apply yourſelves, with as little delay as poſſible, to the different objects of national concern which require your attention.

His Majeſty has likewiſe ordered us to acquaint you, that, ſince the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, he has concluded a treaty of defenſive alliance with his good brother the King of Pruſſia, copies of which will be laid before you: that his Majeſty's endeavours were employed, during the laſt ſummer, in conjunction with his allies, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the extenſion of hoſtilities in the North, and to manifeſt his deſire of effecting a general pacification: that no opportunity will be neglected, on his part, to promote this ſalutary object; and that he has, in the mean time, the ſatisfaction of receiving, from all foreign courts, continued aſſurances of their friendly diſpoſitions to this country.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

We are commanded by his Majeſty to acquaint you, that the eſtimates for the current year will forthwith be laid before you; and that he is perſuaded of your readineſs to make the neceſſary proviſions for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have it particularly in charge from his Majeſty to aſſure you, that

you cannot ſo effectually meet the moſt earneſt wiſh of his Majeſty's heart, as by perſevering in your uniform exertions for the public welfare, and by improving every occaſion to promote the proſperity of his faithful people, from whom his Majeſty has received ſuch repeated and affecting marks of invariable zeal, loyalty, and attachment, and whoſe happineſs he muſt ever conſider as inſeparable from his own.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for the ſpeech which has been delivered, by your Majeſty's command, to both houſes of parliament; and to congratulate your Majeſty on the happy event of your Majeſty's recovery from your late indiſpoſition, and on your being enabled to attend to the public affairs of your kingdoms.

We acknowledge with the moſt heartfelt joy and gratitude, the goodneſs of Almighty God, in reſtoring your Majeſty to the wiſhes and prayers of your faithful ſubjects; and earneſtly hope that your Majeſty may long continue to rule over an affectionate and grateful people.

Permit us to lay before your Majeſty our dutiful acknowledgments for the favourable ſenſe which your Majeſty entertains of our affectionate attachment to your Majeſty's perſon, and of our concern for the honour and intereſt of your crown, and the ſecurity and good government of your dominions.

It will be our conſtant endeavour to merit your Majeſty's good opinion, by labouring to promote the happineſs of your people; and we will apply ourſelves, with as little delay as poſſible, to the different objects of national concern which require our attention.

We beſeech your Majeſty to accept our humble thanks, for being graciouſly pleaſed to order a copy of the treaty of defenſive alliance between your Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia to be laid before us, and to be aſſured that we are deeply ſenſible of your Majeſty's juſt regard to the intereſts of your ſubjects, and the peace of Europe, in your endeavours to prevent the extenſion of hoſtilities in the North, and your deſire to effect a general pacification. We learn with great ſatisfaction, that your Majeſty continues to receive aſſurances of the favourable diſpoſition of the other courts of Europe towards this country.

We ſhall not fail to proceed, with cheerfulneſs and diſpatch, to make the neceſſary proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

We ſhould be wanting to ourſelves, and to thoſe whom we repreſent, if we did not teſtify, in the warmeſt manner, the gratitude with which we obſerve the paternal expreſſions of your Majeſty's regard for the happineſs of your people, whoſe invariable ſentiments of zeal, loyalty, and attachment to your Majeſty are animated and confirmed by the uniform experience of your Majeſty's virtues, and by the ſenſe of the bleſſings which they enjoy under your Majeſty's auſpicious government.

[An

[An addreſs to the ſame purport was preſented by the houſe of lords.]

Speech of the Lord Chancellor *to both Houſes of Parliament, on* Tueſday, Auguſt 11.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WE have it in command from his Majeſty, to expreſs to you the ſatisfaction with which his Majeſty has obſerved the continued proofs which you have given, during the preſent ſeſſion, of your uniform attention to the public buſineſs, and of your zealous concern for the honour and intereſt of his crown, and the welfare and proſperity of his people.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

His Majeſty has particularly directed us to return his thanks for the readineſs with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Although the good offices of his Majeſty and his allies have not hitherto been effectual for reſtoring the general tranquillity of Europe, he has the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that the further extenſion of hoſtilities has been prevented, and that the ſituation of affairs continues to promiſe to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by his Majeſty's command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thurſday, the 29th of October next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thurſday the 29th day of October next.

Speech of the Marquis of Buckingham, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, on* Thurſday, Feb. 5.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WITH the deepeſt concern I find myſelf obliged, on opening the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, to communicate to you the painful information that his Majeſty has been for ſome time afflicted by a ſevere malady, in conſequence of which he has not honoured me with his commands upon the meaſures to be recommended to his parliament.

I have directed ſuch documents as I have received reſpecting his majeſty's health to be laid before you; and I ſhall alſo communicate to you, ſo ſoon as I ſhall be enabled, ſuch further information as may aſſiſt your deliberations on that melancholy ſubject.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

Deeming it at all times my indiſpenſable duty to call your attention to the ſecurity of the public credit, and to the maintenance of the civil and military eſtabliſhment, I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is unneceſſary for me to expreſs to you my earneſt wiſhes for the welfare and proſperity of Ireland,

which, in every ſituation, I ſhall always be anxious to promote: nor need I declare my confidence in that affectionate attachment to his majeſty, and in that zealous concern for the united intereſt of both kingdoms, which have manifeſted themſelves in all your proceedings.

Addreſs preſented to the Prince of Wales, Feb. 27, *by the Delegates from both Houſes of Parliament in* Ireland.

To his Royal Highneſs George *Prince of* Wales.

THE humble addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, in parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your royal highneſs, with hearts full of the moſt loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of your royal father, to expreſs the deepeſt and moſt grateful ſenſe of the numerous bleſſings which we have enjoyed under that illuſtrious houſe, whoſe acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms has eſtabliſhed civil and conſtitutional liberties upon a baſis which, we truſt, will never be ſhaken; and at the ſame time to condole with your royal highneſs upon the grievous malady with which it has pleaſed Heaven to afflict the beſt of ſovereigns.

We have, however, the conſolation of reflecting, that this ſevere calamity hath not been viſited upon us, until the virtues of your royal highneſs have been ſo matured as to enable your royal highneſs to diſcharge the duties of an important truſt, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his majeſty's ſubjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal highneſs.

We therefore beg leave humbly to requeſt, that your royal highneſs will be pleaſed to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition, and no longer; and under the ſtyle and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, juriſdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.

Proteſt of the Peers of Ireland, *who voted, on* Monday, Feb. 16, *againſt the Addreſs to the* Prince of Wales, *requeſting his Royal Highneſs to take upon him the Office of Prince Regent.*

Diſſentient,

1ſt. BECAUSE the addreſs in queſtion to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, is an addreſs, requeſting that he will be pleaſed to take upon him the government of this realm in ſuch manner as is therein mentioned, and to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all royal powers, juriſdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, without any law or authority whatſoever, that we know of, authorizing him ſo to do.

2dly, Becauſe we are apprehenſive that the ſaid addreſs may be conſtrued

conſtrued to be a meaſure tending to diſturb and weaken that great conſtitutional union, whereby, as fully declared, enacted, and ſpecified in ſundry acts of parliament in this kingdom, this realm of Ireland is for ever united and knit to the imperial crown of England, and as a member, appending and rightfully belonging thereto.

3dly. Becauſe, although in every ſentiment of duty, affection, and reſpect, towards his royal highneſs, we hold ourſelves equal to, and will not be exceeded by, any of thoſe who join in the ſaid addreſs, or by any other perſon whatſoever; and are, and ever ſhall be, ready to lay down our lives and fortunes in the ſupport and maintenance of the juſt rights of our moſt gracious ſovereign, and of every branch of his royal and auguſt family: we cannot pay any compliment to his royal highneſs, or to any one, at the expence of what we conſider as great conſtitutional principles; and we cannot, (for ſuch are the workings of duty, affection, and reſpect in our breaſts,) join in the ſaid addreſs, which may, as we are apprehenſive, bring difficulty and embarraſſment upon his royal highneſs, already too much oppreſſed by the great calamity which hath befallen our moſt gracious ſovereign, his royal father.

Signed

LIFFORD, C.
R. DUBLIN
HARBERTON
CARYSFORT
VALENTIA
MORNINGTON
LONGFORD
BECTIVE
CHETWYND
HILLSBOROUGH
ALTAMONT
CARYSFORT
COURTOWN
G. L. KILMORE
RANELAGH
MOUNTMORRES.

Diſſentient,

For the ſecond reaſon in the foregoing proteſt.

And alſo, becauſe feeling every ſentiment of duty, reſpect, and attachment to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, and thinking him the only proper perſon to be appointed to this high ſtation, I conſider, that to addreſs his royal highneſs to accept the regency of this kingdom, before we have any authority to know, that he is as yet appointed regent of Great Britain, is inviting him to aſſume a power, which under the actual and exiſting conſtitution of Ireland, he cannot exerciſe, inaſmuch as by ſtatute 10 of Henry VII. no bill can receive the royal aſſent here, that is not certified from Great Britain under the great ſeal of England, and until his royal highneſs ſhall have authority to direct the uſe of that great ſeal, he cannot diſcharge the functions of the regal office for Ireland. It is impoſſible, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, that any perſon ſhould be regent of Ireland, who is not at the ſame time regent of Great Britain.

GLANDORE.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe, with an anxious deſire that the regency of this kingdom, during his majeſty's indiſpoſition, ſhould be conferred on his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales in a manner moſt expreſſive of reſpect and affection to his royal highneſs, and convinced that his royal

highneſs will think that mode of appointment moſt expreſſive of duty and affection, which is conſtitutional, and muſt conduce to preſerve the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland inſeparable, we conſider an addreſs of the two houſes of parliament, purporting of its own authority, to confer royal power, at a time when they are fully competent to paſs a bill for the purpoſe of effectually providing for the exerciſe of the ſame, to be a moſt dangerous violation of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

2dly. Becauſe the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland (on which the ſafety of the conſtitution in church and ſtate depends) is preſerved and maintained by the unity of the executive power alone; and yet the addreſs propoſed by the reſolution now paſſed, is to appoint his royal highneſs regent of Ireland, without our being certain that his royal highneſs is or will be regent of Great Britain, and without making any proviſion, that his royal highneſs ſhall not continue to be regent of Ireland longer than he ſhall be regent of Great Britain. Thus expoſing to chance and accident the preſervation of the only bond of that connexion between the countries, upon which all that is dear to us depends, and making a precedent that may be of the moſt fatal conſequence to poſterity.

TYRONE
WM. OSSORY
W. LEIGHLIN and FERNS
BELLAMONT.

Diſſentient,

For the firſt reaſon in the proteſt immediately preceding.

And alſo, becauſe we conſider, that if by virtue of this addreſs alone, his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales ſhall take upon himſelf the regal powers of this kingdom, his royal highneſs will by ſuch aſſumption be drawn in to decide upon an important conſtitutional queſtion, equally affecting Great Britain and Ireland.

And alſo, becauſe we conſider theſe words in the addreſs, "and no longer," as unneceſſary, and at the ſame time diſreſpectful to the Prince of Wales, tending to convey an idea that this country can confer, or that the Prince might continue to hold over the powers of a regent for a longer time than the continuation of the king's indiſpoſition incapacitated his Majeſty from being reſtored to the full exerciſe of the powers appertaining to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland.

CARHAMPTON
CONYNGHAM.

Anſwer of the Lord Lieutenant *to the Addreſs of both Houſes, requeſting him to tranſmit their Addreſs to the* Prince of Wales.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

UNDER the impreſſion which I feel of my official duty, and of the oath which I have taken as chief governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline tranſmitting this addreſs into Great Britain.

For I cannot conſider myſelf warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal highneſs with powers to take upon him the government of this realm, before he ſhall be enabled by law ſo to do.

Proteſt

Proteſt of the Minority in the Iriſh *Houſe of Lords, againſt the Reſolutions voted* Feb. 19, *aſſerting the Right of both Houſes to declare a Prince Regent.*

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE the undoubted right, and the indiſpenſable duty, declared in the ſaid reſolution to have been exerciſed and diſcharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alledged they are alone competent, do not, in any legal or ſound ſenſe, appear to us to have any exiſtence.—And becauſe the aſſuming a right in the lords and commons alone, to confer upon his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the ſtyle and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addreſſing his royal highneſs to take upon himſelf ſuch government in manner aforeſaid, before he be enabled by law ſo to do, ſeems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to diſturb and break the conſtitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connexion the happineſs of both kingdoms eſſentially depends; and we are the more apprehenſive of danger, leſt the ſo doing ſhould be conſidered as tending to the prejudice, diſturbance, or derogation of the King's majeſty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

LIFFORD, C.
HILLSBOROUGH
WILLIAM OSSORY
VALENTIA
COURTOWN
MORNINGTON
LONGFORD
ALTAMONT
GEO. LEWIS KILMORE
J. CLOGHER
RANELAGH
WILLIAM LEIGHLIN and FERNS
BELLAMONT
POWERSCOURT
GLANDORE
MOUNTMORRES
ENNISKILLEN
R. DUBLIN
CONYNGHAM
TYRONE
LANESBOROUGH
BECTIVE
CHETWYND
CARHAMPTON
HARBERTON.

Proteſt of the Lords againſt the Vote of Cenſure on the Lord Lieutenant.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE, when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his Majeſty's repreſentative here, hath told us, that under the impreſſion of his official duty, and of the oath that he hath taken as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline tranſmitting to Great Britain the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, it doth not conſiſt with that decorum, with that juſtice, and with that grave proceeding with which this houſe, the great and derniere court of juſtice, ſhould ever act,

act, to proceed to a condemnation and cenſure of his excellency, without being allowed to enquire and look into the conſtitution of his office, or into his oath:—and beſides we cannot conſider it as a want of reſpect to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, the not tranſmitting the ſaid addreſs to him, as it would expoſe his royal highneſs to difficulty and embarraſſment, by laying him under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deciding upon great, legal, and conſtitutional principles, in which his royal highneſs's future intereſts, and the rights of that imperial crown which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned:—and, moreover, we conceive this houſe ought ever to be mindful of the ſtation in which the conſtitution hath placed it, and ought to reſiſt every thing which partakes of intemperance and exceſs.

LIFFORD, C.
HILLSBOROUGH
POWERSCOURT
WILLIAM OSSORY
MOUNTMORRES
VALENTIA
COURTOWN
MORNINGTON
ENNISKILLEN
LONGFORD
ALTAMONT
GLANDORE
R. DUBLIN
TYRONE
CARHAMPTON
BECTIVE
LANESBOROUGH
HARBERTON
CONYNGHAM
BELLAMONT
GEO. LEWIS KILMORE
J. CLOGHER
WILLIAM LEIGHLIN and FERNS
RANELAGH.

Anſwer of the Prince of Wales *to the Addreſs preſented by the Delegates of the two Houſes of Parliament of* Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE addreſs from the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Ireland, which you have preſented to me, demands my warmeſt and earlieſt thanks. If any thing could add to the eſteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the King, my father, manifeſted in the addreſs of the two houſes.

What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminiſhed duty to his Majeſty, of their uniform attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and their conſtant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity, the happineſs, and the liberties of both.

If in conveying my grateful ſentiments on their conduct, in relation to the King, my father, and to the inſeparable intereſt of the two kingdoms, I find it impoſſible to expreſs adequately my feelings on what relates to myſelf, I truſt you will not be the leſs diſpoſed to believe, that I have an underſtanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that muſt remember, and principles that will not

not ſuffer me to abuſe their confidence.

But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumſtance which gave occaſion to the addreſs agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final anſwer, truſting, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming the perſonal exerciſe of his royal authority, may then render it only neceſſary for me to repeat thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart.

Second Anſwer of the Prince of Wales *to the Deputation from both Houſes of the Parliament of* Ireland, March 12.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE happy event of the King's recovery, and the conſequent re-aſſumption of the exerciſe of his auſpicious government, announced by his royal commiſſion for declaring the further cauſes of holding the parliament of Great Britain, has done away the melancholy neceſſity which gave riſe to the arrangement propoſed by the parliament of Ireland; but nothing can obliterate from my memory and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumſtances by which it was attended.

I conſider your generous kindneſs to his Majeſty's royal family, and the proviſion you made for preſerving the authority of the crown in its conſtitutional energy, as the moſt unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the King, at the time when, by an afflicting diſpenſation of Providence, his government had ſuffered an intermiſſion, and his houſe was deprived of its natural protector.

I ſhall not pay ſo ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to ſuppoſe that they were miſtaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views and the purity of my intentions. A manly confidence, directing the manner of proceeding toward thoſe who entertain ſentiments becoming the high ſituation to which they are born, furniſhes the moſt powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the ſame time that the liberality of ſentiment which, in conveying a truſt confers an honour, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance and that public jealouſy which ought to watch over the exerciſe of power.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, perſonally, I cannot but regret your departure: I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high eſteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both have made you the worthy repreſentatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

I am confident that I need not add my earneſt recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their mutual perfect freedom will find the cloſeſt as well as happieſt bond of their connexion.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland *to the* Prince of Wales, *voted* March 20, *on Occaſion of the final Anſwer of his Royal Highneſs.*

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs.

WE, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to offer to your royal highneſs our warmeſt thanks for your anſwer to our addreſs.

With hearts overflowing with the livelieſt joy, we congratulate your royal highneſs upon the happy event of the King's recovery, and the conſequent re-aſſumption of the exerciſe of his auſpicious government; an event highly pleaſing to the ſubjects of the whole empire, but peculiarly grateful to a nation ſo highly indebted to their moſt excellent ſovereign during the whole courſe of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection that the father of his people is bleſſed with a ſon, who is likely, in the fullneſs of time, to continue to his Majeſty's loyal and affectionate ſubjects of Ireland the bleſſing of his government.

Thoroughly conſcious that nothing can add more to that eſteem which your royal highneſs has been pleaſed to expreſs for the two houſes of parliament, than their loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the King, we will ſteadily perſevere in thoſe principles of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have ſo happily recommended them to the favourable opinion of your royal highneſs.

We feel the higheſt ſatisfaction in finding that what we have done, and our manner of doing it, have received your approbation, and that your royal highneſs is pleaſed to conſider our conduct as a proof of our undiminiſhed duty to his Majeſty, our uniform attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and our conſtant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we conſider as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity, happineſs, and liberties of both; and we beg leave to aſſure your royal highneſs, that from thoſe principles we ſhall never depart.

We are happy to find that your royal highneſs conſiders our juſt attention to his Majeſty's royal family, and the proviſion made by us for preſerving the authority of the crown in its conſtitutional energy, as the moſt unequivocal proofs which could be given of our affectionate loyalty to the beſt of ſovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting diſpenſation of Providence, his government had ſuffered an intermiſſion, and his illuſtrious houſe was deprived of its great and natural protector.

We have the juſteſt reliance on the moderation of the views and purity of the intentions of your royal highneſs, and we have the fulleſt conviction in our minds, that any truſt which could have the moſt diſtant tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealouſy which ought to watch over the exerciſe of power, would not have been acceptable to the exalted ſentiments of your royal highneſs, whoſe underſtanding and principles are rendered more valuable by the generous and affectionate heart which animates their dictates.

We can with the greateſt truth

moſt ſolemnly aſſure your royal highneſs, that it is the ardent wiſh of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony and inſeparable intereſts of the two kingdoms; firmly convinced that in their mutual perfect freedom they will find the cloſeſt as well as the happieſt bond of their connexion; and we offer our warmeſt acknowledgments to your royal highneſs for your recommendation to us to perſevere in ſuch a conduct, and conſider your royal highneſs's recommendation, ſo worthy the high ſtation in which you are placed, as an additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

We aſſure your royal highneſs, that if any thing could add to the exultation of our minds at the happy event of the recovery of our moſt beloved ſovereign, it would be the pleaſure which we feel in reflecting, that the heir to his Majeſty's crowns inherits the virtues of his royal father—virtues which every part of your royal highneſs's conduct, during the late melancholy and trying occaſion, has placed in the moſt illuſtrious point of view; and the repeated marks of graciouſneſs and condeſcenſion, with which your royal highneſs has been pleaſed to honour the two houſes of parliament, muſt ever remain impreſſed in the moſt indelible characters of affection and gratitude on the hearts of the people of Ireland.

[An addreſs to the ſame effect was voted by the lords.]

Proteſt againſt the Addreſs of Thanks to the Prince of Wales, *voted in the* Iriſh *Houſe of Lords*, March 23.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE, although deſirous to expreſs our humble thanks to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, for his gracious anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, and that to a degree which might induce us to paſs over the departure which there ſeems to be in the mode and form of this addreſs from the uſual courſe and proceeding of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this addreſs, which doth not conſiſt, as we conceive, with thoſe conſtitutional principles which are maintained in our proteſts of February laſt, and to which we adhere.

LIFFORD, C.
R. DUBLIN
RANELAGH
CHETWYND
LONGFORD
ALTAMONT
HARBERTON
TYRONE
LANESBOROUGH
WM. OSSORY
GLANDORE
MOUNTMORRES.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, Becauſe the uniform and regular practice in this houſe has been, as appears from its earlieſt records, to paſs a ſhort vote of thanks for anſwers from the King to addreſſes of this houſe, to be laid before his Majeſty by the lord lieutenant.

2dly, Becauſe that, on the 12th of December 1715, a committee, which had been appointed to draw up an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty King George the Firſt, for his gracious anſwer to a congratulatory addreſs upon his acceſſion, were diſcharged from that duty; and a ſhort vote of thanks for his Majeſty's gracious

gracious anſwer was paſſed, to be tranſmitted by the lord lieutenant; ſince which time this method of proceeding has uniformly prevailed, except in the inſtances of anſwers which complied with requeſts from this houſe, or where royal aſſurance had been given of ſome great national benefits beſtowed, or intended to be conferred, upon this country; in which caſes, addreſſes of thanks have been preſented, of which only eight inſtances appear upon the journals of this houſe.

3dly. Becauſe the firſt inſtance of an addreſs of this deſcription, the 18th of Auguſt 1709, was in conſequence of her Majeſty Queen Anne having complied in her anſwer with a requeſt of this houſe conveyed by an addreſs; and on the 12th of December 1723, another inſtance occurs of a ſimilar addreſs of thanks, upon the royal aſſurance of the intended revocation of Wood's patent.

4thly, Becauſe that, on the 14th of December 1763, an addreſs, or vote of thanks, does not appear upon the journals, in conſequence of her Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer to a congratulatory addreſs upon her marriage.

5thly, Becauſe, although his royal highneſs's anſwer to the addreſs of this houſe is moſt polite and gracious, yet it cannot be proved that any ſolid national benefit could be derived from it; and though it muſt be the wiſh and deſire of every loyal ſubject to pay every mark of reſpect to his royal highneſs, and to every branch of the royal family, I cannot agree to a mode of proceeding which indicates a greater compliment, and a greater degree of attention, than have uſually been paid to his Majeſty and to his royal predeceſſors.

6thly, Becauſe the ſuppoſed exigency of the ſtate, which originated the proceedings upon a regency, is no more, and conſequently the meaſure ſhould no longer be preſerved in public contemplation by addreſſes from parliament, which may have a miſchievous tendency in future. And becauſe, laſtly, that the late wiſe, political, and judicious proceedings of the parliament of Great Britain afford a memorable example well worthy of regard and attention, where proceedings upon the regency were ſuſpended, upon the report of his Majeſty's convaleſcence, and diſcharged and done away upon the happy and ſatisfactory confirmation of his Majeſty's perfect recovery and complete re-eſtabliſhment.

MOUNTMORRES.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant *to both Houſes of Parliament*, March 14.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WITH the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction, I take the earlieſt opportunity to inform you, in obedience to the King's commands, that it has pleaſed Divine Providence to remove from him the ſevere indiſpoſition with which he has been afflicted; and that, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of his kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe the royal authority.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ſubmitted to his Majeſty's conſideration the ſupplies which you have already granted for the immediate exigencies of the public ſervice, and the performance of the national

national engagements; and I am commanded by his Majeſty to expreſs his perfect confidence in your readineſs to make ſuch farther proviſion as ſhall be neceſſary for the uſual ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have it particularly in charge from his Majeſty to aſſure you, that the proſperity of his loyal and faithful people of Ireland, from whom his Majeſty had repeatedly received the ſtrongeſt proofs of affectionate attachment to his ſacred perſon, will be ever near to his heart; and that his Majeſty is fully perſuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will enable him to promote, by every wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, the intereſts of this kingdom.

I cannot conclude this communication to you without expreſſing my fulleſt conviction, that his Majeſty's faithful parliament of Ireland does not yield to any of his ſubjects in ſincere and devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for the reſtoration of his Majeſty's health, and in fervent prayers that a long continuance of that bleſſing may ſecure to the people the happineſs which they have conſtantly enjoyed under his Majeſty's mild and auſpicious government.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland *to his Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, embrace, with unfeigned and lively joy, this opportunity of renewing to your Majeſty our moſt dutiful and ſincere profeſſions of unalterable loyalty and affectionate attachment to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon, family, and government; and of aſſuring your Majeſty, that we find ourſelves unequal to expreſs the ardent feelings of our hearts at the joyful communication, which, by your Majeſty's command, has been made to us, that it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from your Majeſty the ſevere indiſpoſition with which you have been afflicted, and that you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe your royal authority: that, for theſe ſignal marks of Divine favour, we ſhall not ceaſe to pour out the lively effuſions of gratitude and thankſgiving to the Almighty, who has vouchſafed, in the plenitude of his mercy and goodneſs, to reſtore our beloved monarch to the fervent and united prayers of his people.

We gratefully acknowledge your Majeſty's goodneſs, in the aſſurance you have been pleaſed to give us, that the proſperity of your loyal and faithful ſubjects of this kingdom muſt ever lie near to your heart.

We ſhall endeavour to juſtify the confidence which your Majeſty is pleaſed to repoſe in your parliament of Ireland, by a chearful concurrence in ſuch wiſe and ſalutary meaſures as may enable your Majeſty to fulfil your gracious intentions of promoting the general intereſts and happineſs of all your dominions.

We beg leave humbly to aſſure your Majeſty, that, ſenſible of the happineſs which we have conſtantly enjoyed under your Majeſty's mild and auſpicious government, we do

not

not yield to any of your people in the ſincerity with which we offer up our devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for your Majeſty's happy reſtoration to your former health; and that we ſhall unceaſingly ſupplicate the Divine Providence for a long and uninterrupted continuance of that ineſtimable bleſſing.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

HIS Majeſty receives with the greateſt ſatisfaction the dutiful and loyal addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled.

His Majeſty accepts in the moſt gracious manner the renewal of their profeſſions of affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government, and feels with the greateſt ſenſibility the joyful expreſſions of their hearts upon the interpoſition of Divine Providence, in reſtoring him again to the perſonal exerciſe of his royal functions. The happineſs and proſperity of his faithful ſubjects in Ireland are objects very near his Majeſty's heart; and he confides in the wiſdom of the parliament of that kingdom, that they will purſue ſuch meaſures as will enable him to fulfil his intentions of promoting the general intereſts of all his dominions.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland *to his Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to lay before your Majeſty our aſſurances of the ſincere and cordial ſatisfaction with which we are penetrated, on being informed from the throne, by your Majeſty's command, that it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from your Majeſty the ſevere indiſpoſition with which you have been afflicted; and that, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe your royal authority.

Your Majeſty entertains a juſt confidence that we ſhall chearfully proceed in making ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the honourable ſupport of your Majeſty's government.

We ſhould be dead to every generous feeling, ſhould we omit to acknowledge your Majeſty's unceaſing ſolicitude for the intereſts of Ireland, or to ſecond, by every ſalutary effort, your benevolent wiſhes for the welfare of your people. The numerous bleſſings derived to this kingdom from your Majeſty's auſpicious reign, are deeply imprinted in our boſoms; and, ſenſible as we are of the ineſtimable value of their benefits, we beg leave to repeat to your Majeſty, upon this joyful occaſion, our moſt ſincere profeſſions of reſpect and attachment to your royal perſon, family, and government.

We conclude theſe our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledgments to the Almighty for this ſignal inſtance of his goodneſs, in reſtoring our beloved monarch to the prayers of an afflicted people. Our gratitude for ſuch a mark of the Divine favour is only equalled by the ardency of our wiſhes for the continuance of your Majeſty's health, and that your Majeſty may enjoy that invaluable bleſſing during a long and happy reign.

His

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

HIS Majeſty thanks his faithful Commons for their loyal and affectionate addreſs, and for their aſſurances of the ſincere and cordial ſatisfaction which they feel on the interpoſition of Divine Providence in removing from him the ſevere indiſpoſition with which he has been afflicted.

Nothing can be more ſatisfactory to his Majeſty than the diſpoſition expreſſed by the Houſe of Commons chearfully to proceed in making ſuch proviſions as are neceſſary for the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

He receives with the greateſt pleaſure the acknowledgments of the Houſe of Commons of their ſenſe of the ſolicitude which his Majeſty can never ceaſe to entertain for the intereſts of Ireland, as well as their profeſſions of reſpect and attachment to his perſon, family, and government.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houſes, on Monday, May 25.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE buſineſs of this intereſting ſeſſion being concluded, I am happy to releaſe you from further attendance in parliament, and to communicate to you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his Majeſty's paternal regard, and of the ſatisfaction he feels in the growing proſperity of his people of Ireland.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

In obedience to the King's commands I am to thank you in his Majeſty's name for the ſupplies which you have granted for the public exigencies, and for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government; and you may be aſſured of my care and attention to the proper application of them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I behold with the higheſt ſatisfaction the increaſing wealth and commerce of this kingdom, the natural effect of good order and of active induſtry, encouraged, protected, and extended by the ſeveral ſalutary laws which from time to time have been enacted for thoſe purpoſes. I am happy to think that a permanent foundation is laid for the further improvement of the country, by the act now paſſed for the promotion and encouragement of inland navigation: a ſyſtem which, connected with the proſperous ſtate of your agriculture, promiſes, with the bleſſing of Divine Providence, to ſecure to every part of the kingdom the fulleſt enjoyment of that eſſential article of your commerce, the trade of corn.

You well know how greatly the intereſts of the nation are forwarded by the preſervation of peace, and by the enforcing a due ſubmiſſion to the laws: and I have the moſt perfect confidence, that upon your return to your reſpective counties you will impreſs theſe ideas on the minds of thoſe who look up to your example, and are directed by your influence. My conduct ſhall be uniformly governed by every principle which can tend to promote the welfare and happineſs of Ireland.

Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the City of London, *to his Majeſty, on the happy Occaſion of his Recovery,* March 19.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave humbly to approach the throne with the most heartfelt emotions of joy and exultation.

We cannot sufficiently express our deep and awful sense of the signal instance of the goodness of Divine Providence to these highly-favoured kingdoms, in restoring the health of our most gracious sovereign to the ardent prayers of his people.

Your Majesty's faithful citizens of London, at all times eager to testify their loyalty, are more particularly anxious to offer their renewed assurances of fidelity and attachment, in a moment which has rescued them from despondency, and blessed them with an opportunity to offer the tribute nearest their hearts.

And we earnestly supplicate the Great Disposer of all events, that your Majesty may long continue the happy instrument of preserving, in the most exalted degree, the civil and religious liberties of a free, loyal, and grateful nation.

Signed by order of the court,
WILLIAM RIX.

His Majesty's Answer.

I THANK you for this fresh mark of your loyalty and of your affection for my person. The expressions of fidelity and attachment, which I receive from my loving subjects, are most grateful to me.

The city of London may always depend upon my watchful attention to their liberties, commerce, and happiness.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, *to her Majesty, on the same happy Occasion.*

MAY it please your Majesty to permit us, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, to offer our most sincere congratulations to your Majesty on the auspicious recovery of our most gracious sovereign.

Impressed with the most sympathising affections, we have not the power to convey how much we participate in the general felicity, of which your Majesty must enjoy so large a share.

That the King may long be preserved in his sacred and exalted station, not less revered for his domestic virtues than for the dominion he holds in the hearts of a loyal and happy people, is the sincere prayer of the citizens of London.

There never was a period when the citizens of London felt the value of their privilege to address the throne in so eminent a degree as the present, which has enabled them to dwell with such heartfelt emphasis on an event so propitious to their country, so peculiarly interesting and effectually consolatory to the best of queens.

Signed by order of the court,
WILLIAM RIX.

Her Majesty's Answer.

I THANK you for this mark of duty to the King and attention to me. I receive your congratulations with a sincere and heartfelt pleasure on the present joyful occasion; and I can assure you that the city of London will ever have my best wishes for its prosperity and happiness.

The

The humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, *in Common Council aſſembled, on the ſame Occaſion.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE, your dutiful and ever loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, humbly offer our congratulations on your Majeſty's recovery from your late ſevere indiſpoſition, and beg leave to expreſs how deeply ſenſible we are of the ineſtimable value of your Majeſty's life and health to your faithful people.

The earneſtneſs and fervor with which we looked for the happy times that have now returned, are only to be equalled by the ſincerity with which we pray Almighty God, that your Majeſty may long flouriſh a revered, beloved, patriot King.

The worth of a ſovereign ſo mild, a parent ſo provident, and a friend ſo true, was never before ſo fully underſtood, until he was loſt for ever; but it is the peculiar bleſſing of your faithful ſubjects, that they are awakened to a due ſenſe of your Majeſty's great and endearing qualities, ere it is too late, and whilſt our country continues to proſper under their benign influence.

The afflictions of your loyal citizens of Dublin grew the more poignant during your Majeſty's late illneſs, as we reflected that nothing but a care for the public weal, too active and inceſſant, had borne down your ſtrength, and cauſed you to faint in the ſervice of your people.

Return then, Sire, with renovated vigour of mind and body, to attain the glorious ends to which your auſpicious reign has been directed; live long the ſupporter of the law, the approved patron and defender of civil and religious liberty.

Never before did your people experience anguiſh occaſioned by your Majeſty: may this we have taſted be accounted our ſhare of the bitter cup; and let the tranſit of our good and gracious King from his throne of Ireland to a throne eternal, in the ripeneſs of time, and in the fulneſs of his fame, be reſerved for the portion of a future generation.

In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed the common ſeal of the ſaid city to be hereunto affixed, this 23d day of March, 1789.

Addreſs of the Proteſtant and Roman Catholic Inhabitants of Waterford to the King, on the ſame Occaſion.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the freemen, freeholders, Proteſtant and Roman catholic inhabitants of the county of the city of Waterford in the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to preſent our humble congratulations on the happy reſtoration of your Majeſty's health.

We are awfully impreſſed with the ineſtimable goodneſs of Divine Providence, who, indulgent to the ardent prayers of your loyal and affectionate ſubjects, has reſtored your Majeſty to a free and happy people.

In common with all your Majeſty's ſubjects throughout your extended dominions, we participate in the joy that at preſent univerſally prevails, and with which we are ſtill the more ſenſibly affected when

we contemplate the ſolid ſyſtem of conſtitutional and commercial rights that has been eſtabliſhed for this kingdom during your Majeſty's auſpicious reign.

Since the acceſſion of your Majeſty to the government of theſe realms, the conſtant operation of thoſe principles of liberty which have ever characterized the houſe of Brunſwick, and a ſucceſſion of happy events, conducted under wiſe councils, have improved the conſtitution, and extended the commerce of this country to ſuch a degree of excellence and importance, as to enable it now to conſtitute one of the moſt valuable portions of your Majeſty's empire.

When we look back to the former ſituation of this country, and when we reflect on the many bleſſings revived under your Majeſty's mild and happy government, we are bound to pray to Divine Providence that your reign may be long, proſperous, and happy.

Signed, by order,
WILLIAM ROACH, } Sheriffs.
JOHN DENIS, }

[*Similar addreſſes were alſo preſented to his Majeſty, and to the Queen, from moſt of the counties and corporate bodies of the kingdom.*]

The Petition of the Engliſh *Catholic Diſſenters to the Houſe of Commons, preſented* May 7.

Sheweth,

THAT ſentiments unfavourable to your petitioners, as citizens and ſubjects, have been entertained by Engliſh proteſtants, and that your petitioners are ſubject to various penal laws, on account of principles which are aſſerted to be maintained by your petitioners, and other perſons of their religion, and which principles are dangerous to ſociety, and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty.

That your petitioners think it a duty which they owe to their country, as well as to themſelves, to proteſt in a formal and ſolemn manner againſt doctrines that they condemn, and that conſtitute no part whatever of their principles, religion, or belief.

That your petitioners are the more anxious to free themſelves from ſuch imputations, becauſe divers proteſtants, who profeſs themſelves to be real friends to liberty of conſcience, have nevertheleſs avowed themſelves hoſtile to your petitioners, on account of the opinions which your petitioners are ſo ſuppoſed to hold; and your petitioners do not blame thoſe proteſtants for their hoſtility, if it proceeds (as your petitioners hope it does) not from an intolerant ſpirit in matters of religion, but from their being miſinformed as to matters of fact.

That your petitioners acknowledge that they ſhould merit the reproach of being dangerous enemies to the ſtate, if it were true, that they had adopted the maxims that are erroneouſly imputed to them; but your petitioners deteſt thoſe unchriſtianlike and execrable maxims; and your petitioners ſeverally claim (in common with men of all other religions) as a matter of natural juſtice, that your petitioners ought not to ſuffer for or on account of any wicked erroneous doctrines that may have been

been holden, or that may be held by any foreign Roman catholics, which doctrines your petitioners publicly diſclaim; any more than any of the Britiſh proteſtants ought to be rendered reſponſible for any dangerous doctrines that may be held by any foreign proteſtants, which doctrines they, the ſaid Britiſh proteſtants, diſavow.

I. That your petitioners have been accuſed of holding, as a principle of their religion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or other perſons. But, ſo far is the above-mentioned unchriſtian-like and abominable poſition from being a principle, that your petitioners hold, that they reject, abhor, and deteſt it, and every part thereof, as execrable and impious; and your petitioners do ſolemnly declare, that neither the pope, either with or without a general council, nor any prelate, nor any prieſt, nor any aſſembly of prelates or prieſts, nor any eccleſiaſtical power whatever, can abſolve the ſubjects of this realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his Majeſty King George the Third, who is, by authority of the legiſlature, the lawful king of this realm, and of all the dominions thereunto belonging.

II. That your petitioners have alſo been accuſed of holding, as a principle of their religion, that implicit obedience is due from them to the orders and decrees of popes and general councils: and that, therefore, if the pope, or any general council, ſhould, for the good of the church, command your petitioners to take up arms againſt government, or by any means to ſubvert the laws and liberties of this country, or to exterminate perſons of a different religion from your petitioners, the accuſers of your petitioners aſſert, that your petitioners hold themſelves bound to obey ſuch orders or decrees on pain of eternal fire. Whereas your petitioners poſitively deny that they owe any ſuch obedience to the pope and general council, or to either of them: and your petitioners believe that no act that is in itſelf immoral or diſhoneſt can ever be juſtified by or under colour that it is done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any eccleſiaſtical power whatever. Your petitioners acknowledge no infallibility in the pope; and they neither apprehend nor believe, that their diſobedience to any ſuch orders or decrees (ſhould any ſuch be given or made) could ſubject your petitioners to any puniſhment whatſoever. That your petitioners do ſolemnly declare, that no church, nor any prelate, nor any prieſt, nor any aſſembly of prelates or prieſts, nor any eccleſiaſtical power whatever, hath, have, or ought to have any juriſdiction or authority whatſoever within this realm, that can, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the independence, ſovereignty, laws, conſtitution, or government thereof, or the rights, liberties, perſons, or properties, of the people of the ſaid realm, or of any of them; ſave only and except by the authority of parliament; and that any ſuch aſſumption of power would be an uſurpation.

III. That your petitioners have likewiſe been accuſed of holding

as a principle of their religion, that the pope, by virtue of his ſpiritual power, can diſpenſe with the obligations of any compact or oath taken or entered into by any perſon of the religion of your petitioners; that therefore, no oath of allegiance, or other oath, can bind your petitioners, and conſequently, that your petitioners can give no ſecurity for their allegiance to any government.—That your petitioners admit that this concluſion would be juſt, if the original propoſition, upon which it is founded, were true: but your petitioners poſitively deny, that they hold any ſuch principle; and they do ſolemnly declare, that neither the pope, nor any prelate, nor any prieſt, nor any aſſembly of prelates or prieſts, nor any eccleſiaſtical power whatever, can abſolve your petitioners, or any of them from, or can previouſly or ſubſequently diſpenſe with, the obligations of any compact or oath whatſoever.

IV. That your petitioners have alſo been accuſed of holding, as a principle of their religion, that not only the pope, but even a prieſt, has power, at his will and pleaſure, to pardon the ſins of perſons of the religion of your petitioners; and therefore, that no perſon of the religion of your petitioners can poſſibly give any ſecurity for his allegiance to any government; inaſmuch as the pope, or a prieſt, can pardon perjury, rebellion, and high treaſon. That your petitioners acknowledge alſo, the juſtneſs of this concluſion, if the propoſition upon which it is founded were not totally falſe; but your petitioners do ſolemnly declare, that, on the contrary, they believe that no ſin whatever can be forgiven at the will of any pope, or of any prieſt, of any perſon whomſoever: but that a ſincere ſorrow for paſt ſin, a firm reſolution to avoid future guilt, and every poſſible atonement to God, and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indiſpenſable requiſites to eſtabliſh a well-founded expectation of forgiveneſs.

V. That your petitioners have alſo been accuſed of holding, as a principle of their religion, that faith is not to be kept with heretics: ſo that no government, which does not profeſs the ſame religion as your petitioners, can have any ſecurity from your petitioners for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. That your petitioners reject, reprobate, and abhor the doctrine, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honeſty. And your petitioners do hold and ſolemnly declare, that no breach of faith with, or injury to, or hoſtility againſt, any perſon whomſoever, can ever be juſtified by reaſon of, or under pretence, that ſuch perſon is an heretic or an infidel.

That your petitioners further ſolemnly declare, that they do make this declaration and proteſtation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary ſenſe of the words of the ſame, without any evaſion, equivocation, or mental reſervation whatſoever. And that your petitioners humbly conceive, that your petitioners, who thus ſolemnly diſclaim, and from their hearts abhor, the above-mentioned abominable and unchriſtianlike principles, ought not to be put upon a level with any other men who may hold and profeſs thoſe principles.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray,

pray, that this honourable houſe will be pleaſed to grant ſuch relief to your petitioners, as this honourable houſe in its wiſdom ſhall deem to be juſt.

The King of France's Circular Letter for the Convocation of the States General at Verſailles.

Our beloved and loyal,

WE ſtand in need of the aid of our faithful ſubjects to enable us to ſurmount all the difficulties we are involved in, reſpecting the condition of our finances; and to eſtabliſh according to our wiſhes a ſteady, conſtant, and invariable order in every part of government, that intereſts the happineſs of our people, and the proſperity of our kingdom. Theſe great motives have determined us to convene the aſſembly of the ſtates in all the provinces under our obedience, in order that they may not only adviſe and aſſiſt us in all thoſe objects that ſhall be laid before them, but lay open likewiſe the wiſhes and grievances of our ſubjects; ſo that, by a mutual confidence, and a reciprocal love between the ſovereign and the nation, an efficacious remedy may be applied as ſoon as poſſible to the diſorders of the ſtate, and abuſes of every kind be reformed and prevented, by good and ſolid means proper to inſure a permanency of the public happineſs, and to reſtore particularly that calm and tranquillity we have ſo long been deprived of. We proclaim, therefore, that it is our intention to begin the meeting of the free and general ſtates of our kingdom on Monday the 27th of April next, in our town of Verſailles, where we mean and deſire that ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſons of each province, bailiwick, and ſeneſchalſhip ſhall attend. We order and expreſsly enjoin you, therefore, ſoon after the receipt of the preſent letter, to convene and aſſemble in the town of ——, in the ſpeedieſt manner you can, the moſt proper of the three claſſes (trois etats) of the bailiwick or ſeneſchalſhip, of ——, that they may confer and communicate together on the ſubjects of complaints, grievances, and remonſtrances, and the means and advice they may have to propoſe to the general aſſembly of the ſaid ſtates; and after having done thus much, they are to chuſe and name ſuch and ſuch perſons, &c. and ſo many and no more of every claſs—all of them worthy of this diſtinguiſhed mark of truſt, on account of their integrity, and the ſuperior abilities they are endowed with. The above convocations and elections ſhall be made throughout the kingdom in the form preſcribed by the regulation annexed to the preſent letter. The deputies or repreſentatives of the provinces, bailiwicks, and ſeneſchalſhips ſhall be furniſhed with proper inſtructions, and ſufficient power to propoſe, remonſtrate, adviſe, and conſent to every thing that may concern the preſent or future wants of the ſtate, the reform of abuſes, the eſtabliſhment of ſteady and permanent order in every branch of the adminiſtration, the general proſperity of our kingdom, and the welfare of all and each of our ſubjects; aſſuring them, that on our ſide they ſhall find our beſt good will and affection for maintaining and executing whatever ſhall

have been concerted between us and the ſaid ſtates, whether reſpecting the impoſts they ſhall agree upon, or for the eſtabliſhment of a conſtant rule in all parts of the adminiſtration, or on the public order; promiſing moreover to aſk and to liſten favourably to their advice on whatever may intereſt the good of the nation, to redreſs their grievances, and to attend to the propoſals that ſhall be advanced; ſo that our kingdom, and all our ſubjects in particular, may feel the ſalutary effects of ſo noble and ſo grand an aſſembly for ever.

Given at Verſailles, the 24th of Jan. 1789.

Signed, LEWIS.

DE VILLEDEUIL.

The King of France's Speech on the Opening of the States General, May 9, 1789.

Gentlemen,

THE day is at length arrived which my heart has ſo long panted to ſee, and I find myſelf ſurrounded by the repreſentatives of a nation it is my glory to command.

A long interval has elapſed ſince the laſt convocation of the ſtates general; but although theſe aſſemblies have not for ſome time been held, I have not been diſſuaded by the example of my late predeceſſors, from re-eſtabliſhing a cuſtom from which the nation may earneſtly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional ſource of happineſs.

The public debt was already immenſe at my coming to the throne, and has increaſed under my reign; an expenſive but honourable war has been the cauſe, and the augmentation of taxes the conſequences of it; but an unequal levy has cauſed them to be more ſeverely felt.

A very general diſcontent, a too great deſire for innovation, have taken hold of the people's minds, and will end in miſleading their judgment, if they do not haſten to fix them by wiſe and moderate councils.

It is with this confidence, gentlemen, that I now aſſemble you, and I rejoice to ſee that it has been juſtified by thoſe diſpoſitions which the two firſt orders of the ſtate have ſhewn, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cheriſhed, to ſee all the orders unite and concur with me in wiſhes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

I have already ordered very conſiderable retrenchments of expence; you will moreover furniſh me with your ſentiments on the ſubject, which I ſhall receive moſt gladly; but in ſpite of the reſources which the ſtricteſt œconomy can ſuggeſt, I fear, gentlemen, that I ſhall not be able to relieve my ſubjects ſo ſoon as I could wiſh. I ſhall order to be laid before you the exact ſtate of the finances; and when you have examined them, I am aſſured you will propoſe to me the moſt effectual means to eſtabliſh them on a permanent footing, and ſtrengthen the public credit. This great and ſalutary work will claim your moſt earneſt attention; it is that which will ſecure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain

its conſequence among foreign powers.

The public ſpirit is in a ferment, but an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counſels but thoſe founded on wiſdom and prudence. You yourſelves, gentlemen, have been able to judge on many recent occaſions, that the people have been miſguided; but the ſpirit which will rule over your deliberations will anſwer for the true ſentiments of a generous nation, whoſe diſtinguiſhed character has ever been the love of their king. I ſhall baniſh from me every other ſentiment.

I know the authority and power of a juſt king, ſurrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; theſe have cauſed the glory and ſplendour of France; I ought and I ever ſhall be the ſupport of them.

But whatever may be expected from the moſt tender ſolicitude for the public good, whatever can be aſked from a ſovereign, the ſincereſt friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

May a happy union reign in this aſſembly! And may this epocha become ever memorable for the happineſs and proſperity of the country! It is the wiſh of my heart; it is the moſt ardent deſire of my prayers; it is, in ſhort, the price which I expect for the ſincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

The keeper of the ſeals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the ſtate of the kingdom.

Letter from the King of France to the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, May 28, 1789.

BEING informed, that the difficulties which have been made relative to aſcertaining the powers veſted in the members of the ſtates general ſtill ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding the care taken by the commiſſioners choſen by the three eſtates to find out the means of ſettling this point; I cannot ſee without pain, and indeed much uneaſineſs, the national aſſembly, which I have called together to be concerned with me in the new regulation of the kingdom, ſunk into inaction, which, if continued, would cauſe all the hopes which I have formed for the happineſs of my people, and the benefit of the ſtate, to prove abortive. Under theſe circumſtances, I deſire that the conciliatory commiſſioners, already choſen by the three orders, reſume their conferences to-morrow at ſix in the evening, in the preſence of my keeper of the ſeals and commiſſioners, whom I ſhall appoint, in order that I may be more particularly informed of the propoſals for agreement which ſhall be made, and directly contribute to ſo deſirable and preſſing a ſtate of harmony. I charge the perſon who ſhall exercise the office of preſident to make known theſe my intentions to the aſſembly.

LOUIS.

Verſailles, May 28.

Addreſs of the Deputies of the Tiers Etat of France, to his Majeſty, June 6, 1789.

Sire,

Sire,

THE deputies of your faithful Commons would long ſince have ſolemnly preſented to your Majeſty the reſpectful teſtimony of their gratitude for the convocation of the ſtates general, had their powers been verified, which would have been the caſe but for the obſtacles thrown in the way by the nobles. They wait with the moſt anxious impatience for the moment of that verification, to enable them to offer you a more ſtriking homage and token of their love for your ſacred perſon, for your auguſt family, and their devotion to the intereſts of the monarch, which are always inſeparable from thoſe of the nation.

The ſolicitude your Majeſty experiences at the inaction of the ſtates general, affords a freſh proof of the deſire which animates your breaſt to produce the happineſs of France.

Afflicted at this fatal inaction, the deputies of the Commons have left no means untried to determine thoſe of the clergy and the nobles to unite with them for the purpoſe of conſtituting the national aſſembly; but the nobles having again manifeſted their reſolution of maintaining the verification of their powers ſeparately tranſacted, the conciliatory conferences opened on this important queſtion were neceſſarily at an end.

Your Majeſty, deſiring that they ſhould be reſumed, in preſence of the keeper of the ſeals, and commiſſioners you have named, the deputies of the Commons, certain that under a Prince, who wiſhes to be the reſtorer of France, the liberty of the national aſſembly can be in no danger, have chearfully concurred in your deſire as ſignified to them. They are thoroughly convinced, that in the exact journal of theſe conferences laid before your Majeſty, you will diſcover nothing in the motives by which we are directed, but the principles of juſtice and of reaſon.

Sire, your faithful Commons will never forget what they owe to their king; never will they loſe ſight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, againſt ariſtocracies, under whatever form, whoſe power can be eſtabliſhed only on the ruins of the regal authority, and the public happineſs. The French people, whoſe glory it has been at all times to love their king, will always be ready to ſpill their blood and laviſh their property in ſupport of the genuine principles of the monarchy. From the very firſt moment that the inſtructions received by their deputies will permit them to expreſs a national wiſh, you will judge, Sire, whether the repreſentatives of your Commons do not prove themſelves the moſt anxious of your ſubjects to maintain the rights, the honours, the dignities of the throne, to conſolidate the public engagements, to reſtore the credit of the nation; you will acknowledge likewiſe, that they are not leſs juſt towards their fellow-citizens, of every claſs, than devoted to your Majeſty.

Your faithful Commons are moſt deeply affected at the circumſtance under which your Majeſty has the goodneſs to receive their deputation; and they take the liberty to addreſs to your Majeſty the univerſal expreſſion of their regret,

gret, and of their respectful sensibility.

His Majesty's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction the testimonials of devotion and attachment to the monarchy from the representatives of the third estate of my kingdom. All the orders of the state have an equal claim to my favour, and you may rely on my kindness and protection. Above all, I recommend to you speedily to second, and that with a spirit of prudence and of peace, the accomplishment of the benefits I am impatient to confer on my people, and which they confidently expect from my sentiments in their favour.

Speech of the King of France to the States General, June 23.

Gentlemen,

AT the time I took the resolution of assembling you; when I had surmounted all the difficulties which had threatened a convocation of my states; when I had, to use the expression, even preconceived the desires of the nation, in manifesting beforehand my wishes for its welfare; I thought to have done every thing which depended on myself for the good of my people.

It seemed to me, that you had only to finish the work I had begun; and the nation expected impatiently the moment, when, in conjunction with the beneficent views of its sovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its representatives, it was about to enjoy that prosperous and happy state which such an union ought to afford.

The states general have now been opened more than two months, and have not yet even agreed on the preliminaries of its operations. Instead of that source of harmony which should spring from a love of the country, a most fatal division spreads an alarm over every mind. I am willing to believe, and I shall be happy to find, that the disposition of Frenchmen is not changed: but, to avoid reproaching either of you, I shall consider, that the renewal of the states general after so long a period, the turbulence which preceded it, the object of this assembly, so different from that of your ancestors, and many other objects, have led you to an opposition, and to prefer pretensions to which you are not entitled.

I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to dissipate these fatal divisions. It is with this resolution, Gentlemen, that I convene you once more around me—I do it as the common father of all my people—I do it as the defender of my kingdom's laws, that I may recal to your memory the true spirit of your constitution, and resist those attempts which have been aimed against it.

But, Gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect from the zeal of the two principal classes—I expect from their attachment to my person—I expect from the knowledge they have of the pressing urgencies of the state, that in those matters which concern the general good, they should be the first to propose a re-union of consultation and opinion, which I

consider

conſider as neceſſary in the preſent criſis, and which ought to take place for the general good of the kingdom.

The Declaration of Rights, which has been agreed to by the National Aſſembly of France, and ſanctioned by the King, and which forms the Baſis of the new Conſtitution of France.

THE repreſentatives of the people of France, formed into a national aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the ſole cauſes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have reſolved to ſet forth, in a ſolemn declaration, theſe natural, impreſcriptible, and unalienable, rights: that this declaration being conſtantly preſent to the minds of the members of the body ſocial, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legiſlative and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political inſtitutions, may be more reſpected; and alſo, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the conſtitution, and the general happineſs.

For theſe reaſons the national aſſembly doth recognize and declare, in the preſence of the Supreme being, and with the hope of his bleſſing and favour, the following ſacred rights of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in reſpect of their rights. Civil diſtinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man; and theſe rights are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.

III. The nation is eſſentially the ſource of all ſovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expreſsly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exerciſe of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than thoſe which are neceſſary to ſecure to every other man the free exerciſe of the ſame rights; and theſe limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to ſociety. What is not prohibited by the law ſhould not be hindered; nor ſhould any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expreſſion of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either perſonally or by their repreſentatives, in its formation. It ſhould be the ſame to all, whether it protects or puniſhes; and all being equal in its ſight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other diſtinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man ſhould be accuſed, arreſted, or held in confinement, except

cept in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

Extract from the Declaration of the Emperor to the States at Bruxelles, March 8, 1789.

THE States of this province having been convoked on the 2d inst. the Minister Plenipotentiary notified to them a dispatch, signed by the Emperor's own hand, which was principally in answer to the address of the first orders of the State, on the 29th of January last.

This declaration, say the states, strikes the final blow at our constitution, in denying us the right of being tried by our own judges, according to the ancient law of the land, and denying the right of the Council of Brabant to participate in the legislation of the country.

We

We ſhall give a pretty full extract of this important paper;—it runs thus:

"Without having any further controverſy in reſpect to raiſing the ſupplies, I order you to proceed without delay to the granting of them, in virtue of my full and ſovereign power.

"To this object I have empowered my Government General to afford you any military aſſiſtance in enforcing the ſupplies, ſhould it be found neceſſary.

"I promiſe myſelf that you will pay implicit reſpect, as you ought to do, to my ſovereign commands, as they are founded on a thorough knowledge of the caſe, nor ſuffer yourſelves to be led away by objects foreign to your duty; and further, that you will not give countenance to thoſe indiſcreet perſons, who by an obſtinate reſiſtance and a criminal conduct, have incurred my diſgrace; nor embarraſs the exerciſe of my rights, and the prerogatives of the crown.

"I have, moreover, ordered my Government General to carry into full force the laws I have ordained, and to ſpare no methods to put them into the ſpeedieſt execution, without minding (in regard to any of my ſubjects who may diſpute them) the common forms of law, which were only made for ordinary caſes. At the ſame time, I acquaint you, that I have broken and annulled thoſe clauſes and conditions by which ſome of the Courts have exceptions, and new modified my orders.

"Not doubting but you will think with me, that if my dignity and my rights require, that I ſhould take ſome effectual meaſures to deſtroy for ever that odious diſgrace, which, for the honour of the nation, I would wiſh to forget the remembrance of, it is even for its own intereſt, as well as mine, that I ſhould purify the conſtitution, in many inſtances obſcure and inexcuſeable, and to fix it upon a proper baſis.

"I cannot give you a ſtronger proof of my clemency, nor of my real affection, than in communicating my intentions, which, after what has happened, I was fully authoriſed to do by my ſovereign power alone.

"I muſt likewiſe acquaint you, that the mitigation of the rigorous parts of my diſpatch of the 7th January laſt, only holds good ſo long as every order of my citizens obſerve the implicit reſpect it owes me; and that if there ſhould ſtill be found refractory perſons, who ſhould be guilty of the leaſt ſeditious ſtep injurious to my authority, I have given implicit orders to my Government General to act againſt thoſe culprits without obſerving the uſual forms of law, which in all ſuch caſes are to be made ſubſervient to the neceſſity of the caſe.

(Signed) JOSEPH.

And under it, DR. LEDEROR.

Vienna, Feb. 1789."

Speech of the King of Sweden *to the Aſſembly of the States, in* March 1789.

WHEN I ratified with you, near 17 years ago, in this very chamber, the conſtitutional laws which laid the foundation for your liberties and my rights,

rights, and which reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom, the country was convulſed nearly by like circumſtances as thoſe which have ariſen on this occaſion, with a more rapid progreſs.

The ſame enemies without laid for us then in ſecret the artful ſnares which they now do openly; the ſame views within, which then undermined and afflicted the body of the ſtate, ſeem now to have rallied and acquired freſh vigour.

What is it then that can occaſion ſuch violent ſhocks as thoſe we now feel, after tranquillity had been reſtored, and all the ancient diſſenſions appeared to be ſtifled? They can only have the ſame ſource, namely, the different confuſed opinions of intereſt, whence ariſe diſtruſt and jealouſy, and the falſe explanations of ſundry privileges relating to each order: upon which, however, we ſhould be all of one mind, for the equal advancement of the public good: ſince a people enjoying the ſame liberty, born in the ſame country, cultivating the ſame ſoil; a people obeying the ſame laws, acknowledging the ſame King, and worſhipping the ſame God, ought not to be divided in opinion on the ſubject of privileges to which all the citizens in common ſeem to have an equal right. But particular orders, who are diſtinguiſhed from one another, both by ancient ordinances and a long ſeries of events, and by the nature of the ſtatutes of the kingdom, and ſhining merit, ought nevertheleſs to poſſeſs neceſſarily certain privileges peculiar to each order, and to which they have an unalienable right.

But if theſe prerogatives are not founded on a lawful baſis, if they are not ſuitably determined, they will infallibly create inteſtine diviſions, which, though they do not always expoſe the public weal to imminent danger, yet they interrupt tranquillity, ſo eſſential, and commonly divert the attention from the true aim.

If ever a kingdom has experienced the effects of it, it is without contradiction our dear country, which ariſtocratical ambition has convulſed and abandoned to uſurpation, and democratical deſpotiſm has divided.

It is time to annihilate theſe diſorders, which I thought I had extirpated at the beginning of my reign, and which I have endeavoured to remove to give vigour to our conſtitution. It is juſt to confirm the privileges that the two firſt orders of the kingdom enjoy; but as they are not clearly defined in the conſtitution, there may reſult freſh diſputes from it.

It is equitable to eſtabliſh privileges for the order of Plebeians, ſince nature ſeems to have given the members of that order a right to hope for them as fellow-citizens in the ſame country. And at what æra can you deſerve it better, and have a clearer right to ſee fixed, determined, and aſcertained on a ſolid baſis, your own privileges, and thoſe of your poſterity, than the preſent epocha? —At this æra, when you have devoted yourſelves of your own accord to the ſervice and defence of my perſon and the ſtate, and have manifeſted the ſame virtues as thoſe by which your fellow eſtates before you obtained their privileges?

It

It is juſt, therefore, that you ſhould alſo have a ſhare. It is alſo time for us to remove reciprocally from among ourſelves every ſubject for diſpute, to unite in ſuch a manner as to avoid all ambiguity, and to preſerve our common ſafety on an immoveable foundation.

If the conſtitution is preſerved according to its maxims and its end, and confirmed in ſo evident a manner, that no doubt can in future be formed reſpecting it; this is the ſafeſt means of preſerving the union. Theſe maxims are ſalutary; they conſiſt of theſe points: when the ordinance of government receives ſecurity from him who governs; when the ſubject under the law enjoys the right of impoſing taxes freely on himſelf, with entire ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of property to be cultivated and defended; equality of right among equal citizens. Behold the nature of the act of Union and ſafety, which you will now hear read to you.

Citizens, Swedes! Let us then bind ourſelves for ever in this Union, which can only give confidence, privileges, liberty, and ſafety! and as the enemy think we are divided to ſuch a degree that they hope to oppreſs us, let us ſhew them, that united even in danger we are the ſame valiant nation we were formerly.

May the Almighty ſhed his grace on our reſolutions, and inſpire us with a ſpirit of union and confidence!

Declaration made by Mr. Elliot *to the Count* Bernſtorf, April 23, 1789.

I Willingly acquieſce to the deſire your Excellency has expreſſed of receiving in writing the ſummary of thoſe repreſentations I had the honour to make to you by word of mouth, by the orders of my Court.

Your Excellency will be pleaſed to remember, that at the inſtant that the King of Denmark yielded up a great part of his land and ſea forces as auxiliaries to Ruſſia, his Daniſh Majeſty applied for the intervention of his Britannic Majeſty to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity between Sweden and Ruſſia.

It is alſo with the livelieſt ſorrow that I muſt recall to your Excellency's memory, that the Empreſs of Ruſſia thought proper to avoid the mediation of the King and his allies; and that this refuſal was the only cauſe of the continuation of hoſtilites, ſince his Majeſty the King of Sweden had accepted, in the freeſt and moſt amicable manner, that offer from the three Courts, which were animated with the only deſire of ſtopping the ſhedding of blood, and maintaining the Northern balance.

Your Excellency has afterwards been witneſs, that the King and his allies have acted with energy, to give the moſt undoubted proofs that they thought the preſervation of Sweden was of the greateſt importance; and that theſe Courts mutually endeavoured to obtain a ceſſation of hoſtilities from the land and ſea forces of his Swediſh Majeſty, which had acted in the military operations of the laſt campaign, and their endeavours had the moſt ſalutary effects.

The King my maſter ſtill ſees with ſorrow, that ſince that epoch the offers of mediation and ſervices from

from the King and his allies have not produced the desired effect; nor could they incline the Empress to agree to a mediation for restoring peace to the East or to the North of Europe.

Under these circumstances, when Russia refuses to accept every mediation, and that the continuation of hostilities proceeds from this refusal only, his Britannic Majesty and his allies think they should strongly represent to the Court of Denmark, that this Court appears to them entirely freed from every stipulation of a treaty merely defensive; and even to add, that in the present case the joining of the Danish forces either by land or sea to those of Russia would even cause Denmark to be considered as one of the powers at war, and could but justify the King of Sweden in asking for a speedy and efficacious assistance from his Britannic Majesty and his allies, from whom his Swedish Majesty has accepted a pure and unlimited mediation.

From the principles of sincerity which I have ever observed towards a Court in alliance and a friend to Great Britain, I must assure you, Sir, that neither the King of England, nor his allies, can give up the system they have adopted with the design only of maintaining the equal balance of the North—a balance no less interesting to Denmark than to all maritime and trading nations.

I doubt not that your Excellency perceives how little the most favourable interpretation of your treaty could assist the Empress, if it occasioned by land and by sea a vigorous co-operation of the three powers in defence of Sweden: nor that the Council of Copenhagen is too wise and too moderate to expose either Russia or Denmark to an increase of hostilities from Courts which in other respects wish but for peace, and who desire to establish it on the most solid foundation, and on conditions the most advantageous to every party concerned.

Therefore, Sir, I must expressly intreat you, from the King and his allies, to induce the Court of Denmark not to grant any part of their forces, either by land or sea, to act offensively against Sweden under pretence of a defensive treaty; but, on the contrary, to support a perfect neutrality in every province, and on all the seas belonging to the King of Denmark.

Depend on it, Sir, that as soon as Denmark will have taken a resolution so conformable to the wishes of its true friends, the concurrence of the King of Denmark towards the re-establishment of a general peace would be infinitely agreeable to the King my master; and I dare add, that your Excellency has too long been acquainted with the true interests of Russia, and with the sentiments of England, not to be sensible that the Empress of Russia cannot better confide to effect a peace than to his Britannic Majesty, and his allies. My instructions are, to ask of your Excellency a clear and decisive answer on the intentions of his Danish Majesty with regard to a junction of part of his forces, either by land or sea, to the forces of her Imperial Majesty of Russia, and to propose the neutrality of the Danish States, and of the Danish seas, under the most efficacious promises of

ſecurity from the King of England and his allies.

The deſire of avoiding every kind of uſeleſs animoſities has cauſed me to addreſs myſelf to your Excellency by a private letter, rather than deliver a formal declaration, the contents of which might have been made more public than the actual circumſtances of affairs require; and I am bold enough to flatter myſelf, that, whatever may be the event of my negociations, your Excellency will do me the juſtice of acknowledging that I have laboured to prevent the miſeries of war. May our united endeavours revive in the hearts of the Sovereigns the true love of their ſubjects, too unhappy victims of that chimerical love of glory which has ſo frequently and ſo unneceſſarily ſtained Europe with blood."

Articles of the Quadruple Alliance between Ruſſia, Auſtria, France, and Spain.

ARTICLE I. That in caſe any of the parties are attacked, by ſea or land, the other three ſhall defend, with money, forces, or ſhipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Auſtria and Ruſſia in 1787, ſhall be in full force.

III. Their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties oblige themſelves to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality in the preſent war with the Turks. But in caſe the Emperor ſhould be attacked by any other power, the French King is to furniſh him 30,000 men, or an equivalent in money, on demand. And in caſe the French King is attacked, the Emperor is to furniſh the like ſuccours.

IV. The King of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforeſaid third article, which the Emperor alſo does toward the King of Spain.

V. If the Empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould be attacked in the preſent war with the Turks, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages to aſſiſt her with eight ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates; and his Catholic Majeſty is to furniſh the like ſuccours; the Empreſs of Ruſſia binding herſelf to furniſh either or both powers with an equal aſſiſtance, in caſe any attack is made on them.

VI. The Treaty of Commerce between France and Ruſſia, made in 1787, ſhall be in full force, and a ſimilar treaty be ſigned by Ruſſia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain, to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defenſive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three ſhall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is reſtored back in the ſame ſtate it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties ſhall, by their Ambaſſadors, demand ſtipulated ſuccours, the ſaid Ambaſſadors ſhall be reciprocally admitted into the Councils of war, and deliberate upon, and ſettle whatever may be moſt advantageous to the four contracting parties, and the auxiliary ſuccours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties ſhall have liberty to invite ſuch other powers to accede to the preſent

ſent treaty, as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Ruſſia, ſhall be ſpecially invited to accede thereto.

Treaty of Defenſive Alliance between his Majeſty the King of Great Britain and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia.

THEIR Majeſties the King of Great Britain, and the King of Pruſſia, being animated with a ſincere and equal deſire to improve and conſolidate the ſtrict union and friendſhip, which having been tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, ſo happily ſubſiſt between them, and to concert the moſt proper meaſures for ſecuring their mutual intereſts, and the general tranquillity of Europe, have reſolved to renew and ſtrengthen thoſe ties by a treaty of Defenſive Alliance; and they have authoriſed for this purpoſe, (to wit) his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, the Sieur Joſeph Ewart, his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Berlin; and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, the Sieur Ewald Frederic Comte de Hertſberg, his miniſter of ſtate, and of the cabinet, Knight of the order of the Black Eagle; who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers to each other; have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There ſhall be a perpetual, firm, and unalterable friendſhip, defenſive alliance, and ſtrict and inviolable union, together with an intimate and perfect harmony and correſpondence between the ſaid moſt Serene Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, their heirs and ſucceſſors, and their reſpective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and ſubjects, which ſhall be carefully maintained and cultivated, ſo that the contracting powers ſhall conſtantly employ, as well their utmoſt attention, as alſo thoſe means which Providence has put in their power, for preſerving at the ſame time the public tranquillity and ſecurity, for maintaining their common intereſts, and for their mutual defence and guaranty againſt every hoſtile attack; the whole in conformity to the treaties already ſubſiſting between the high contracting parties, which ſhall remain in full force and vigour, and ſhall be deemed to be renewed by the preſent treaty, as far as the ſame ſhall not be derogated from, with their own conſent, by poſterior treaties, or by the preſent treaty.

Article II. In conſequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two high contracting paties ſhall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity; and in caſe either of them ſhould be threatened with a hoſtile attack by any power whatever, the other ſhall employ his moſt efficacious good offices for preventing hoſtilities, for procuring ſatisfaction to the injured party, and for effecting an accommodation in a conciliatory manner.

Article III. But if thoſe good offices ſhould not have the deſired effect, in the ſpace of two months, and either of the two high contracting parties ſhould be hoſtilely attacked, moleſted, or diſturbed in any of his dominions, rights, poſſeſſions or intereſts, or in any manner whatever, by ſea or land,

by any European power, the other contracting party engages to ſuccour his ally without delay, in order to maintain each other reciprocally in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions, territories, towns, and places, which belonged to them before the commencement of ſuch hoſtilities: For which end, if his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould happen to be attacked, his Majeſty the King of Great Britain ſhall furniſh his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia a ſuccour of ſixteen thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry; and if his Britannic Majeſty ſhould happen to be attacked, his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia ſhall likewiſe furniſh to him a ſuccour of ſixteen thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry; which reſpective ſuccours ſhall be furniſhed in the ſpace of two months after requiſition made by the party attacked, and ſhall remain at his diſpoſal during the whole continuation of the war in which he ſhall be engaged. Theſe ſuccours ſhall be paid and maintained by the required power, wherever his ally ſhall employ them; but the requiring party ſhall ſupply them, in his dominions, with ſuch bread and forage as may be neceſſary, upon the footing to which his own troops are accuſtomed.

It is nevertheleſs agreed between the high contracting parties, that if his Britannic Majeſty ſhould be in the caſe of receiving the ſuccour in troops from his Pruſſian Majeſty, his Britannic Majeſty ſhall not employ them out of Europe, nor even in the garriſon of Gibraltar.

If the injured and requiring party ſhould prefer ſuccours in money to land forces, he ſhall have his choice; and in caſe of the two high contracting parties furniſhing to each other the ſtipulated ſuccours in money, ſuch ſuccours ſhall be computed at one hundred thouſand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thouſand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thouſand florins, of the like value, for one thouſand cavalry, per annum, or in the ſame proportion by the month.

Article IV. In caſe the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould not be ſufficient for the defence of the requiring power, the required power ſhall augment them, according to the exigence of the caſe, and ſhall aſſiſt the former with his whole force, if circumſtances ſhall render it neceſſary.

Article V. The high contracting parties hereby renew, in the moſt expreſs terms, the proviſional treaty of defenſive alliance which they concluded at Loo, on the 13th of June in the preſent year, and they again engage and promiſe to act, at all times, in concert, and with mutual confidence, for maintaining the ſecurity, independance, and government of the Republic of the United Provinces, conformably to the engagements which they have lately contracted with the ſaid republic; that is to ſay, his Britannic Majeſty, by a treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788, and his Pruſſian Majeſty, by a treaty ſigned the ſame day at Berlin, which the ſaid high contracting parties have communicated to each other.

And if it ſhall happen that by virtue of the ſtipulations of the ſaid treaties, the high contracting parties ſhould be obliged to augment the ſuccours to be given to the States General, above the numbers ſpecified

ſpecified in the ſaid treaties, or to aſſiſt them with their whole force, the ſaid high contracting parties will concert together upon all that may be neceſſary relative to ſuch augmentation of ſuccours to be agreed on, and to the employment of their reſpective forces for the ſecurity and defence of the ſaid republic.

In caſe either of the ſaid high contracting parties ſhould, at any time hereafter, be attacked, moleſted, or diſturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, poſſeſſions, or intereſts, in any manner whatever, by ſea or by land, by any other power, in conſequence and in hatred of the articles or ſtipulations contained in the ſaid treaties, or of the meaſures to be taken by the ſaid contracting parties reſpectively, in virtue of thoſe treaties, the other contracting party engages to ſuccour and aſſiſt him againſt ſuch attack, in the ſame manner, and by the ſame ſuccours as are ſtipulated in the third and fourth articles of the preſent treaty; and the ſaid contracting parties promiſe, in all ſimilar caſes, to maintain and guaranty each other in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions, towns, and places, which belonged to them reſpectively, before the commencement of ſuch hoſtilities.

Article VI. The preſent treaty of defenſive alliance ſhall be ratified by each party, and the ratification ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten, being authoriſed by the full powers of their Majeſties the Kings of Great Britain and of Pruſſia, have in their names ſigned the preſent treaty, and have thereto ſet the ſeals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the thirteenth of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L. S.) JOSEPH EWART.
(L. S.) EWALD FREDERIC COMTE DE HERTZBERG.

Note delivered by the Pruſſian Ambaſſador *to the* Diet *at* Warſaw, *and read at their* 20th *meeting.*

THE underſigned Envoy Extraordinary of his Pruſſian Majeſty having ſent the King, his maſter, the anſwer, which his Majeſty the King of Poland and the confederated States of the Diet communicated on the 20th of October, to the declaration of the 12th of the ſame month, he has given him expreſs orders to teſtify to the Illuſtrious States of the Diet of Poland, the ſtrongeſt ſatisfaction which his Majeſty feels in obſerving, by this anſwer, that they ſecond his favourable ſentiments for maintaining the privileges of the Republic, and which alſo aſſures him, that the project of an alliance between Ruſſia and Poland (which his Majeſty the King of Poland, and his Miniſter at the Court, had made a propoſition of) had not been in any manner an act of the preſent Confederate Diet, who were ſolely occupied in the augmentation of the army and revenues of the State.

At the ſame time that the King finds in this anſwer an agreeable and convincing proof of the wiſdom which directs all the reſolutions of the preſent Diet, he learns with an equal ſatisfaction, that the Illuſtrious States, faithful to their conſtitution, have in their ſeſſion of the 3d of November, by a public ſanction, and inveſted with all conſtitutional formalities, regulated the

command of their military force, in such a manner, as to assure to the Republic its independence, and remove from it the possibility of abuse of power, of despotism, and of all foreign influence, which every other regulation made it susceptible of.

His Majesty thought himself secure in the known prudence and firmness of the States of the Diet, who would never permit any thing to prevent a regulation which does so much honour to their wise foresight; by the consideration of a particular guarantee to the former constitution, as if the Republic should not have power to amend the form of its government in the new situation of circumstances in which it absolutely is at present; a guarantee, which is not conformable to the treaty of 1773, on which only the guarantees are founded, and which was signed in the Diet of 1775 by one power only, who contradicted it soon after.

The King continues firmly resolved to fulfil his promises towards the Illustrious Republic, of an alliance and general guarantee, especially to secure its independence without ever intermeddling in its interior affairs, or wishing to trouble the freedom of its deliberations and resolutions, which on the contrary he will support with all his efforts.

His Majesty is flattered, that the Illustrious States of the present Diet are convinced of the uprightness and purity of these assurances, and of his friendly sentiments for the Republic, without suffering any sinister insinuations to prevail upon them, by those who only seek to propagate a spirit of party under the cloke of patriotism, and who, in reality, have no other design than to take off the Republic from the Court of Prussia, its most ancient ally.

The King, by his declaration of the 12th of October, and by the present, which has been transmitted to the Russian Minister at Berlin, could not think of expressing in an equivocal manner his sentiments for the safety and welfare of the Republic, which no consideration whatever shall divert him from.

His Majesty hopes also that the Confederated States of the Republic will give to this new declaration all the attention and consideration which it merits, from the purest and most sincere sentiments of friendship and good neighbourhood, and the unequivocal wishes he entertains for the prosperity of the Republic

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLTZ.

Warsaw, Nov. 19, 1788.

The States have replied to his last declaration:

They declare, "That if their past resolutions in deciding for a separate commission of the war department have met with the good wishes of the King of Prussia, they hope their subsequent deliberations on the same subject will ensure them in future. It is by such a conduct, that the Republic wishes to assure the King, how much they esteem his wisdom and approbation, as well as establish the safety of the Republic, which, his Majesty so kindly says, is superior to other important considerations.

"The King of Prussia having declared himself ready to fulfil his engagements of alliance and guarantee with the States, the nation accepts it with a reciprocal desire and gratitude. His Majesty, in offering such generous and friendly terms, establishes for ever that high opinion which the Polish nation entertains of his magnanimity and character.

STANISLAUS MALACHOWSKI.
PRINCE SAPICHA.

Warsaw, Dec. 8, 1788."

A Bill,

A Bill, intituled, An Act to provide for the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and for the Administration of the Royal Authority, during the Continuance of his Majesty's Illness.

WHEREAS, by reason of the severe indisposition with which it hath pleased God to afflict the King's most Excellent Majesty, the personal exercise of the royal authority by his Majesty is for the present so far interrupted that it becomes necessary to make provision for assisting his Majesty in the administration and exercise of the royal authority during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the nation, require; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall have full power and authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and under the stile and title of Regent of this kingdom, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, the royal power and authority to the Crown of Great Britain belonging, and to use, execute, and perform all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which lawfully belong to the King of this realm to use, execute and perform, subject to such limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions, as are herein-after specified and contained.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no acts of regal power, prerogative, government, or administration of government, of what kind or nature soever, which might lawfully be done or executed by the King's most Excellent Majesty, personally exercising his royal authority, shall, during the continuance of the Regency by this act established, be valid and effectual, unless done and executed in the name, and on the behalf, of his Majesty, by the authority of the said Regent, according to the provisions of this act, and subject to the limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions, herein contained.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent, before he shall act, or enter upon his said office of Regent, shall take the following oath of office:

"I do solemnly promise and "swear, that I will truly and faith- "fully execute the office of Regent "of the kingdom of Great Britain, "according to an act of parliament "passed in the twenty-ninth year of "the reign of his Majesty King "George the Third, intituled, An "act to provide for the care of his "Majesty's royal person, and for the "administration of the royal autho- "rity during the continuance of his "Majesty's illness; and that I will "administer, according to law, the "power and authority vested in "me by virtue of the said act, and "will, in all things, to the utmost "of my power and ability, consult "and maintain the safety, honour, "and dignity of his Majesty, and "the welfare of his people.

"So help me God."

Which oath ſhall be taken before his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, who are hereby required and impowered to adminiſter the ſame, and to enter the ſame in the books of the ſaid privy council.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid Regent ſhall be deemed and taken to be a perſon having and executing an office and place of truſt within England, and ſhall take and ſubſcribe ſuch oaths, and make and ſubſcribe ſuch declaration, and do all ſuch acts as are required by the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom to qualify perſons to hold offices and places of truſt, and to continue in the ſame, in ſuch manner as in and by the ſaid laws and ſtatutes are required, and under ſuch pains, penalties, forfeitures, and diſabilities, as are therein and thereby appointed and ordained.

And be it alſo enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Regent to take and ſubſcribe ſuch oaths, and make and ſubſcribe ſuch declaration, in and before his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council; and that the certificate of his having received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper in any of the royal chapels, ſigned by the perſon adminiſtering the ſame, ſhall be regiſtered in the books of the ſaid moſt honourable privy council; and that ſuch taking and ſubſcribing the ſaid oaths, and making and ſubſcribing the ſaid declaration, and taking the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper as aforeſaid, ſhall be, to all intents and purpoſes, as effectual as if the ſame had been reſpectively taken, made, and ſubſcribed in the manner now required by law for the qualification of perſons to hold offices and places of truſt, and to continue in the ſame.

And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that nothing in this act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to impower the ſaid Regent, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majeſty, to give the royal aſſent to any bill or bills in parliament, for repealing, changing, or in any reſpect varying the order and courſe of ſucceſſion to the crown of this realm, as the ſame ſtands now eſtabliſhed in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, by an act, paſſed in the twelfth year of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject; or to any act for repealing or altering the act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An act for the uniformity of public prayers and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of England; or the act of the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne, made in Scotland, intituled, An act for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and preſbyterian church government.

Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if his ſaid Royal Highneſs George Auguſtus Frederick, Prince of Wales, ſhall not continue to be reſident in Great Britain, or ſhall, at any time, marry a papiſt, then, and in either of ſuch caſes, all the powers and authorities veſted in his ſaid Royal Highneſs, by virtue of this act, ſhall ceaſe and determine.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that his Royal Highneſs ſhall not have or exerciſe any power or authority

to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, any rank, title, or dignity, of the peerage of this realm, by letters patent, writ of ſummons, or in any other manner whatever, or to ſummon any perſon to the Houſe of Lords by any title to which ſuch perſon ſhall be the heir apparent, or to appoint any ſuch rank, title, or dignity, which now is, or hereafter ſhall be, in abeyance, to any of the coheirs thereof.

Provided nevertheleſs, and be it enacted, that it ſhall be lawful for his ſaid Royal Highneſs to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, any rank, title, or dignity, of the peerage of this realm, to ſuch of his Majeſty's royal iſſue as ſhall have attained the full age of twenty-one years.

Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid Regent ſhall not have power or authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, any office or employment whatever in reverſion, or to grant for any longer term than during his Majeſty's pleaſure, any office, employment, ſalary, or penſion, whatever; ſave only that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Regent to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, all ſuch offices and employments in poſſeſſion, for the term of the natural life, or during the good behaviour, of the grantee or grantees thereof reſpectively, as by law muſt be ſo granted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid Regent ſhall not have power, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, to make any gift, grant, alienation, leaſe, or other aſſurance, to any perſon or perſons, body politic or corporate, whatever, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, exchequer ſeal, ſeals of the duchy or county palatine of Lancaſter, or any of them, or by copy of court roll, or otherwiſe, of any manors, meſſuages, lands, tenements, rents, tythes, woods, or other hereditaments, now belonging or hereafter to belong to his Majeſty, or to any perſon or perſons in truſt for his Majeſty, in poſſeſſion, reverſion, remainder, uſe, or expectancy, whether the ſame be, or ſhall be, in right of the crown of Great Britain, or as part of the principality of Wales, or of the duchy or county palatine of Lancaſter, or otherwiſe howſoever, whereby any eſtate or intereſt whatſoever, in law or equity, ſhall or may paſs from his Majeſty; but that every ſuch gift, grant, alienation, leaſe, or other aſſurance, ſhall be null and void, without any inquiſition, *ſcire facias*, or other proceeding, to determine and make void the ſame, unleſs ſuch grant, leaſe, or aſſurance, ſhall be made of ſuch lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and none other, as have been uſually demiſed within the ſpace of ten years laſt paſt, or ſhall be made for the renewing of any grant, leaſe, or other aſſurance, now ſubſiſting of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments aforeſaid, according to the ſeveral proviſions, regulations, and reſtrictions of an act, paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of Queen Anne, intituled, An act for the better ſupport of her Majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown: provided always, that this act, or any thing herein contained, ſhall not extend to diſable the ſaid Regent to make any grant or reſtitution of any eſtate or eſtates hereafter to be forfeited

for

for any treaſon or felony whatever; or to diſable the ſaid Regent to grant, demiſe, or aſſign any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which ſhall be ſeized or taken into his Majeſty's hands upon any outlawry, at the ſuit of his Majeſty or his ſubjects, in ſuch manner as hath been uſual; or any eſtate whatever, which is or ſhall be ſeized, extended, or taken in execution, for any debt owing or to be due to the Crown, as the ſaid Regent, on the behalf of his Majeſty, ſhall think fit; or to make any grants or admittances, which of right or cuſtom ought to be made, of any copyhold or cuſtomary lands, tenements, or hereditaments, parcel of any manor or manors of his Majeſty.

And be it alſo enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid Regent ſhall not have power to grant or alienate any part of the perſonal eſtate to his Majeſty belonging, but that every ſuch grant or alienation ſhall be void and of none effect. Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to diſable the ſaid Regent from exerciſing, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, all and every the rights, privileges, powers, and prerogatives, over the ſmall branches of his Majeſty's hereditary revenue herein-after mentioned; that is to ſay, the monies ariſing by fines for writs of covenant, or writs of entry, payable in the alienation office; the monies ariſing by the poſt fines: the monies ariſing by ſheriff's proffers, and compoſitions in the exchequer, and ſeizures of prohibited and uncuſtomed goods, in like manner as the ſame are reſerved to his Majeſty, by virtue of an act, made and paſſed in the firſt year of his Majeſty's reign, intituled, An act for the ſupport of his Majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain; or to diſable the ſaid Regent from remitting, mitigating, or pardoning, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, any penalty or forfeiture incurred, or to be incurred, of any ſum or ſums of money become, or which ſhall become, due or forfeited to his Majeſty, which by law may be remitted, mitigated, or pardoned: provided alſo, that this act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not diſable the ſaid Regent from iſſuing and applying all ſuch monies as now are, or ſhall be applicable to the civil government of the realm, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament made or to be made.

And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſeveral letters patent, letters of privy ſeal, and all other lawful authorities, of what nature or kind ſoever, which have been granted or iſſued by his Majeſty, by virtue whereof any payments of any ſum or ſums of money are directed to be made out of the monies applicable to the uſe of his Majeſty's civil government, for the uſe of the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, or for the uſe of any of the branches of his Majeſty's Royal family, ſhall continue to be, and the ſame are hereby enacted to continue to be of full force and effect reſpectively, during the continuance of the Regency by this act eſtabliſhed; and that warrants ſhall be iſſued by the lord high treaſurer, or lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, for the payment of the ſeveral ſums therein reſpectively contained, which warrants the ſaid lord high treaſurer, or lords commiſſioners of

of the treaſury, are hereby reſpectively required to iſſue at the uſual and accuſtomed times, and in the uſual and accuſtomed manner.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the lord high treaſurer, or the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, ſhall from time to time direct ſo much of the monies of the civil liſt revenues to be iſſued at the receipt of the exchequer, as ſhall be ſufficient to pay the whole of the expences incurred in each quarter, in the ſeveral departments of his Majeſty's houſehold, in the ſame order, and in like manner as is directed by an act, made in the twenty-ſecond year of his Majeſty's reign, intituled, An act for enabling his Majeſty to diſcharge the debt contracted upon his civil liſt revenues, and for preventing the ſame from being in arrear for the future, by regulating the mode of payments out of the ſaid revenues, and by ſuppreſſing or regulating certain offices therein mentioned, which are now paid out of the revenues of the civil liſt; provided that the whole amount of ſuch expences, at the end of each quarter, ſhall not exceed, by more than three thouſand pounds, the amount of the expences of the ſaid departments at the end of the correſponding quarter in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight, and that the whole of the expence of any one year, from the fifth day of January to the fifth day of January in the ſucceeding year, ſhall not exceed the whole expence of the ſaid departments in the year ending on the fifth day of January one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, to make any ſuch grant or grants of, or charge or charges upon, the ſeveral and reſpective duties and revenues which are payable to his Majeſty in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as his Majeſty can now lawfully make of ſuch duties and revenues; ſave and except, that it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid Regent to make any grant or grants thereof, or charge or charges thereupon, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, for any longer time or term than during the pleaſure of his Majeſty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the lord high treaſurer, or lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, ſhall direct, and they are hereby required annually to direct, on or before the twenty-ſeventh day of April, the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds to be iſſued out of the monies of the civil liſt revenue, to the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe for the time being; and that the ſaid keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe ſhall be, and he is hereby authoriſed and directed, during the continuance of the Regency by this act eſtabliſhed, to iſſue and apply the ſum of twelve thouſand pounds in the year, in ſuch yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly payments, to ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner, as he has iſſued and applied the ſame by the authority and direction of his Majeſty; and that he ſhall pay, and he is hereby authoriſed and directed to pay, the ſum of one thouſand pounds, at the expiration of each and every quarter, to ſuch perſon as her moſt Excellent Majeſty the Queen ſhall, by an inſtrument ſigned and ſealed by her Majeſty, authoriſe and direct

to

to receive the ſame, to be by her Majeſty's direction applied in ſuch gifts, charities, and allowances, as her Majeſty may judge the ſame would have been applied to by his Majeſty, and that the remainder of the aforeſaid ſum ſhall be inveſted by the ſaid keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe in ſome of the public funds or government ſecurities, in the name of the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe for the time being, in truſt for his Majeſty; and that the net ſurplus of the revenues of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaſter ſhall be from time to time paid, under the order of the chancellor and council of the ſaid duchy, into the hands of the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe, whoſe receipt ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge for the ſame, and ſhall by him be inveſted in ſome of the public funds or government ſecurities, in manner aforeſaid; and that the governor and company of the Bank of England ſhall place the ſaid ſeveral ſums on an account, to be raiſed in the books of the ſaid governor and company, intituled, The account of the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe; and that upon the death, reſignation, or removal, of the preſent and every other keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe, hereafter to be appointed, all and every the ſaid ſtock or ſtocks, and ſum or ſums of money ariſing from the dividends which ſhall accrue thereon, ſhall immediately veſt in the ſucceſſor of the preſent or any future keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe reſpectively; and the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe for the time being is hereby required to lay out and inveſt the dividends, ſo accruing as aforeſaid, from time to time, in the purchaſe of other ſtocks and ſecurities on the like account; and that the keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe for the time being ſhall, from time to time, execute declarations of truſt of all ſuch funds and ſecurities, declaring that the ſame are held in truſt for his Majeſty by inſtruments to be executed under his hand and ſeal, to be depoſited with her Majeſty.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe ſhall, on or before the twenty-ſeventh day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety, and on or before the twenty-ſeventh day of April in every ſucceeding year, during the continuance of this act, take an oath before the barons of the exchequer, or one of them, in the form following:

"I A. B. do ſwear, that, according to the beſt of my knowledge, belief, or information, no part of the money which has been iſſued to me for the ſervice of his Majeſty's privy purſe, by virtue of an act, intituled, An act to provide for the care of his Majeſty's Royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the Royal authority, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs; between the day of and the day of has been applied, directly or indirectly, for the benefit, uſe, or behoof, of any member of the houſe of commons, or, ſo far as I am concerned, applicable, directly or indirectly, to the purpoſe of ſupporting or procuring an intereſt in any place returning members to Parliament, So help me God."

And whereas it is neceſſary that proper proviſion ſhould be made for the care of his Majeſty's Royal perſon,

ſon, during the continuance of his illneſs, and for the direction and government of his Majeſty's houſehold, in ſuch manner as the circumſtances of the caſe at preſent appear to require; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the care of his Majeſty's Royal perſon, during the continuance of his ſaid illneſs, and the diſpoſing, ordering, and managing, of all matters and things relating thereto, and alſo the direction and government of his Majeſty's houſehold, ſhall be, and the ſame are hereby veſted in the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty; and that her ſaid Majeſty ſhall have the full and ſole power and authority, by an inſtrument in writing, ſigned and ſealed by her Majeſty, to nominate, appoint, or remove, the lord ſteward of his Majeſty's houſehold, the lord chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold, the maſter of the horſe to his Majeſty, and the maſter of the robes, and keeper of his Majeſty's privy purſe, the groom of the ſtole, the gentlemen and grooms of his Majeſty's bedchamber, and the ſeveral officers in the reſpective departments aforeſaid, whoſe appointment, nomination, or removal, have been heretofore made by his Majeſty; and that the nomination and appointment of her Majeſty, in the manner and form aforeſaid, ſhall be valid and effectual, to all intents and purpoſes, as if the ſame had been made or done by his Majeſty in the accuſtomed manner; and that the ſeveral perſons ſo appointed ſhall be entitled to the like precedence, privileges, ſalaries, wages, profits, and all other emoluments, as the ſeveral perſons now holding and enjoying the ſaid offices are reſpectively entitled to.

And whereas the execution of the weighty and arduous truſts hereby committed to the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, in reſpect of the care of his Majeſty's Royal perſon, and of the diſpoſing, ordering, and managing, of all matters and things relating thereto, may require the aſſiſtance of a council, with whom her Majeſty may conſult and adviſe in the diſcharge of the ſame; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that, in order to aſſiſt and adviſe her ſaid moſt Excellent Majeſty in the ſeveral matters aforeſaid, there ſhall be, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs, a council, conſiſting of John Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edward Lord Thurlow, William Lord Archbiſhop of York, Lloyd Lord Kenyon; the Lord Steward of his Majeſty's houſehold for the time being; the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold for the time being; the Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty for the time being; and the Firſt Gentleman of the bedchamber, and Groom of the Stole to his Majeſty for the time being; which council ſhall, from time to time, meet, as her Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to direct; and if it ſhould happen that any of them the ſaid John Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edward Lord Thurlow, William Lord Archbiſhop of York, and Lloyd Lord Kenyon, ſhould depart this life, then, and in ſuch caſe, it ſhall be lawful for the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by an inſtrument in writing, ſigned and ſealed by her Majeſty, revokable at her will and pleaſure, to nominate and appoint ſome one perſon, being or having been a member of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, to be a member of the ſaid council, to adviſe and aſſiſt her Majeſty as aforeſaid, in the room and place

of

of each and every of the said counsellors so departing this life; which nomination and appointment shall be forthwith certified by an instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her Majesty, to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and shall be entered in the books thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each and every such counsellor shall, within the space of one month after his appointment by virtue of this act, or by virtue of her Majesty's nomination and appointment, in manner aforesaid, take the following oath before his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; who are hereby required and impowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the books of the said Privy Council:

"I A. B. do solemnly promise "and swear, that I will truly and "faithfully counsel and advise the "Queen's most Excellent Majesty, "according to the best of my judg-"ment, in all matters touching the "care of his Majesty's Royal person, "and the disposing, ordering, and "managing all things relating "thereto.

"So help me God."

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said council, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority at all times, when they shall judge it necessary, to call before them, and to examine upon oath, the physicians, and all other persons attendant on his Majesty during the continuance of his illness, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relating thereto; which oath any member of the said council is hereby authorized and impowered to administer.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person, being a member of the House of Commons, shall accept of any office of profit from the Crown, by the nomination and appointment of her Majesty the Queen, by virtue of this act, or by the said Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, during the continuance of the Regency hereby established, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be void, and a new writ shall issue for a new election, in such and the like manner as if such person had been appointed to such office by his Majesty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if her Majesty the Queen shall depart this life during the time that the care of his Majesty's Royal person shall be committed to her Majesty, according to the provisions of this act, the said Regent shall forthwith order and direct a proclamation, under the great seal of Great Britain, to be issued and published, declaring the same, and, in case the parliament then in being shall then be separated by any adjournment or prorogation, directing that the said parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, or, if there shall be no parliament in being, then, and in such case, directing that the members of the last preceding parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members, so meeting and sitting, shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had not been dissolved; but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so meet,

meet, and that they shall be subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved.

And be it also further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, until due provision shall in such case have been made by parliament for the care of his Majesty's Royal person, all and every the powers and authorities in and by this act vested in her Majesty, touching the care of his Majesty's Royal person, and the disposing, ordering, and managing of all matters and things relating thereto, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the council in and by this act appointed to assist and advise her Majesty in the execution of the trusts to her said Majesty committed by virtue of this act: provided nevertheless, that in such case nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to impower the said Regent, or the said council, to nominate, appoint, or remove any of the several officers of his Majesty's household herein mentioned, until due provision shall have been made by parliament in that behalf.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall depart this life during the continuance of the Regency by this act established, the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council shall forthwith cause a proclamation to be issued in his Majesty's name, under the great seal of Great Britain, declaring the same, and, in case the Parliament then in being shall then be separated by any adjournment or prorogation, directing that the said Parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, or, if there shall be no Parliament in being, then and in such case directing that the members of the last preceding Parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members so meeting and sitting shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had not been dissolved, but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so meet.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when it shall appear to her Majesty the Queen, and to five of the council appointed by this act to assist her Majesty in the execution of the trust committed to her Majesty by this act, that his Majesty is restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of the Royal authority, it shall and may be lawful for her said Majesty, by the advice of five of her said council, to notify the same, by an instrument under her Majesty's hand, and signed also by the said five of her Majesty's said council, and addressed to the Lord President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council for the time being, or, in his absence, to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, shall, and is hereby required, on the receipt thereof, to communicate the same to the said Regent, and to summon forthwith a Privy Council; and the members of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council are hereby required to assemble in consequence of such summons; and the said Lord President, or, in his absence, the said Secretary of State, is required, in the presence of any six or more Privy Counsellors so assembled, to cause the said instrument

ment to be entered on the books of the said privy council, and immediately thereafter to send a copy of such instrument to the Lord Mayor of the city of London, and likewise to cause the same to be printed in the London Gazette.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if at any time after the said instrument under the hand of her Majesty, and of five of her said council, shall have been received and entered as aforesaid, his Majesty shall think proper, by an instrument under his sign manual, to require the Lord President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy council for the time being, or, in his absence, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, to summon a council in his Majesty's presence, consisting of any number of persons not less than nine, whom his Majesty shall name, not being members of the council appointed by this act to assist her Majesty, and who shall be, or shall have been, members of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, shall, and he is hereby required to summom such persons accordingly, and as well the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, as the other persons so summoned, shall, and they are hereby required to attend at the time and place appointed by his Majesty, and such persons so assembled shall be, and be deemed to be, a privy council for the purpose herein-after mentioned.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if his Majesty, by the advice of six of such privy council so assembled, shall signify his Royal pleasure to resume the personal exercise of his Royal authority, and to issue a proclamation declaring the same, such proclamation shall be issued accordingly, countersigned by the said six of the said privy council; and all the powers and authorities given by this act shall from thenceforth cease and determine, and the personal exercise of the Royal authority by his Majesty shall be and be deemed to be resumed by his Majesty, and shall be exercised by his Majesty, to all intents and purposes, as if this act had never been made.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if the parliament in being at the time of the issuing such proclamation as aforesaid shall then be separated by adjournment or prorogation, the said parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, and if there shall be no parliament in being at the time of issuing such proclamation as aforesaid, then, and in such case, the members of the last preceding parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members so meeting and sitting shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had never been dissolved; but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so meet, and that they shall be subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that so much of this act as provides that the said Regent shall not have power and authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any office or employment whatever in reversion, or to grant for any longer term than during his Majesty's pleasure any office, employment,

ployment, ſalary, or penſion whatever, may be varied or repealed by any act or acts to be made for that purpoſe in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, in ſo far only as relates to the granting of any office, employment, ſalary, or penſion, to any perſon appointed to the office of lord high chancellor of Great Britain; or to any perſon retiring, on account of age or infirmity, from the office of chief juſtice or juſtice of the courts of king's bench or common pleas, or chief baron or baron of the court of exchequer at Weſtminſter.

Provided alſo nevertheleſs, and be it enacted, that the ſaid limitation of the power of the ſaid Regent, with reſpect to the granting, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, any rank, title, or dignity of the peerage of this realm, ſhall continue and be in force for and during the ſpace of three years from the commencement of this act, and no longer.

And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act, and the ſeveral powers and authorities to be exerciſed by virtue of the ſame, ſhall commence and take effect from and after the eighteenth day of February one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Some Account of Dr. Rundle *, Lord Biſhop of* Derry *in* Ireland, *in two of his Lordſhip's Letters to his particular Friends.—From Letters of the late* T. Rundle, LL. D. *to Mrs.* Barbara Sandys.

To the Reverend Dean † Clarke.

Barrington, Sept. 9, 1740.

My dear Friend,

"IF I was not the moſt inactive mortal living, I would quickly come to you at Wincheſter, to aſſure you what eſteem and affection for you have ever been in my heart; but, I believe, I muſt defer my viſit to you till I can pay it in that city (Exeter), where I was educated, and which ſtill continues the delight of my imagination. Though I think it by far the fineſt climate, and moſt agreeable place of reſidence in England, yet it never appeared in ſo fair a light to me, as it will, when I ſee you preſiding in its cathedral. I have ſtill ſome few valuable acquaintance left in that country, who will think themſelves happy in your friendſhip, and rejoice to perform to you all the ſelf-rewarding duties of good neighbourhood; and I am confident they will think themſelves more obliged to me for making them known to you, than for all the other civilities it has ever been in my power to ſhew them.

Your houſe there, as well as I remember, is large, but gloomily ſituated under the ſhadow of the church; crowded with houſes in ſuch a manner, as not to ſuffer you to have any gardens of value; but the variety of public walks round the town, and the beauty of the landſcapes, and the warmth of the air, will make you ample amends for every inconvenience at home, if any ſuch there be. But I am juſt informed that you have not yet taken poſſeſſion of it. Whence this delay? I hope it is not from indifference. If you go down next ſpring, I will offer you my company, if that can make the journey more agreeable.—You will find there every thing that your hoſpitable heart can deſire, in greater plenty, greater elegance, and at leſs expence, than in any city in England, and, I may almoſt ſay, Ireland, if I am not deceived by my memory and my friends. Forgive my indulging myſelf in the praiſes of my firſt love, to one who is to enjoy her beauties, whilſt I am baniſhed to Thulè, far from ſunſhine, and the converſation of thoſe friends, whoſe company would make even Thulè pleaſant,

* *Secker* is decent, *Rundle* has a heart. POPE.

† Of Exeter.

and ſunſhine forgotten. If you have any taſte for gardening, and cultivating and amaſſing any kind of vegetable riches, the trees there ſhoot with a more luxuriant verdure; the flowers glow with warmer colours; and the fruits ripen to a richer flavour, than in any part of this iſland; and the fig and the grape ſcarce deſire better ſkies.

I am glad you are pleaſed with Colonel Folliot; he is a ſenſible, friendly, upright man; indefatigable in obliging thoſe for whom he has conceived an eſteem; and generous to the full extent of his fortune. He has a taſte for the beauties of nature, and indulges himſelf in the enjoyment of every rational amuſement of that kind, which he can purchaſe with diſcretion. You and he have many things in common, in the turn of your indefatigable charity, to relieve the diſtreſſes of mankind; and our hoſpital for invalids, by his dexterity and diligence, was raiſed from being *vox & præterea nihil*, into a comfort for many hundreds of unhappy wretches; and is now an honour to our kingdom; and whilſt it continues ſo, will preſerve to poſterity an account of the fortitude, and virtue, and wiſdom of Folliot.

I intend to continue here till the meeting of the parliament, and then to remove to Mr. John Talbot's, in Red Lion Square. You know me well enough, to be ſure that the chief call I have into England is to enjoy the company of thoſe friends, to whoſe family and affection I owe all the good fortune of my life. Inclination and gratitude united in determining me to undertake my preſent journey. I deſign to continue the winter and ſpring in London, and in the beginning of the ſummer ſee my other friends, and then return to Ireland for ever. I grow too old, and too inactive, to propoſe any future expeditions. I have recovered my health and ſpirits, but not my ſtrength. I am infinitely better than ever I expected, or could even hope for, without preſumption; but yet the effects of a diſtemper, as well as the infirmities of old age, will diſable me from any proſpect of being hereafter fit for any thing, but talking in an elbow chair.

I own to you, my friend, my ſituation in Ireland is as agreeable to me as any poſſibly could be, remote from the early friendſhips of my life. I have been ſerved as Plato in his Commonwealth would have Homer treated; "Firſt," ſays the philoſopher, "do him honours, reward his merit, and then—baniſh him." At Dublin I enjoy the moſt delightful habitation, the fineſt landſcape, and the mildeſt climate, that can be deſcribed or deſired. I have a houſe there rather too elegant and magnificent; in the north an eaſy dioceſe, and a large revenue. I have but thirty-five beneficed clergymen under my care, and they are all regular, decent, and neighbourly: each hath conſiderable and commendable general learning; but not one is eminent for any particular branch of knowledge. And I have rather more curates, who are allowed by their rectors ſuch a ſtipend, as hath, alas! tempted moſt of them to marry; and it is not uncommon to have curates that are fathers of eight or ten children, without any thing but an allowance of forty pounds a year to ſupport them.

The only diſcipline that I have as yet exerted, hath been to diſcard three out of my dioceſe, who, though

refuſed

refuſed certificates by me and my clergy, have obtained good livings in America, and found room for repentance. If their former misfortunes have been a warning to them, I rejoice at their ſucceſs; but if they are once more negligent of their conduct, there is no farther beneficial pardon for their follies in this life, though they ſhould ſincerely ſeek it with tears.

My dean, your kinſman, is much beloved at Derry, and is highly delighted with the preferment. That place was the firſt object of his fondneſs, and agrees with his conſtitution; his wife was born in it, and is related to great numbers near it. He is very generous, and a great economiſt; lives ſplendidly, yet buys eſtates; and equally takes care of his reputation and his family. The income is above 1300l. per ann. but he hath ſeven curates, to whom he is generous. It is a preferment which will increaſe daily, and the outgoings continue the ſame. It is now a clear 1000l. and will next year be probably better. I have only room to aſſure you that I am,

Yours moſt ſincerely,

T. DERRY.

Dr. Rundle had been a valetudinary through life, and his conſtitution, ſoon after this period, was perceptibly yielding to the inveteracy of the chronic diſorder under which he laboured. His life was protracted a few years by medical aſſiſtance. He died at his palace in Dublin on the 14th of April, 1743, ſcarcely ſixty years old. The ſubjoined letter, written a ſhort time before, evinces the firmneſs with which he awaited the hour of diſſolution.

To Archdeacon S.

Dublin, March 22, 1742-3.

Dear Sir,

"ADIEU—for ever—Perhaps I may be alive when this comes to your hands—more probably not;—but in either condition, your ſincere well-wiſher.—Believe me, my friend, there is no comfort in this world, but a life of virtue and piety; and no death ſupportable, but one comforted by Chriſtianity, and its real and rational hope. The firſt, I doubt not, you experience daily—May it be long before you experience the ſecond!—I have lived to be *Conviva ſatur,—paſſed through good report and evil report*;—have not been injured more than outwardly by the laſt, and ſolidly benefited by the former. May all who love the truth in Chriſt Jeſus, and ſincerely obey the Goſpel, be happy! For they deſerve to be ſo, who (ἀληθευειν ἐν ἀγαπῃ) ſeek truth in the ſpirit of love.

Adieu!—I have no more ſtrength.—My affectionate laſt adieu to your lady.

T. DERRY."

Deſcription and Character of the Turks *and* Greeks, *inhabiting the Iſland of* Candia, *(anciently* Crete.)—*From M.* Savary's *Letters on* Greece.

To M. L. M.

"THE beauty of man, Madam, his powers, and his health, depend, in general, on the climate he inhabits, his food, and the nature of his occupations. In Crete,

the Turk, who is not tormented by ambition, or the thirſt of wealth, whoſe mind is never occupied by the chimeras of intrigue, who knows not envy, which debaſes the ſoul, nor exhauſts himſelf in the purſuit of the ſciences, to which we too often ſacrifice our health; the Turk, I ſay, who lives on wholeſome and ſimple aliments, and paſſes his days amid the flowery fields he cultivates, and in the boſom of his family who obey and revere him, grows and riſes into a Coloſſus. The ſalubrity of the air he breathes, the ſweet temperature he enjoys, the delightful ſcenes perpetually before his eyes, and the peaceful life he leads, all contribute to ſtrengthen his body, and preſerve his vigour even beneath the ſnows of age. Hither the ſculptor, devoted to his art, and emulating the ancients, ſhould come in ſearch of models. He would ſee young men of eighteen or twenty, five feet ſix, or eight inches high *, who poſſeſs all the graces peculiar to their time of life. Their muſcles have ſtill a little plumpneſs, which will ſoon aſſume a bolder character; their cheeks, gracefully rounded, diſplay an animated carnation, and their eyes are full of fire; their chin is covered with a light down, never violated by the razor; their air is full of grace and dignity; and their whole carriage, and every geſture, beſpeaks health and vigour.

In men arrived at maturity, the features and outlines are more developed. Their legs are naked; and when their robes are lifted up, the muſcles appear boldly prominent: their arms exhibit thoſe ſigns of ſtrength which were viſible in thoſe of the ancient Athletæ: their ſhoulders are broad, their cheſts full, and their necks, never ſtraightened by the ligatures, which from infancy confine thoſe of the Europeans, retain all the beautiful proportions aſſigned to that part by nature: no tight breeches, or garters, bind their legs below the knee; that part of their leg, therefore, is never diſtorted or contracted, nor is the knee too prominent. In a word, all their limbs, unaccuſtomed to the fetters which confine our motions, and which habit alone could render ſupportable, preſerve their natural form, and that admirable ſymmetry which conſtitutes male beauty. When they ſtand erect, all parts of the body properly ſupport each other. When they walk, they move with an air of dignity, and bodily ſtrength and firmneſs of mind diſplay themſelves in every geſture. Their majeſtic eye announces that they are accuſtomed to command. Pride and ſeverity may ſometimes be apparent in their looks, but meanneſs never.

The Mahometans, who inhabit the iſland of Crete, are ſuch, Madam, as I have here pourtrayed them. They are, in general, from five feet and a half to ſix feet high †. They reſemble the ancient ſtatues; and, in fact, ſuch were the men the artiſts of antiquity took for their models. It is not, therefore, wonderful they ſhould have ſurpaſſed us, having a more beautiful nature from which to copy. One day, as I was walking with an officer in the environs of Canea, he exclaimed, at the ſight of every Turk that paſſed, Oh! were I only permitted to chooſe

* About ſix feet Engliſh.

† French meaſure, anſwering to from five feet eleven inches to ſix feet five Engliſh.

here ſeven hundred men, I ſhould have the fineſt regiment in France!

In a country where the men are ſo remarkable for bodily ſtrength and dignity of aſpect, you may juſtly conclude, Madam, that the women cannot be wanting in beauty and the graces. Their dreſs does not prevent the growth of any part of the body, but is accommodated to thoſe admirable proportions with which the Creator has decorated the moſt lovely of his works. All are not handſome; all do not poſſeſs charms; but ſome of them are extremely beautiful, particularly among the Turks. In general, the Cretan women have a luxuriant boſom; a neck gracefully rounded; black eyes full of fire; a ſmall mouth; a noſe perfectly well made, and cheeks which health tinges with the ſofteſt vermilion. But the oval of their faces is different from that of the women of Europe, and the character of their beauty is peculiar to their nation. I will not attempt a parallel between the two. Whatever is beautiful deſerves our homage, though delicacy of ſentiment ſhould ultimately fix the taſte of a man of juſt feeling.

During the firſt year or two of my travels in the eaſtern countries, accuſtomed as I had been to the elegant head-dreſs of the ladies of France, their curls, and different coloured powder, I could not endure the black hair of the oriental women, and their dreſs ſeemed to me to give them a harſh and forbidding air. So difficult is it for reaſon to diſengage itſelf from the fetters of habit, that I long continued the ſlave of this prejudice. But, after more mature reflection, their long black locks, artificially plaited, without either powder or pomatum, and which neither ſpoil their dreſs, nor ſoil the furniture of their apartments, appeared to me well calculated to heighten their beauty. Their ebon colour ſeemed to give more luſtre to the fairneſs of their complexions, and the glow of their cheeks. The roſe-water, with which they waſh their hair, exhaled an agreeable perfume; and I was delighted with the natural beauty of their treſſes. I then changed my opinion, and could not help wiſhing the European women would not ſpoil one of their moſt charming ornaments with the colours of art, ſo much inferior to thoſe of nature. How much more lovely would the fair beauty appear, adorned with the pale gold of her flowing locks! How would the dark hair of the brunette, arranged with art, ſet off the roſes of her cheeks! Theſe, Madam, are the obſervations of a traveller, who, by comparing the different cuſtoms of nations, has been able to baniſh his prejudices, and is convinced that nature alone is truly beautiful; but he ſets little value on, and entreats your excuſe for, the reflections in which he has here ventured to indulge.

You muſt not be ſurprized, Madam, that I have not mentioned the Greeks who inhabit the iſland of Candia, who partake with the Turks the advantages of a ſerene ſky, a pure air, and happy temperature. They enjoy, indeed, in common with them, theſe precious bleſſings; but they are oppreſſed by tyrants. They live in perpetual anxiety and apprehenſion, and frequently terminate their miſerable lives in deſpair. Excepting the Spachiots, who are leſs expoſed to tyranny, theſe unfortunate beings have neither the lofty ſtature, nor the ſtrength, nor the

beauty of the Turks. The ſtamp of ſervitude is viſible in their faces; their looks are crouching, and their features diſtorted by knavery and meanneſs. Such is the character of thoſe Cretans, who were once ſo jealous of their liberty; thoſe experienced and intrepid warriors, who were courted by all nations; and thoſe friends to the arts, which they cultivated amid their ſhady groves. At preſent, cowardly and indolent, they live in debaſement, and we may read in their degraded countenances, that *they are ſlaves.*

I have the honour to be, &c."

Character of the late Cardinal Polignac.—*From the* * *Eſſays of the Marquis* D'Argenſon, *tranſlated from the French.*

"I See ſometimes the cardinal de Polignac, and he always inſpires me with the ſame ſentiments of admiration and reſpect. He appears to me to be the laſt great prelate of the Gallic church, who profeſſes eloquence in the Latin as well as the French language, and whoſe erudition is very extenſive. He, alone, among the honorary members of the academy of Belles Lettres, underſtands and ſpeaks the language of the learned of which this academy is compoſed; he expreſſes himſelf upon matters of erudition, with a grace and dignity proper and peculiar to himſelf. It may be remembered that M. Boſſuet, whom the cardinal, at that time abby de Polignac, replaced in 1704, at the Academy Francoiſe, was the laſt prelate who had a diſtinguiſhed rank among the theologians and polemical writers. The converſation of the cardinal is equally brilliant and inſtructive: he knows ſomething of every ſubject, and relates with grace and perſpicuity every thing he knows: he ſpeaks upon the ſciences, and upon matters of erudition, as Fontenelle wrote his worlds, in reducing the moſt abſtracted matters to the capacity of the vulgar; and renders them in terms which men of education and refinement uſe in treating familiar ſubjects of ordinary converſation.

Nobody relates more elegantly than the cardinal, and without entreaty; but, in the moſt ſimple narratives, wherein erudition would be inſipid from the mouth of another, it finds graces in his, from the aid of his perſon and elegant pronunciation. Age has deprived him of ſome of theſe advantages, but he preſerves ſtill enough of them, eſpecially when we call to mind the many great occaſions in which his graces and natural talents have ſhone. My uncle, the biſhop of Blois, who was nearly his cotemporary, has frequently ſpoken to me of his younger days. Never was a courſe of ſtudy made with more reputation than his: not only his themes and compoſitions were excellent, but he had time and facility to aſſiſt his fellow-ſtudents, or, rather, to do their duty for them; ſo much ſo, that the four pieces which gained the two premiums and the *acceſſits*, in the college of Harcourt, where he ſtudied, were all compoſed by him. When he was engaged in philoſophy, at the ſame college, he would maintain, in his public theſes, the ſyſtem of Deſ-

* Theſe eſſays were written in 1736, but not publiſhed until lately.

cartes,

cartes, which it was then found difficult to eſtabliſh: he acquitted himſelf with great reputation, and confounded all the partiſans of old opinions. Nevertheleſs, the ancient doctors of the univerſity having taken it ill that he ſhould have combated Ariſtotle, and not having been willing to give a degree to the enemy of the preceptor of Alexander, he conſented to maintain another theſis, in which he read his recantation, and made Ariſtotle triumph over the Carteſians themſelves.

No ſooner was he received doctor in theology, than the cardinal de Bouillon took him to Rome, to the conclave of 1689, wherein the Pope, Alexander VIII. was elected. As ſoon as the abby de Polignac was known in this capital of the Chriſtian world, which was then the centre of the moſt profound erudition and refined policy, he was generally loved and eſteemed. The French cardinals and ambaſſador judged him the moſt proper perſon to make the pope hearken to reaſon upon the articles of the famous aſſembly of the clergy of France in 1682. It was difficult to perſuade the court of Rome to ſwallow this pill; yet the wit and eloquence of the abby de Polignac brought it about: he was charged to carry the news of it to France, and had, on this occaſion, a private audience of Lewis XIV. who ſaid of him, in French, what the pope, Alexander VIII. had ſaid in Italain: *This young man has the art of perſuading you to believe every thing he pleaſes; whilſt he appears at firſt to be of your opinion he is artfully maintaining a contrary one, but he gains his end with ſo much addreſs, that he finiſhes always by convincing you he is right.* He had not yet put the finiſhing ſtroke to this great affair before the pope recalled him to Rome. He aſſiſted again at the conclave wherein Innocent XII. was elected, and he returned to France the following year 1692.

About two years afterwards the king named him ambaſſador to Poland, a very delicate appointment, from the particular circumſtances at that period. John Sobieſki was in a very declining ſtate of health; Lewis XIV. wiſhed not only to preſerve ſome credit in Poland, but to give, for a ſucceſſor to the declining king, a prince devoted to France. The prince of Conti had offered himſelf, and Lewis XIV. charged ſecretly the abby de Polignac to endeavour to get him elected, notwithſtanding the oppoſition to the queen dowager, who was a French woman, but who, with much reaſon, favoured her children, in ſpite of all contrary cabals. The abby, keeping his inſtructions very ſecret, arrived at the court of Sobieſki a year before his death; he delighted all the Polanders by the facility with which he ſpoke Latin; he might have been taken for an envoy from the court of Auguſtus, if he had not been heard to ſpeak French to the queen, who was ſeduced by his wit and appearance; but ſhe could not abandon, on his account, the intereſt of her family. Sobieſki died, and the general diet aſſembled to chuſe a ſucceſſor. The eloquence of the abby de Polignac, the promiſes and hopes with which he allured the Polanders were, at firſt, attended with ſo much ſucceſs, that a great part of the nation, headed by the primate, proclaimed the prince of Conti; but in the ſame moment, the ſums which the elec-

tor of Saxony had distributed, caused a double election, in which this German prince was chosen. Both pretending to the crown, they both arrived to support their party, and continued to employ the means which had, at first, been successful; but those of the elector were more effectual and solid. He had money and even troops; the prince of Conti, on the contrary, after having received kingly honours at the court of France, went on board a French vessel at Dantzick, where he stayed six weeks, but without any other means of proving the legality of his election, than the good face and eloquence of the abby de Polignac. These resources were soon exhausted; the prince of Conti, and even the abby, were obliged to return to France.

Although the court of France was too just and well informed not to perceive that it was not the fault of the ambassador if his mission was not crowned with a more brilliant success, he was, notwithstanding, exiled from Versailles for four years. He employed this time usefully, to encrease his mass of knowledge, which was already very great. Finally, in 1702, he was sent to Rome in quality of auditor of the Rota *. He now found new opportunities of distinguishing himself, and gaining admiration, for which he was recompensed by a nomination to the cardinalship, by James, king of England.

He was upon the point of enjoying the honours of his new rank, when he was recalled to France on account of some very critical circumstances. He was obliged, in 1710, to go with the marshal d'Huxelles to Gertrudenberg, charged by Lewis XIV. to propose to the enemies of this monarch, his submission to the most humiliating conditions, in order to terminate the war. Unhappily all the wit and eloquence of the future cardinal was there ineffectual. At length, after two years were elapsed, he was named plenipotentiary to the famous congress of Utrecht; it must be remarked that he was at that time named, at Rome, cardinal *in petto*, and, though all the people knew who he was, he did not appear as an ecclesiastic, either in dress or title: his dress was secular, and he was called the Compte de Polignac. It was in this situation of an *incognito*, that he was present at all the negociations of Utrecht, to the moment of signing the treaty; he then declared it was not possible for him to sign the exclusion of a monarch from his throne, to whom he was indebted for the cardinal's hat; he withdrew, and came to enjoy, at the court of France, the honours of the cardinalship.

* The name of an ecclesiastical court at Rome, composed of twelve prelates, one of whom must be a German, another a Frenchman, and two of them Spaniards; the other eight are Italians, three of whom must be Romans, and the remaining five, a Bolognese, a Ferraran, a Milanese, a Venetian, and a Tuscan.

This is one of the most august tribunals in Rome, and takes cognizance, by appeal, of all suits in the territory of the church; as also, of all matters beneficiary and patrimonial.

TRANSLATOR.

The

The new political ſyſtem which was adopted, after the death of Lewis XIV. exiled him to his abby of Anchin, in Flanders. Theſe good Flemiſh monks trembled to ſee him arrive in their monaſtery; but they were afflicted even to deſpair when he left them, after the death of the cardinal Dubois and of the regent. They were not capable of appreciating his wit, nor of underſtanding his erudition; but they had found him mild and amiable, and ſo far from plundering them, he embelliſhed their church, and re-eſtabliſhed their houſe.

He was obliged to return to Rome at the death of Clement XI. and he aſſiſted at the conclaves wherein Innocent XIII. Benoit XIII. and Clement XII. were elected. During the two firſt pontificates he was charged with the affairs of France at that court. This city was ever the fineſt theatre of his glory: one would have thought its ancient grandeur entered with him into the capital. On his part, when he returned, he appeared charged with the ſpoils of Rome, ſubdued by his wit and eloquence; and it may literally be ſaid, that, in his laſt journey, he tranſported a part of ancient Rome to Paris, by placing in his hotel a collection of antique ſtatues and monuments taken from the palaces of the firſt emperors.

I cannot ſee the cardinal de Polignac without recollecting all he has done and learned for ſixty years paſt; I remain as it were in ecſtaſy, when near him, and in the greateſt admiration of every thing he ſays. It is obſerved that his manner is become old as well as his perſon; it is true that his tone has outlived the mode. But is it not becauſe we have abſolutely loſt the habitude of hearing the language of ſcience and erudition, that the cardinal begins to be tireſome to us? for, otherwiſe, nobody treats theſe matters with leſs pedantry than he does: if he quotes, it is always *a-propos*, becauſe, having a prodigious memory, it furniſhes him with what is neceſſary to ſupport converſation in every point, let the ſubject be what it may. For my part, who have finiſhed my ſtudies, but who have yet a great deal to learn, I declare I never received more agreeable leſſons than thoſe he gives in converſation.

Being a good deal taken up about the cardinal, I have juſt read his diſcourſe of admiſſion at the Academy Francoiſe, in 1704. Nothing can be more elegant and noble; and this immenſe collection, begun almoſt an hundred years ago, contains no diſcourſe equal to his: it is the moſt perfect model for thoſe who have a like taſk to fulfil, obſerving always that the academician, whom they ſucceed, and the circumſtances in which this kingdom is, at the time they ſpeak, may infinitely increaſe the difficulties of it. The abby de Polignac had difficulties to encounter, but he got over them in ſuch a manner as gained him univerſal applauſe; and, had it been cuſtomary at that time, the academy would have rung with their plaudits.

The cardinal has a pupil and friend, thirty years younger than himſelf, who, conſequently, cannot be reproached with having manners different from the faſhion: this is the abby de Rothelin. He has a good deal of wit, a ſtrong memory, and much knowledge, but not ſo extenſive as that of the cardinal; he ſpent with him ſeveral years at Rome,

and

and has been twice his conclaviſt. There he ſaw what honour erudition conferred on the cardinal; he endeavoured to tread in his ſteps, and is become, like him, a member of the Academy Francoiſe, and honorary of that, *des Inſcriptions* and *des Belles Lettres*. But his eloquence is neither ſo natural or noble, as that of his maſter. He has more vivacity in converſation, which ſparkles with more ſtrokes of wit; he has, perhaps, received more from nature than the cardinal, but he does not know how to employ ſo well what was acquired from others, nor to reap the fruit of his ſtudies.

The cardinal has undertaken a Latin poem, which he intitles *Anti-Lucretius*, and is a refutation of the ſyſtem of materialiſts. He recites paſſages from it to perſons whom he thinks capable of judging of their merit; and his eminence has done me the honour to repeat ſeveral of them.

They are admirable paintings and deſcriptions. If one knows the Latin ever ſo little, and remembers the authors of the Auguſtan age, he would imagine that he read them over again by hearing theſe paſſages. But a poem againſt Lucretius, of equal length with the original, and divided into nine books, requires the life of a man to carry it to perfection. The cardinal began too late, and cannot flatter himſelf with the hope of living to finiſh it. It is ſaid he means to charge the abby de Rothelin with this taſk, who, from vanity, will not refuſe it, and will think it an honour to put the work of his reſpectable friend in a ſtate to appear before the public. But, to this end, the aid of ſome able profeſſor of the univerſity will be neceſſary; the abby will never accompliſh it of himſelf. Moreover, when the Anti-Lucretius appears, it will undoubtedly do honour to the cardinal's abilities, as well as the abby's, and even thoſe perſons who ſhall have aſſiſted him in finiſhing it. But who, at preſent, will read a Latin poem entirely philoſophical, of five or ſix thouſand lines? Scarcely would a tranſlation of it, in proſe or verſe, be turned over. Greek is entirely forgotten; it is to be feared the Latin will ſoon be ſo, and that the cardinal de Polignac, the abby de Rothelin, and a certain M. le Beau, coming up in the univerſity, will be called *the laſt of the Romans*. Even the Jeſuits begin to neglect Latin; they find it more eaſy to write in French; this gains them more honour and profit.

The figure of the cardinal and that of the abby are ſtill more different than their turn of mind. That of the firſt is elegant and noble, and announces what he is, and has been. If we were to paint from idea a great prelate, a learned cardinal, a wiſe and worthy ambaſſador, a famous Roman orator, we ſhould ſeize the features of the cardinal de Polignac. The abby de Rothelin has, on the contrary, a fine and ſenſible countenance, but appears to have delicate lungs; his figure is agreeable, but quite modern; that of the cardinal is, at preſent, a beautiful and precious antique."

Character of Fontenelle, Monteſquieu, *and* Henault.—*From the ſame.*

"IF I have received ſome reproaches upon my pretended indifference for people with whom I live

I live habitually, three of them deſerve many more, and I do not eſteem them leſs on this account—their names are well known in the world, ſince the firſt is M. de Fontenelle, the ſecond the preſident de Monteſquieu, and the third, the preſident Henault. The firſt is charged with and convicted of a kind of apathy, perhaps blameable with reſpect to others, but excellent for his own preſervation; being taken up with himſelf only, and amiable enough to make others concerned for his welfare, he has by managing his weak and delicate conſtitution, always indulging his eaſe, puſhed his career to eighty years of age, with the pleaſing hope of ſeeing the whole revolution of the century. Each year gives him a new degree of merit, and adds to the intereſt his friends have in his exiſtence. They look upon him as one of thoſe maſter-pieces of art, carefully and delicately wrought, and preciouſly preſerved, becauſe it is impoſſible to make their equal. He makes us not only recollect the brilliant age of Lewis XIV. the end of which ſome of us ſaw, but alſo the wit of Buiſerade, Saint-Evremont, Scudery, and the tone of the hotel de Rambouillet, the air of which we may believe he has breathed upon the ſpot. He has this tone, but ſoftened, improved, and adapted to the preſent age, leſs obſcure and pedantic than that of the Beaux-Eſprits, which founded the Academy; leſs finical than that of Julie d'Augennes, and his mother. His converſation is highly agreeable, mixed with ſentiments leſs refined than ſtriking, and with pleaſing anecdotes, without being ſatirical, becauſe they never relate but to literature or gallantry, and ſociety. All his tales are ſhort, and for this reaſon more ſtriking; they finiſh by ſomething witty, which is a neceſſary condition of ſuch narratives. The eulogiums which he pronounces at the Academy of Sciences, have in them the ſame ſpirit as his converſation; they are conſequently delightful; but I do not know if his manner of preſenting them be ſuch a one as he ought to make uſe of: he attaches himſelf to the perſons of academicians, ſtrives to characteriſe, to paint them; even enters into details of their private life; and as he is an agreeable painter, his portraits are admired: but might not ſome of them be compared to fine engravings, found at the head of the works of certain heroes? they preſent us with their phyſiognomy, but leave us with a wiſh that they had done ſomething more.

It ſeems to me that the eulogium of an academician, ſhould be the extract or crayon only of his academical works. It may be objected to this, that there are academicians whoſe works and talents furniſh not matter of great eulogium: but on one hand, even the barrenneſs or refuſal of eulogiums, is one means of preventing the Academy from admitting ſubjects incapable of doing it much honour: on the other, the protection which thoſe who are honorary members only, have granted to the ſciences, the favours they have procured for the learned, may be advantageouſly ſpoken of in their behalf, and at leaſt their zeal applauded.—It muſt, however, be agreed, that Fontenelle in artfully paſſing over the dryneſs of matters to which thoſe who were the ſubjects of his encomium applied themſelves, ſays generally what is neceſſary. It is

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to be feared, his ſucceſſors and imitators will find it eaſieſt to ſpeak but little upon the ſubject, otherwiſe they will fail in it entirely.

To return to the perſonality of Fontenelle, we know he loves nothing to a great degree; but I pardon him his indifference, and love him better on account of it; we love him for himſelf only, without requiring a return or being flattered by it.—We may ſay of him what Madame de Deffant ſaid of her cat—"I love her exceedingly, becauſe ſhe is the moſt amiable creature in the world; but I trouble myſelf little about the degree of affection ſhe has for me: I ſhould be very ſorry to loſe her, becauſe I feel that I manage and perpetuate my pleaſures, by employing my cares to prolong her exiſtence."

The preſident de Monteſquieu is not ſo old as Fontenelle, but has full as much wit, although of quite another kind—it ſeems as if more ought to be expected in ſociety from the preſident, becauſe he is more lively, even appears more active, more ſuſceptible of enthuſiaſm. At bottom, theſe two minds are tempered alike; Monteſquieu never makes himſelf uneaſy for any body, he has no ambition on his own account; he reads, travels, and gathers knowledge; at length he writes, and ſolely for his pleaſure. Being a man of great ſenſe, he makes an agreeable uſe of what he knows, but there is more wit in his books than in his converſation, becauſe he is never anxious to ſhine in it. He has preſerved the Gaſcon accent, which he has from his country (Bourdeaux) and thinks it in ſome meaſure beneath him to ſtrive to get rid of it. He is careleſs in his ſtyle, which is more ingenious and ſometimes more nervous than pure; there is no order nor method in his works, which are for this reaſon more brilliant than inſtructive. He had an early taſte for a kind of bold philoſophy, which he has combined with French gaiety and levity, and which has made his *Lettres Perſannes* truly a delightful work. But if on one hand, this book has been much admired, it has on the other, been juſtly complained of; there are paſſages which a man of wit may eaſily conceive, but ſuch as a prudent man ought never to let appear in print: theſe paſſages have, notwithſtanding, eſtabliſhed the reputation of the book and the author. He would not have been of the Academy without this work, which ought to have excluded him from it. The cardinal de Fleury, ſo prudent in other reſpects, ſhewed on this occaſion a puſillanimity which may be attended with great conſequences. The preſident reſigned his employment, that his non-reſidence at Paris might not be an objection to his being received a member of the Academy. His pretext was, that he was going to apply himſelf to a great work upon the ſpirit of laws. The preſident Henault, on quitting his employ, gave the ſame reaſon. Theſe gentlemen were rallied by their friends, who told them, "They quitted their profeſſions in order to learn it."

The fact is, Monteſquieu wiſhed to travel, to make philoſophical remarks upon men and nations, already known by his *Lettres Perſannes*: he was warmly received in Germany, England and Italy. We do

do not know the whole extent of the obſervations and reflections he made in different countries.—Since his return, he has publiſhed but one work, printed in 1734, intitled, *Conſiderations ſur les cauſes de la grandeur et de la decadence des Romains.* In this work he appears more ſenſible, enlightened and reſerved than in his *Lettres Perſannes*, the matter keeps him from wandering. It is ſaid, he is preparing to publiſh his great work upon the ſpirit of laws: I know already ſome parts of it, which, ſupported by the reputation of the author, cannot but augment its credit; but I fear the whole will not have this effect, and that there will be more agreeable chapters to read, more ingenious and ſeducing ideas, than true and uſeful inſtructions upon the manner in which we ought to digeſt and underſtand the laws. It is, however, a book which has been, and ſtill is greatly wanted, although much has been written upon the ſubject.

We have good inſtitutes of the Roman civil laws; we have tolerable ones in the French laws; but we have none publiſhed of general, or univerſal ones. We have no *Eſprit des Loix*, and I doubt much of our friend Monteſquieu's giving us one which will ſerve as a guide and compaſs to all the legiſlators of the world. I know him to have all poſſible art; he has acquired vaſt knowledge in his travels, and in his retreats to the country; but I predict once more, that he will not give us the book we want, although there will be found, in what he is compoſing, many profound ideas, new thoughts, ſtriking images, ſallies of wit and genius, and an infinity of curious facts, whoſe application ſuppoſes ſtill more taſte than ſtudy.

I now return to the character he bears in ſociety; great mildneſs and gaiety, a perfect equality, an air of ſimplicity and good-nature, which, conſidering the reputation he has already acquired, is a peculiar merit. He is ſometimes abſent, and ſtrokes of *naiveté* eſcape him, which make him appear more amiable, as they form a contraſt with his acknowledged wit. I forgot to ſpeak of his little poem in proſe in the Grecian taſte, intitled *Le Temple de Gnide.* I know not if the reputation of the preſident gained by his *Lettres Perſannes*, has not contributed to make this trifle eſteemed above its merit: it contains much wit, ſometimes grace and voluptuouſneſs, whoſe touches in ſome places are rather ſtrong, and there reigns a kind of philoſophical obſervation, which characteriſes the author, but it is different from thoſe of his other works — Fontenelle certainly could not have written *Les conſiderations ſur les Romains*; but *Le Temple de Gnide* would have been better conſtructed by him than by Monteſquieu.

I will not oppoſe the gallantry of the preſident to that of Fontenelle, becauſe Monteſquieu had none: he writes little or no poetry, but he is found amiable in ſociety, independent of gallantry and poetry. Fontenelle has, on the contrary, need of theſe reſources; the gracefulneſs and manner in which he delivers that which from the mouth of any other man would be inſipid, make his ſcience and erudition appear to advantage, although they are perhaps not very profound.

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The preſident Henault will not perhaps hold ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in the temple of memory as the two others, but I find he deſerves to be preferred to them both in ſociety: he is younger than Fontenelle, and leſs troubleſome, becauſe he requires leſs complaiſance and attention; he is on the contrary, very complaiſant himſelf, in the moſt ſimple, and at the ſame time elegant manner. This virtue ſeems to coſt him nothing; for which reaſon there are people unjuſt enough to believe him indiſcriminate and prodigal in the uſe of it; but thoſe who know him well and are near to him perceive that he knows how to diſtinguiſh; and that a ſound judgment and great knowledge preſide at the diſtribution. His character, eſpecially when he was young, appeared formed to ſucceed with women; he had wit, grace, delicacy and refinement—he cultivated ſucceſsfully muſic, poetry, and light literature; his muſic was not of a profound compoſition, but agreeable—his poetry was not ſublime; however, he undertook a tragedy; it is weak, but neither ridiculous nor tireſome. His other poetry is like that of Fontenelle, harmonious and witty; his proſe, eaſy and flowing; his eloquence is neither maſculine nor ſublime, although he gained premiums at the *Academie Francoiſe*, thirty years ago. It is never ſtrong or elevated, dull or inſipid: he was ſometime father of the oratory, and has contracted in that ſociety a taſte for ſtudy, and acquired ſome erudition; but this without the leaſt pedantry. I have been aſſured, that in a court of judicature, he was a good judge, without having a perfect knowledge of the laws, becauſe he has an upright mind and a ſound judgment. He never had magiſterial haughtineſs, nor the vulgarity of the limbs of the law. He does not pride himſelf upon his birth or illuſtrious titles: he is rich enough to be independent, and in this happy ſituation, uſing no pretenſions, he wiſely places himſelf below inſolence, and above meanneſs. There are women of ſufficient conſideration, who have overlooked his want of birth, even of perſonal advantages and vigour. He has ever conducted himſelf on theſe occaſions with modeſty, never carrying his pretenſions too far; nothing was ever required of him which was improper he ſhould do,—at fifty years of age, he declared he would confine himſelf to a ſtudious and devout life; he made a general confeſſion of all his ſins, and it was on this occaſion he permitted himſelf the following pleaſantry, "we "are never ſo rich as when we "remove." His devotion is as free from fanaticiſm, perſecution, fourneſs and intrigue, as his ſtudies are from pedantry.—He applies himſelf to compoſe an *Abrége Chronologique* of our hiſtory, which will have the merit of an exact chronology, well compoſed tables, and a ſummary of facts methodically arranged, and yet without being dry, ſterile, inſipid, or tireſome. We may not only ſeek and find therein every thing neceſſary to fix in our minds the principal epochas of our hiſtory; but we ſhall be able to read with pleaſure this abridgment from beginning to end; the author having prepared for the reader reſting places, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in the long route he has to get through. The moſt intereſting facts will be related with clearneſs and preciſion, and particular remarks

remarks will determine at each epocha, what were then our manners and principles; finally, this book, excellent in itself, will serve as a model, according to which many other good and useful books may be composed. There is reason to believe, that all the different histories will soon be written in the same manner, and that this first work will be the basis of a new and instructive kind. I agree, nevertheless, that the literary reputation of the president Henault, will never equal that of Fontenelle or Montesquieu; but I am of opinion, that his only work will be more useful than all theirs; because it will open a new career to the progress of science; whilst the others, will only produce bad imitations, who will go astray, in endeavouring to tread in their steps. But to reduce to a few words the character of the president Henault: —he is accommodating without deceit; mild without insipidity; officious without interest or ambition; complaisant without meanness; a good friend, without enthusiasm or prejudice: in short, he is as perfect a model in society as his book is in its kind."

Character of Sidi Mahomet, *the reigning Emperor of* Morocco.—*Translated from the* French *of* M. Chenier.

"SIDI Mahomet, endowed with penetration and judgment, would have been susceptible of all the high qualities necessary to govern men, had education brought to perfection those gifts which nature had bestowed. His age is somewhere about seventy-six *, his height five feet eight inches, his symmetry tolerable; he squints a little, which gives his aspect some severity; his constitution being naturally strong, and his mode of life sober and frugal, his body is become very capable of supporting the fatigue of a life so laborious as the government of this empire requires. He is tolerably easy of access; foreigners he receives with politeness, and converses with them willingly; but the cool or warm reception he gives, alike, are directed by some motive of personal interest. His favour is not constant, but varies according as such like interested sensations vary.

However marked the attachment of Sidi Mahomet to riches may have been, he has seldom employed those means, for the accumulation of them, which violence or cruelty might have suggested. This emperor will not leave so rich a treasury at his decease as his love for œconomy might forebode, and that because his reign has been exposed to heavy expences; his empire, gradually exhausted, has no longer in itself the same resources. Independent of the heavy sums expended on the siege of Mazagan, that of Melilla, and the maintenance of

* It is not customary among the Moors to register the birth of children, not even that of princes; their age is remembered by certain accidents, or events, which the parents commit to memory. A Moor very naturally says, he was born in the dry summer, the wet winter, or mentions any other similar accident.

The reigning emperor was at Mecca, in 1727, when Muley Ishmael died; he was not then married, and, as he has always perfectly remembered this journey, it may well be supposed he was at that time about sixteen or eighteen, and that he must have been born in or near the year 1710. This is the mode I have taken to calculate his age, in which I am confirmed by the oldest people in the country.

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his forces, Sidi Mahomet has alſo built towns and fortreſſes, moſques, and public markets, excluſive of his palaces, which he has embelliſhed. He likewiſe purchaſed in Malta and the Italian ſtates, numerous Mahometan ſlaves, in 1782, the greateſt part of whom were not his ſubjects; and he has further ſent to Conſtantinople, in 1784, more than four million of livres (or a hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds) which it is ſuppoſed he, out of reſpect to his religion, either appropriated to the temple of Mecca, or the defence of the Ottoman empire, for which, knowing the ambition of its neighbours, he ſeems to have ſome fears.

Covetous as he appears to have been of wealth, Sidi Mahomet will leave little to poſterity, except theſe monuments of his devotion, his charity, and his precaution. More humane, more acceſſible, and leſs exigent than his anceſtors, Sidi Mahomet has ever treated the Chriſtians, whom the fate of war has put into his power, with compaſſion, and on ſome among them he has beſtowed marks of his confidence. After the taking of Mazagan, he ſent thirty-eight ſlaves to the grand maſter of the knights of Malta, who were ſubjects of the grand duke of Tuſcany, and the grand maſter returned a like number of Moors.

Quick and penetrating, this emperor has often made very juſt obſervations on the characters of nations, judging by the ſlaves whom he had in his poſſeſſion, and who happened to be about his perſon. Perceiving how active the French were in their labours, he choſe them in preference for the execution of any ſudden project; obſerving, at the ſame time, that they were reſtleſs and turbulent, he held it neceſſary they ſhould be employed, that they might neither quarrel among themſelves nor with the other ſlaves. It cannot be ſaid that, under his government, ſlaves have been worked to exceſs; it will likewiſe be perceived, that monarchs, who number the ranſom of ſlaves as one part of their revenues, have an intereſt in their preſervation.

During thirty years that Sidi Mahomet has ſat on the throne, his reign has been happy. It would be raſh to propheſy what ſhall happen after his death: although it be true that ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects, we muſt not always judge of the future by the paſt; the ſmalleſt difference of circumſtances, either in the times, or the characters of thoſe men who head inſurrections, will change the ſtate of things, and decide on the deſtiny of nations. Nevertheleſs, when we behold in Morocco a multitude of princes, each deſirous of governing, each having nearly an equal claim to govern, it ſhould ſeem that like diſſentions may well again be feared, and like revolutions to thoſe which, under preceding reigns, ſo often have rent this empire.

The ſucceſſion is not fixed in Morocco, either by law or cuſtom, but depends entirely on concurring accidents. It is well underſtood, among the Moors, that the eldeſt ſon ought to inherit the crown, becauſe that his experience renders him the moſt proper to govern; but, as there is no determinate law on this head, and as there is neither divan nor council in the empire to deliberate on affairs of ſtate, the election of the emperor depends entirely on chance, on the character of the candidates,

candidates, the opinion of the people, the influence of the ſoldiery, the ſupport of the provinces, and moſt particularly on the poſſeſſion of the treaſury. He who has money may have ſoldiers, and he who has ſoldiers can make himſelf feared.

We have ſeen that, under Muley Abdallah, one province and one faction would elect this ſovereign, another that; and like anarchy may well be expected, whenever there are a great number of candidates for the throne; at leaſt, unleſs the governors of provinces ſhould all unite to protect one alone. This is a thing moſt difficult to be accompliſhed, among the Moors, where men do nothing, and where Providence regulates all.

Of ten or twelve male children, to whom the emperor is father, there are ſeveral who are capable of government; nor can I doubt but that, informed as they muſt be of former revolutions, they all aſpire with equal confidence to that crown to which birth, the voice of the people, or a concatenation of incidents, may give each an equal right."

Some Account of the Dreſs and Manners of the Women of the Cities of Morocco.—*From the ſame.*

"THE Mooriſh women ſeldom leave the houſe, and always veiled. The old very carefully hide their faces, but the young and handſome are ſomewhat more indulgent; that is to ſay, toward foreigners, for they are exceedingly cautious with the Moors. Being veiled, their huſbands do not know them in the ſtreet, and it is even impolite to endeavour to ſee the faces of the women who paſs, ſo different are the manners and cuſtoms of nations.

There are very fine women found among the Moors, eſpecially up the country; thoſe of the northern parts by no means poſſeſs the ſame degree of grace and beauty: it would be difficult to give any phyſical reaſon for this difference: tranſmigrations have continually happened among the different tribes of the empire, of whoſe deſcent and origin we are ignorant. Theſe tribes marry only with thoſe of their own tribe, by which they are preſerved without intermixture.

As females in warm countries ſooner arrive at puberty, they are alſo ſooner old; and this, perhaps, may be the reaſon why polygamy has been generally adopted in ſuch climates. Women there ſooner loſe the charms of youth, while men ſtill preſerve their paſſions, and the powers of nature.

The Mooriſh women are not in general very reſerved. Climate has a vaſt influence on the temperament of the body; and licentiouſneſs is there more general and leſs reſtrained, though, as in other places, its diſorderly pleaſures incur its attendant pains; not but that the diſeaſe attending illicit amours is leſs poiſonous, and ſlower in its operations, among the Moors, than in Europe, becauſe of the heat of the climate, and the great temperance of their mode of living.

The women of the ſouth are in general the handſomeſt, and are ſaid to be ſo reſerved, or ſo guarded, that their very relations do not enter their houſes, nor their tents. Yet, ſuch is the contradictory cuſtom of nations, that there are tribes, in theſe ſame provinces, among whom it is held to be an act of hoſpitality

to preſent a woman to a traveller. It may be, there are women who dedicate themſelves to this ſpecies of devotion as to an act of benevolence, for it is impoſſible to deſcribe all the varieties of opinion among men, or the whims to which the human fancy is ſubject.

The Mooriſh women who live in cities are, as in other nations, more addicted to ſhew and finery in dreſs than thoſe of the country; but, as they generally leave the houſe only one day in the week, they ſeldom dreſs themſelves. Not allowed to receive male viſitors, they remain in their houſes employed in their families, and ſo totally in diſhabille, that they often wear only a ſhift, and another coarſer ſhift over the firſt, tied round their waiſt, with their hair plaited, and ſometimes with, though often without a cap.

When dreſſed, they wear an ample and fine linen ſhift, the boſom embroidered in gold; a rich caftan of cloth, ſtuff, or velvet, worked in gold; and one or two folds of gauze, ſtreaked with gold and ſilk, round the head, and tied behind ſo as that the fringes, intermingled with their treſſes, deſcend as low as the waiſt; to which ſome add a ribband of about two inches broad, worked in gold or pearls, that encircles the forehead in form of a diadem. Their caftan is bound round their waiſt by a crimſon velvet girdle, embroidered in gold, with a buckle of gold or ſilver, or elſe a girdle of tamboured ſtuff, manufactured at Fez.

The women have yellow ſlippers, and a cuſtom of wearing a kind of ſtocking of fine cloth ſomewhat large, which is tied below the knee and at the ancle, over which it falls in folds. This ſtocking is leſs calculated to ſhew what we call a handſome leg, than to make it appear thick; for to be fat is one of the rules of beauty among the Mooriſh women. To obtain this quality, they take infinite pains, feed when they become nubile on a diet ſomewhat like forced-meat balls, a certain quantity of which is given them daily; and, in fine, the ſame care is taken among the Moors to fatten young women, as is in Europe to fatten fowls. The reaſon of a cuſtom like this may be found in the nature of the climate, and the quality of the aliments, which make the people naturally meager. Our ſlender waiſts and fine-turned ancles would be imperfections in this part of Africa, and, perhaps, over all that quarter of the globe; ſo great is the contraſt of taſte, and ſo various the prejudices of nations.

The Moors preſent their wives with jewels of gold, ſilver, or pearl, but very few wear precious ſtones; this is a luxury, of which they have little knowledge. They have rings in ſilver or gold, alſo ear-rings in the form of a creſcent, five inches in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger. They firſt pierce their ears, and introduce a ſmall roll of paper, which they daily increaſe in thickneſs, till at length they inſert the kernel of the date, which is equal in ſize to the ear-ring.

They wear bracelets in gold and ſolid ſilver, and ſilver rings at the bottom of their legs, ſome of which I have ſeen conſiderably heavy. There are youths among the ſharifs, or nobility, who wear at one ear a gold or ſilver ring from four to five inches in circumference; but this cuſtom is more general among the black ſlaves belonging to people of ſome diſtinction.

All

All these trinkets, which the women are exceedingly desirous to obtain, were originally signs of slavery, which men, to render its yoke more sufferable, have thus insensibly changed to ornaments. Europe received such tokens of dependence from Asia, embellished them with all the riches of nature, and the decorations of art, till at length ear-rings and bracelets, first worn as badges of servitude, are now become the paraphernalia of the empire of beauty.

The use of white paint is unknown among the Mooriſh women, and that of red but little. It is much more common to see them dye their eyebrows and eyelashes; which dye does not add to the beauty of the countenance, but considerably to the fire of the eyes. They trace regular figures with henna, of a saffron colour, on their feet, the palm of the hand, and the tip of their fingers.

On their visiting day, they wrap themselves in a clean fine haick, which comes over the head, and surrounds the face so as to let them see without being seen. When they travel, they wear straw hats to keep off the sun, and in some parts of the empire the women wear hats on their visits, which is a fashion peculiar to the tribes coming from the south, who have preserved their customs, for the Moors do not change modes they have once adopted *. They are in no wise susceptible of that continual change of fashion so studied and so rapid in Europe, and which, particularly in France, is become so vast an object, more burthensome, perhaps, than useful, of industry and intercourse."

A general View of the Character of the Chinese.—*From the Translation of* Abbé Grosier's *Description of* China.

"ONE must have been cotemporary with the ancient Chinese, to be able to speak with any certainty of their primitive character. That which they have at present, has been acquired, it is the fruit of long discipline, and of four thousand years habitude. Montaigne has said, that custom becomes a second nature; it is at least certain, that it impairs and greatly corrupts the first. The following we consider as a striking example. If we take a survey of all the different provinces of France, we shall find in each particular, features and marks of character, which distinguish their various inhabitants, and which even point out their difference of origin. It would be in vain to expect any information of this kind from rank or dignity. If, in the like manner, we cast our eye over the Chinese empire, a perfect uniformity will be observed in the whole, and all will appear to have been cast in the same mould. Hence it happens that the Chinese, in general, are a mild and affable people; polite even to excess; circumspect in all their actions, and always at-

* The hat is common to men and women among the Moors who travel, and the custom of wearing it came from Africa to Europe. The Spaniards, because of the heat of their climate, still, as much as they can, wear it flapped, and have called it sombrero, or shady. The French gave it the name of chappeau, because it supplied the use of the cape or hood of their ancient dress, which they called chapel.

tentive to weigh the consequences of every thing they are about to attempt; more careful not to expose their prudence to danger, than to preserve their reputation; as suspicious of strangers, as they are ready to take advantage of them; too much prepossessed with a notion of their own importance, to be sensible of their defects, and entertaining too high ideas of their own knowledge, to seek for instruction from others. We must consider this nation as an ancient monument, respectable by its duration; admirable in some of its parts, defective in others; the immutable stability of which has, however, been attested by a duration of four thousand years.

This base, so solid, is supported by one single pillar; that progressive submission, which rises gradually from the bosom of a family, even to the throne. In other respects, the Chinese have their passions and caprices, which even the law does not always attempt to repress. They are naturally litigious, and in China, as well as in other countries, a man may, if he chooses, ruin himself by too often giving employment to the tribunals. They are fond of money, and what in France or England would be accounted usury, is only a retribution, authorised in China. A Chinese is vindictive, though not fond of pursuing violent means to satiate his revenge; these are prohibited, but he generally gains his end by craftiness or stratagem, and consequently with impunity. Great crimes are very uncommon among the Chinese, vices much less so, and the law neither searches after nor punishes them, but when they offend against, and violate public decency.

The manners of the Tartars, who subdued China, differ considerably from those of the conquered nation. They have borrowed its customs, but they still retain their original character. A Tartar is obliging and liberal, an enemy to every species of dissimulation, and more desirous of enjoying his fortune than of increasing it. In all affairs, even in those of the cabinet, he discovers a penetration and acuteness which greatly lessen their difficulties; and in transactions of smaller moment, he displays that expeditious activity which may be justly called the soul of business. His ready and quick judgment accomplishes its purpose better, and more in season, than the profound and slow meditation of the Chinese. In a word, the superiority which the Tartars have over the Chinese in point of arms, is not the only thing which distinguishes them; they can even dispute the prize with them in other respects.

But if we are desirous of finding, among the Chinese, openness of temper, benevolence, friendship, and, lastly, virtue, we must not seek for it in cities, but in the bosom of the country, among that class of men who have devoted themselves to labour and agriculture. A Chinese rustic often discovers moral qualities, which would add a lustre to the character of men of the most exalted rank. It appears that rural life naturally inspires sentiments of benevolence; by continually receiving the gifts of nature, the mind is enlarged, and men are insensibly accustomed to diffuse them to those around them. In short, one must have very little knowledge of the Chinese annals, to be ignorant that China has produced great men of every kind, and taken from all classes.

ſes. Theſe people, indeed, ſuch as they exiſt at preſent, are, to every other nation of the earth, the moſt curious monument that has been handed down to us by the remoteſt antiquity."

Obſervations on the Character and National Taſte of the French.—From Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, *&c. By an Engliſh Officer.*

"TO draw the French character with the juſtice and preciſion I could wiſh, would require more penetration and labour than I can claim, or have leiſure to beſtow. I mean to give you only a few of the ſtriking features as I paſs, and to deal more in blemiſhes than in beauties.

When we travellers can be honeſt enough to give you things as they ſtrike us at ſight, I fear that the faults will always ſtand firſt. The foibles and defects of this people muſt make the firſt and ſtrongeſt impreſſion. I believe there is no great danger of the two nations ſoon becoming very fond of each other. The one values itſelf on the kinds of merit which are neither eſteemed nor wanted by the other. The French muſt deſpiſe the Engliſh ſolid ſenſe, and independent ſpirit, perhaps as much as we do their *eſprit, graces, agrements.* They muſt diſlike our ſullen, proud, awkward manner, as much as we do their conceit, vanity, —*leur manieres avantageuſes, l'envie de ſe faire valoir, leur fatuité,* &c. It requires ſome time to diſcover, through their politeneſs, how much they diſlike us.

Yet, if it were not for a war now and then, I ſhould fear our aſſimilating too much towards theſe our agreeable neighbours, and our meeting them more than half-way. Though few of them will probably ever have good ſenſe enough to be much pleaſed with ours; many of us are apt to have good-nature enough to like both their manner and their manners, *leur franchiſe, leur babil,* and many other leſs important agreeable nothings about them.

They may hate us, while we deſpiſe them, and contempt may be full as powerful in its effects as hatred. Yet, I believe, we ſhall generally find many more Engliſh in France, than French in England. Perhaps ſome of us come here in order to get rid of our ill-humour, or to vent it on them, like thoſe who keep an humble dependant to ſcold at. Although we may reciprocally improve by intercourſe, and it might be better for mankind were nations to mix more with each other, yet one would wiſh each to retain their native character,—that national ſtamp which diſcriminates it from the reſt. In order to this, it may be well to dwell on the faults we would wiſh to avoid. I ſhall therefore go on as at firſt propoſed, picking up a few of them *en paſſant.*

Though the national or prevailing character here, like that of other human beings, is mixed, and made up of good, bad, and indifferent qualities; yet ſuch parts predominate, as make the compoſition of a Frenchman very diſtinguiſhable from that of any other:—but to know him, you muſt live with him; reading about him is inſufficient. You will find, for example, *qu'il ne ſe ſuffit pas à lui même,* but lives by the breath and opinion of others more than on his own.

He will ſacrifice every other comfort of life to the ornament of his perſon. The lodging of a very fine *petit maitre* here, is often too mean and dirty for a taylor's journeyman with you.

In them, all is borrowed, *poſtiche*, and very little natural; *ils veulent toujours repreſenter*—their life is a mere parade. Yet they only copy from each other *(tres moutoniers)*, while we are always flying off into ſingularity, hunting after nature or reality, but perhaps with leſs ſucceſs in our attempts than they in theirs.

They ſeem ever changing, but are ſtill the ſame. It is only we that really change, with all our apparent ſteadineſs and gravity.

The Frenchman, though ſociably diſpoſed, with all that enviable *gaieté de cœur*, and affected goodneſs and conſideration for others; yet as he is not in the habit of doing any thing eſſential for the public, and but little for his neighbour, and it is, perhaps, the lot of that kind of vivacity and flow of ſpirits, to be capable of but little feeling or humanity; he is probably, on the whole, therefore a more ſelfiſh being than the *ſulky Engliſhman*. I think I ſee here, inſtances of the ſelfiſh prevailing over the friendly qualities, rather more than with us; —the œconomical, or parſimonious, over the generous,—the cruel and unfeeling over the humane,—*l'etourderie* over ſentiment,—a falſe taſte, or *gout poſtiche*, over that of nature. Beſides particular inſtances, one ſees it in generals,—as in the ſeverity, and negligent compoſition of ſome laws, and in the mode of execution: —in the general preference given to liferents over any fixed future proviſion for poſterity, or relations. Perhaps we might infer ſome want of feeling or humanity, from their want of taſte for the ſimple beauty of nature and of action; and we may perceive, in the different degrees of art, paſſion, or muſic, that they feel nothing, till the expreſſion is carried to an outrageous and vulgar extreme, certainly beyond our line of beauty. But they like it, and that is a ſhort and ſufficient anſwer to all our objections. It is needleſs to diſpute about taſte. While they can reliſh only thoſe degrees of violence and expreſſion, they may laugh at our criticiſms.

The degree of expreſſion in all the arts muſt be tempered to the tone of mind of the ſpectators, more than to the true nature of the paſſion to be expreſſed. In a ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity, a refined audience will not readily admit of the violence of real paſſion, nor of any of its diſtortions, beyond a certain limit of the graceful and temperate. This limit may be extended, but ſhould never be broken, by previouſly warming up the mind by ſucceſſive or accumulating impreſſions. The French will never probably underſtand the natural repoſe of true and graceful dignity.

Without the conſtant force of ſome foreign aid and intercourſe, national character and taſte muſt perhaps generally revert into ſome confined tract or circle. And when national pride, conceit, and ignorance, are planted, they readily ſpread, and tend, like other evils, to perpetuate themſelves.

Though many of the French are now liberal, and willing enough to get rid of the ſhackles of nationality in taſte and character; yet, after a certain age, it is perhaps more impracticable with them, than with thoſe

thoſe of any other nation, to ſucceed. Some of them ſatirize and abuſe their own nation, and praiſe others;—affect to extol the the Italian ſchool in painting and muſic;—imitate Engliſh manners; and all the while remain mere Frenchmen. In order to change or improve their taſte, they would have to combat many inveterate habits, of which they are not aware; and the cauſes of their peculiarities they themſelves are unfit to inveſtigate. In ſhort, they appear to us a different ſpecies, *une race apart*; this they forget, or never perceive. Their authors talk of man and woman, and fancy they ſpeak generally of the whole race, and know not that they ſpeak only of French men and women; fancying all the world like themſelves; forgetting that French nature is not human nature, and that few of their qualities are common to the ſpecies. Only a choſen few of them ſeem to have any *minds*, the reſt have only *ſenſes:* nor can I yet find any one term in their language to expreſs what I here mean by *mind*. Even their ſenſes appear to us defective, or different from ours, as if too quick and too weak; they can perceive only certain things and diſtances: though more lively, and perhaps ſenſible of ſome things which eſcape us, yet I think we have many perceptions which they overlook, or do not reach. Unfit for meditation, in the exerciſe or agitation of the ſenſes conſiſts their chief happineſs, and particularly in that of the ſight; they are all eyes, and can ſacrifice real comforts to pleaſe that ſenſe. When that agitation ceaſes, *ils s'endorment ou s'ennuyent à la mort.*

The numerous clergy and military form the life of ſociety in France, and, together with the ladies, aſſume the direction of every thing. The female graces, and facility of expreſſion, are as remarkable as their influence. I think you will find vanity the univerſal, or ruling paſſion here."

Wit, Manners, Character, and Taſte of the Spaniards.—*From the ſame.*

"THE Spaniards in general, and the Andaluſians in particular, with imaginations ſo warm and fertile, have a powerful taſte and diſpoſition for wit, and many of both ſexes are great adepts in that way: with the moſt compoſed and ſteady countenance they will long keep the table in a roar, and are infinitely amuſing: but as is uſual with warm and impetuous fancy, there is often a want of delicacy, of ſound taſte, and judgment: they attempt and reliſh all ſpecies of wit, and often prefer the lower and coarſer kinds: but let us beware of becoming too difficult to pleaſe, which we Engliſh, I believe, often are; we may refine too much, and muſt loſe by being too nice and ſqueamiſh. A good ſtrong appetite will digeſt all natural food; and genuine wit, when not too loathſome with indecency, flattery, or ſoured with ſeverity, ought always to pleaſe. Tho' greatly changed and Frenchified ſince their Bourbon connections, they have not yet loſt all thoſe enthuſiaſtic and romantic notions which once diſtinguiſhed and raiſed them, however ridiculouſly, above other mortals. In every rank we yet find ſome of thoſe old and dignified characters, with a certain elevation of ſoul, and many lofty ideas, though accompanied with what our modern

delicacy may conſider as a ridiculous pride.

Though politically they are now of ſmall conſideration, except in their own ideas, and but little of their former national greatneſs or character may remain, beſides their pride, yet individually the country ſtill abounds in valuable characters, or rather in materials of which ſuch characters may be readily formed when wanted. We meet with as excellent and amiable qualities of mind as in the moſt poliſhed and enlightened nations: this is often, I believe, the caſe in rude and miſgoverned countries; virtues ariſe as they are wanted, where the ſoil and materials are good, and here they are excellent. Wiſe nature ſeems ſolicitous in bringing every condition of ſociety nearly to a level of happineſs. If you live any time among them, you will meet with ſouls capable of every virtue, but may obſerve how few occaſions or motives there are to practiſe any, in this ſtate of ſociety and government. They are obviouſly made for generoſity, probity, magnanimity, reſolution, perſeverance, and ſtill retain a certain cool and habitual equanimity of temper and ſound judgment, which we find in no other nation, joined to ſuch warmth of heart and fancy. But, even on this foundation, you will too often find a ſtructure of vice and ignorance; eſpecially in the lower claſſes, degrees of indolence, idleneſs, malevolence, depravity of taſte and diſpoſition, which exhibit at once to view the powers of habit and of a bad government, and the dregs or ruins of a moſt reſpectable national character. The Spaniards, though naturally deep and artful politicians, have ſtill ſomething ſo nobly frank and honeſt in their diſpoſition, that they are not, I think, in proportion, politically inſidious or treacherous, unleſs the French make them ſo. Of the modern national characters, I am inclined to place the Spaniſh and Engliſh, ſo nearly alike, among the firſt. I believe there is likewiſe ſomething rather ſuperior ſtill perceptible in the modern Roman character, as well as in their language and manner; and alſo in the Mahinotes, or modern Lacedæmonians, and in the Macedonians.

The manners of the politer ſocieties here, and of the higher ranks, are already too cloſely copied from the French, who, you know, are not naturally delicate nor ſentimental, but artificially refined by faſhion. By means of the ladies in Spain, who readily adopt the liberty of French manners, which, engrafted on their own, they carry beyond the original, this nation will gradually be Frenchified, in ſpite of all the old Dons and old antipathies. The women being, of late, admitted to more freedom and ſociety, and at a period of looſe manners, retaining all their old habits of art and intrigue, the freedom of intercourſe between the ſexes will probably be carried farther here than in the more poliſhed countries, whoſe vices they have acquired, without paſſing through the ſame *media* or degrees of civilization and arts of luxury. Vice, in various ſhapes, ſeems already here to ſtalk forth almoſt naked and alone, unreſtrained by habits and refinements, which elſewhere grow up with it. All leads to a coarſe and unadorned kind of materialiſm in pleaſure, to degrees of depravity and ſatiety, in which they will overtake their more refined

fined neighbours, who began the ſame career ſo long before them. However, the fair ſex, as uſual, are ſtill far more refined and ſentimental than the men, and as they are gaining more influence in ſociety, may retard or regulate the progreſs of depravity. Every ſtranger who ſtays long enough to underſtand them, is captivated with the ſpirit, grace, and humour, of their converſation. You know ſomething of the romantic force of their paſſions, their ſtrong and inviolable attachments, eſpecially when heightened by the difficulties of intrigue. Though the jealouſy of huſbands ſeems now worn out of faſhion, the ſpirit of it is preſerved among the lovers, and love is ſtill an object of the firſt importance in Spain. Their numerous love-ſongs have ſtill many graces, and, though tinged with the hyperbolical falſe taſte of the times, are often highly expreſſive, refined, and laconic.

There are, as elſewhere, more vices in their ſea-ports and capital towns, than in the reſt of the country, where their ancient character and diſtinguiſhing manners have not yet entirely diſappeared; and we Engliſh are generally pleaſed and proud to cheriſh and to reliſh ſuch remains, in oppoſition to the French; while they, with a ſneer of contempt, deſpiſe both the Spaniards and us for our bad taſte in not preferring every thing that is French; in their idea, *nous ne ſommes que des barbares tous les deux.*

Theſe two nations are, to be ſure, as oppoſite in almoſt every thing as nature could well make ſuch near neighbours. Even the actual ſtate and taſte of female beauty is widely different in the two countries. After obſerving the prevalent ſtyle of beauty in France, we can readily conceive, that Monſieur cannot much admire that of this nation; nor reliſh or comprehend all the numerous Spaniſh graces of perſon, manner, language, nor the high expreſſions of phyſiognomy, ſo different from, and I think far ſuperior to, thoſe of his own nation. Among the fine faces here, conſiſting of features generally large and ſtrongly expreſſive, he finds nothing like the little round or rather ſquare face, with the ſnub noſe and pigeon's eye, which is the ſtyle of beauty the moſt common and the moſt eſteemed in France.

Where we find ſuch fine abilities and natural good ſenſe, joined to ſo much ignorance and falſe taſte, ſuch looſe manners and unreſtrained vices, with great inquiſitorial ſeverity in religious obſervances, it is plain, that the church, their only ſchool, aims not at the improvement of morals or of learning, but at power: nay, I think the moſt ſuperſtitious nations are the moſt wicked and debauched, and we may almoſt meaſure their degrees of vice by the apparent ardour of their devotion. There is, perhaps, more probity, though leſs appearance of religion, in London, than in any other great town in Europe."

Character of the Portugueſe.—*From the ſame.*

"FEW of the men, though often of a good ſquare make and active appearance, and poſſeſſing many other good qualities as men and ſoldiers, are capable of any great and continued exertions of ſtrength, reſolution, or perſeverance. There is a kind of female levity, weakneſs,

weakneſs, and ſenſibility of character, which renders them more ſubject to ſudden fits of paſſion than to laſting habits.—Peculiarly diſpoſed to love and devotion; with more ſenſibility than wiſdom; *pocos y locos*, the Spaniards ſay of them, they reſemble the French in many ways, and are very different from the Spaniards. I believe we rather confound theſe two neighbouring nations, and fancy a character of both which ſuits neither.

Though the ſame kind of government and religion, a ſimilarity of manners and opinions, may have brought them to an apparent reſemblance in the eyes of ſtrangers; yet on examination, they are obviouſly of a different race and character. The Portugueſe is naturally the moſt docile and complaiſant of all creatures, and the Spaniard the moſt obſtinate: the one ſeems to be moved by a kind of volatile feminine ſpirit of ſenſibility, and the other by one of a nature more maſculine, ſteady, obdurate, and determined: the one obſequious, obedient *muy rendido haſta derritirſe*; his manner and language the moſt feeling and *carinoſa*; generally deſirous to pleaſe, ready enough to learn and receive impreſſions, and may be formed to what you deſire; though, by turns, equally careleſs and indolent, weak, changeable, ſuperſtitious, he forgets ſooner than he had learned. Whereas the Spaniard is ever the ſame proud, obſtinate, lazy, but manly character, and will not eaſily receive or follow any impreſſions or motives but his own: by his religion and loyalty he has been enſlaved, which by any other means would have been very difficult: with a high ſenſibility, and a determined character, he may be led to be vindictive and cruel; with ſtrong nerves, and a perſevering mind, he may be very fit for a deſperate enterpiſe and conqueſt. But as ſuch qualities are not now the chief requiſites in the character of a ſoldier, nor ſo well adapted to the ready obedience and activity of modern diſcipline, I would perhaps now rather chuſe to recruit in Portugal than in Spain. Indeed, we have lately ſeen a great officer, count de la Lippe, form a very good little army of theſe people, in leſs time than could probably have been done with the people of almoſt any other nation. But they will ſoon loſe their beſt habits and diſcipline, if the leaſt neglected, and will relapſe into their uſual ſloth and indolence, of which there is already too much appearance: already lulled to ſleep by falſe policy and religion, every thing ſeems now neglected except the church: their moſt devout ſovereigns amuſe them with religious proceſſions, with building convents, and churches; while the army, the garriſons, the navy, are all neglected, and half the commiſſions left vacant. If ſuch meaſures are continued, they cannot long be fit for war, and hence not very long a nation.

In every country ſomething of importance may be learned. To follow the ideas of that great officer count de la Lippe, and ſee what he did, and intended, for the defence of this country, would be one of the fineſt military leſſons you could have. You ſhould ſee Elvas, which he fortified, and examine all his excellent ideas of fortification and artillery: his ſafe flanks, parapets, reſources, carriages, modes of œconomiſing power and ſpace, of making powder; in ſhort, his excellent ideas

ideas on almoſt every military ſubject: and then his general plans of defending this frontier, and of attacking Spain."

Specimens of original Anecdotes of Czar Peter *the* Great; *with a Letter of the* Czar's, *written immediately after the Battle of* Pultowa.—*From* M. Stæhlin's *original Anecdotes of* Peter *the* Great, *collected from the Converſation of ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction at* Peterſburgh *and* Moſcow.——N. B. *At the Concluſion of every Anecdote is the Name of the Relator of it to* M. Stæhlin.

Anecdote reſpecting the Czar's *forging with his own Hands a Quantity of Iron in Bar.*

"PETER the Great, deſirous of forming uſeful eſtabliſhments in his dominions, and of encouraging thoſe already exiſting, viſited the different workſhops and manufactories with much aſſiduity. Among others that he viſited frequently, were the forges of Muller at Iſtia, on the road to Kalouga, at ninety werſts diſtance from Moſcow. He once paſſed a whole month there, during which time, he drank chalybeate waters; and after having given due attention to the affairs of the ſtate, which he never neglected, he amuſed himſelf not only with ſeeing and examining every thing in the moſt minute manner, but alſo with putting his hand to the work, and learning the buſineſs of a blackſmith. He ſucceeded ſo well, that one of the laſt days of this excurſion he forged alone eighteen poods of iron (the pood is equal to forty pounds) and put his own particular mark on each bar. The boyars and other noblemen of his ſuite were obliged to blow the bellows, to ſtir the fire, to carry coals, and perform all the other offices of journeymen blackſmiths.

Some days after, on his return to Moſcow, he went to ſee Verner Muller, beſtowed great praiſe on his eſtabliſhment, and aſked him how much he gave per pood for iron in bar, furniſhed by a maſter blackſmith. "Three copecks or an altin," anſwered Muller. "Well then," ſaid the Czar, "I have earned "eighteen altins, and am come to "be paid." Muller immediately opened his bureau, took out eighteen ducats, and counting them before the prince, "It is the leaſt," ſaid he, "that can be given to ſuch "a workman as your majeſty." But the emperor refuſed them: "Take again your ducats," ſaid he, "and pay me the uſual price; I "have worked no better than ano"ther blackſmith; and this will "ſerve to buy me a pair of ſhoes, "of which I am in great want." At the ſame time his majeſty ſhowed him thoſe he wore, which had already been ſoled, and ſtood in need of another repair. He took the eighteen altins, went directly to a ſhop, bought a pair of ſhoes, and took great pleaſure in ſhowing them on his feet, ſaying to thoſe who were preſent; "I have earned them well, "by the ſweat of my brow, with "hammer and anvil."

One of theſe bars of iron forged by Peter the Great, and authenticated by his mark, is ſtill to be ſeen at Iſtia, in the ſame forge of Muller. Another, forged alſo with his own hand, is ſhown in the cabinet of the Academy of Sciences at Peterſburgh: but this latter was forged

at

at a later period at Olonetz, on the lake of Ladoga.

Peter Muller, ſon of the above-mentioned maſter blackſmith.

A ſtriking Example of the Severity with which the Czar *adminiſtered Juſtice in criminal Caſes.*

The ſage legiſlator of Ruſſia, always ſhowed by his own example, the rigour with which the laws ſhould be obſerved. He was inexorable in criminal matters, eſpecially when the offence bore any marks of premeditated malice. Whoever committed a murder had no pardon to hope for: the Czar uſed to ſay; —"Blood that has been ſpilt cries "out for vengeance, and a murder "that goes unpuniſhed is a wound "given to the ſtate."

Miſs Hamilton, maid of honour to the empreſs, was much addicted to gallantry, and delivered herſelf of two children, with ſo much ſecreſy, as to eſcape ſuſpicion of any one at court. But the ſame thing happening a third time, brought her to the ſcaffold.

The dead child was found, and all the circumſtances bore witneſs againſt her. She was taken into cuſtody by order of the Czar, and confeſſed in priſon, that this was the third child ſhe had murdered. Sentence of death was pronounced on her, and confirmed by the emperor, contrary to her expectation; for the great number of ſolicitations in her favour, and the friendſhip with which he had always honoured her, ſo far even as to raiſe ſuſpicions of amorous motives, made her hope for pardon. All, however, was ineffectual; Peter, determined to keep up in his dominions the reſpect due to laws both human and divine.

On the day of execution, the offender appeared dreſſed in a white ſilk gown, trimmed with black ribbons, and was conducted to the ſcaffold. The emperor came thither, took leave of her, and gave her a kiſs:—"I cannot," ſaid he, "violate the laws to ſave your life. "Support your puniſhment with "courage, and, in the hope that "God may forgive you your ſins, "addreſs your prayers to him with a "heart full of faith and contrition." Miſs Hamilton kneeled down, and prayed, and the Czar having turned aſide, ſhe was beheaded.

Vœtius, cabinet maker at court, preſent at the execution.

Peter *the* Great *declares that he took the* Czar Iwan Waſſilowitſch II. *for a Model in the Art of Government.*

It is well known that the Czar Iwan Waſſilowitſch II. is generally repreſented as a cruel tyrant, and that the world unjuſtly adds theſe odious titles to his name. Peter the Great formed a very different judgment of this prince. He often ſaid in converſation that he deſerved the name of Great, and brought proofs in ſupport of his aſſertion. He one day avowed this opinion publicly, on an occaſion I am going to relate.

At the illumination of the city of Moſcow, on account of the peace with Sweden in 1721, the Duke of Holſtein, afterwards the Czar's ſon-in-law, erected a triumphal arch of coloured lamps before his palace. On one ſide Peter the Great was ſeen in a car, and on the other the Emperor Iwan Waſſilowitſch, who formed the vaſt empire of Ruſſia out of

of a number of ſmall principalities, was repreſented with a ſhield emblazoned with the arms of the petty princes he had ſubdued. Peter the Great had alſo a ſhield, ornamented with thoſe of the provinces he had conquered.

This idea did not pleaſe every body. Many people ſaid it was an egregious blunder to couple a prince, conſidered as a barbarous tyrant, with an emperor to whom the ſenate had decreed the title of father of his country. Peter walking that evening to enjoy the ſight of the different illuminations, when he came to the Duke's reſidence, examined attentively the two compartments of the triumphal arch, and conceived at once the ſenſe that was meant to be conveyed.

At the ſame inſtant the Duke of Holſtein advanced to ſalute his majeſty, and to thank him for honouring that quarter of the town with his preſence. He alſo apologized for having done no better, which he attributed to the ſhort notice given, and the want of painters. The Czar, who was pleaſed with the tranſparent paintings, embraced the duke, and told him in the hearing of every body preſent, that he had ſeen nothing ſo happily invented or ſo well executed in Moſcow. "The ideas of "your highneſs" ſaid he, "correſpond wonderfully with mine. "This prince was my forerunner "and model. I have always endeavoured to imitate his bravery, "and the wiſdom of his government, but I am far from being "his equal. He can be called a "tyrant by none but men of weak "minds, who neither know the "circumſtances he was in, the nation he governed, nor the greatneſs of his abilities."

He then went into the Duke's houſe, ſpoke a long while on this ſubject, and after drinking a chearful glaſs, retired.

Count Brummer, lord marſhal to the great duke, and then at Moſcow with the duke of Holſtein.

Inſtructions of Peter *the* Great *to his Envoys in foreign Courts.*

After the peace of 1721, which terminated the war between Ruſſia and Sweden, it became neceſſary for the Czar to ſend a miniſter to Stockholm. He choſe for this employment Michaila Petrowitſch Beſtouſcheff, afterwards count and lord marſhal of the court, in the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, and ordered him to come at four o'clock in the morning to receive his laſt inſtructions. He was likewiſe ordered to apply to Andrew Iwanowitſch Oſtermann for thoſe of the council of ſtate, to bring them with him at his return, and above all not to forget his tablets.

M. Beſtouſcheff, on his return from court, went directly to Mr. Oſtermann, to communicate to him the emperor's orders. That gentleman gave him his inſtructions, which they peruſed together, article by article. As it was already ten o'clock, Oſtermann told Mr. Beſtouſcheff, that it was not worth while to go to bed, as they were to wait on the emperor at four in the morning.

They therefore joined a party of their friends, ſupped, and paſſed the reſt of the night with great gaiety. At half paſt three they repaired to the Czar's antichamber, where they found nobody but the dentchtſchick in waiting, who told them that the

Czar had been half an hour awake, but refuſed to announce them before the appointed time.

Preciſely at four o'clock, the emperor, being informed they were come, ordered them to be admitted, received them, as uſual, in a friendly manner, and aſked them what was the hour. On hearing it had juſt ſtruck four, he ſaid it was well.

He then aſked count Oſtermann if he had delivered the inſtructions to Mr. Beſtouſcheff, and if he had looked them over with him. "Have "you read them," ſaid he to Beſtouſcheff, "do you underſtand them, "and have you no farther queſtions "to aſk relative to their contents?" Mr. Beſtouſcheff anſwering that he underſtood them perfectly, the Czar aſked him ſeveral difficult queſtions reſpecting them, and was fully ſatisfied with his anſwers. "It is "well," ſaid he, "you know what "to do, and what to avoid, in the "name, and for the advantage of "my empire: now take your tablets, and write down my own "commiſſions, and private inſtructions, that they may not eſcape "your memory."

He then gave him a liſt of the different things he wanted from Sweden, and the neighbouring countries, deſiring him in the firſt place to ſend him a certain number of good workmen; ſuch as gardeners and farmers (whom he expected to find very uſeful at Peterſburgh, on account of the ſimilarity of climate) woodmen, carpenters, maſons, locksmiths, and, above all, ſome good armourers, well ſkilled in making locks for muſkets, and ſprings in general, braſs founders, ſteel manufacturers, &c.

When he had done dictating, he bade Mr. Beſtouſcheff read what he had written, that he might be ſure nothing was forgotten.—"You will "make your reports," added he, "to the council of ſtate, as far as "relates to the inſtructions you "have received from them; but "in regard to the commiſſions "written in your tablets, you will "write to me without ceremony, "as you do to any other correſpondent, addreſſing ſimply to Peter "Alexiewitſch. Farewell, I wiſh "you a good journey: fulfil the "duties of your appointment faithfully, and with all the diligence "you can. If you behave as I "wiſh, be aſſured that I will take "care of your intereſts; but if you "deceive my expectations, you "may depend upon it, that you "will have in me as implacable an "enemy, as you have now a truly "affectionate friend." Then embracing him; "Go," ſaid he, "and "God be with you."

Lord Marſhall, Count Michaila Petrowitſch Beſtouſcheff.

Peter *the* Great's *Conduct towards a Senator rendered criminal by his Patriotiſm.*

Peter loved his country, and in all his projects had the good of his ſubjects ſo much at heart, that the greateſt faults, and even crimes, if occaſioned by an exceſs of patriotiſm, not only found him an indulgent judge, but likewiſe obtained his thanks and a reward.

When he began the canal of Ladoga, he ordered all the landholders of the governments of Novogorod and Peterſburgh to ſend their peaſants to work on it, and ſigned an ukaſe to that effect in full ſenate.

Prince

Prince Jacob Feodowitſch Dolgoroukow*, one of the principal ſenators, and a man in whom the Czar repoſed much confidence, was not preſent when the ordinance was regiſtered, being employed that day on other buſineſs of the ſtate.

The following day the ſenate aſſembled, and was proceeding to the publication of the edict, when Dolgoroukow, who was ignorant of what had paſſed, made inquiry into the matter. The regiſters were preſented to him, and he found therein an order to ſend the peaſants of the governments of Novogorod and Peterſburgh to dig the canal of Ladoga.—"No," cried he, "this is "not poſſible; repreſentations muſt "be made to the emperor, or theſe "provinces, which have already "ſuffered ſo much, will be ruined "without reſource."—After ſaying this, Dolgoroukow, tranſported by his zeal for the poor peaſants, prepared to tear the ordinance. It was repreſented to him in vain, that it was too late to make any oppoſition, or to propoſe modifications, as the emperor had already ſigned it. Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, his patriotiſm got the better of his prudence, and he tore the edict, to the great aſtoniſhment of the ſenate.

The whole aſſembly roſe full of alarm, and aſked him if he knew what he had done, what he expoſed himſelf to, and the misfortunes that threatened him?—"Yes," anſwered he, "and I will anſwer for it "before God, the emperor, and "my country."

At this moment the Czar made his appearance. Surpriſed at the exclamations he had heard, and to ſee the whole ſenate ſtanding, he aſked what all this ſignified?—The attorney general trembled while he told him that the ordinance he had ſigned the day before had been torn to pieces by Dolgoroukow.—Peter turned to Dolgoroukow, and aſked him, with much warmth, what had induced him to oppoſe his authority in ſo unheard-of a manner?—"My "zeal for your honour, and the "good of your ſubjects," anſwered the intrepid ſenator. "Do not be "angry, Peter Alexiewitſch, that "I have too much confidence in "your wiſdom to think you wiſh, "like Charles the Twelfth, to deſo-"late your country. Your ordi-"nance is inconſiderate, and you "have not reflected on the ſitua-"tion of the two governments it "regards. Do you not know that "they have ſuffered more in the "war than all the provinces of "your empire together; that many "of their inhabitants have periſh-"ed; and are you unacquainted "with the preſent miſerable ſtate "of the people? What is there to "hinder your taking a ſmall num-"ber of men from each province "to dig this canal, which is cer-"tainly neceſſary? The other pro-"vinces are more populous than "the two in queſtion, and can ea-

* This Prince Dolgoroukow is the ſame who ſtudied the profeſſion of arms with the Czar in his youth, and who bore away the palm from his fellow pupil on ſeveral occaſions. He was made priſoner in 1700, at the unfortunate battle of Narva, and was ſent to Sweden; but he found means to eſcape, and returned ſafe to his maſter.

He is alſo the ſame, who prevailed on the Czar to leave the alarming ſolitude, in which his grief made him ſo obſtinately remain, on the death of his ſon.

" ſily furniſh you with labourers,
" or at leaſt without ſuffering the
" ſame difficulties as the provinces
" of Novogorod and Peterſburgh
" alone. Beſides, have you not
" Swediſh priſoners enow to employ,
" without oppreſſing your ſubjects
" with works like theſe?"

The Czar liſtened to this remonſtrance with great tranquillity, and, convinced of its propriety, turned towards the other ſenators—" Let " the publication of the ukaſe be " ſuſpended," ſaid he: " I will " conſider farther of this matter, " and let you know my inten- " tions."—Here the affair dropped.

Peter took other means to cut the canal of Ladoga, and, without doubt, following the idea of Dolgoroukow, ordered ſome thouſands of Swediſh priſoners to work there, almoſt all of whom periſhed in that laborious and unhealthy employment.

Mr. Reiſter, counſellor for the mines, then at Peterſburgh.

The Secret divulged.

Peter, after having brought the Swediſh war to a glorious concluſion, determined to avail himſelf of the troubles in Perſia, and to march againſt the Sophy. He diſcovered his deſign to none but the empreſs, and his favourite Menchicoff, with whom he was quite alone.—" I " have entruſted my ſecret," ſaid he, " to none but you, and forbid " you to ſpeak of it to any one"

Some days after, being alone with one of his dentchtſchicks, and meditating on the means of executing his great deſigns with ſucceſs, he aſked if there were any news?—" None, " Sire, except that we are going to " march againſt the Perſians."—" What!" replied the emperor, with ſurpiſe: " march againſt the " Perſians! Tell me immediately " from whom you had that fal- " ſity!"—" From the empreſs's " parrot, Sire: I heard it yeſter- " day, while I was in the antecham- " ber, repeat ſeveral times, *Ei* " *Perſi padiom*, We will march into " Perſia."

Peter ſent immediately for Prince Menchicoff to attend him to the apartment of the empreſs, and told them both, that, as the ſecret he had entruſted to them was divulged, he inſiſted on knowing to whom they had mentioned it. Catherine and Menchicoff proteſted they had not opened their mouths on the ſubject. The Czar, convinced of their innocence, turned towards the parrot—" Here," ſaid he, " is the traitor: " it is one of my denchtſchicks who " told me. In our converſation we " frequently ſaid, *We will march* " *into Perſia*, and the rogue has re- " membered and repeated it. You " muſt remove him from your " apartment," added he to the empreſs, laughing; " for it is ne- " ceſſary that we ſhould be on our " guard both againſt traitors and " babblers."

Count Iwan Gregorowitſch Tchernitſchoff.

Weakneſs and Generoſity of Peter *the* Great.

The Czar had the weakneſs incident almoſt to every hero: he was paſſionately fond of the fair ſex. Being one day at dinner at a foreign merchant's, whoſe daughter was very beautiful, he fell violently in love, and preſſed her to make a return to his paſſion. But the young lady, as virtuous as beautiful, firmly

firmly refuſed the moſt ſeducing offers, and, dreading his ſolicitations, reſolved to leave Moſcow by night, without acquainting her parents. Taking ſome proviſions and a little money with her, ſhe travelled ſeveral miles on foot, and at laſt reached a ſmall village, the abode of her nurſe. She diſcovered herſelf to her foſter ſiſter, whom ſhe informed of her intention to remain concealed. Her nurſe's huſband, a carpenter by trade, conducted her to a neighbouring wood, where, on a little riſing ground, ſurrounded by a moraſs, he haſtily built a hut for her reſidence.

The day after her flight the Czar ſent for her parents, who were inconſolable for her loſs. He at firſt thought it a concerted ſcheme; but the violence of their grief undeceived him, and he promiſed a large reward to any one who ſhould diſcover the fugitive: all ſearch, however, was vain, and her parents went into mourning.

A year after, an accident a little uncommon occaſioned her diſcovery. A colonel, who was abſent from his regiment on leave, made his way into the midſt of the wood in purſuit of game, came to the moraſs, and met the lady. Struck by her beauty, he became immediately enamoured of her, and, after a few queſtions, found that ſhe was the perſon whoſe loſs had made ſo much noiſe. He conſoled her by telling her that the Czar's heart was engaged elſewhere; offered to wait on her parents, and concert with them the means of taking her from her ſolitary abode. She conſented to his propoſal, and accepted his aſſiſtance with gratitude, that led the way to ſofter ſentiments. Her parents, overjoyed at finding their daughter, determined to apply to Mrs. Catherine; for this was the name then given to the celebrated woman whom Peter afterwards placed upon his throne.

Catherine ſpoke to the Czar, and repreſented, in ſuch lively colours, all that a delicate girl muſt have ſuffered, ſhut up for a whole year in a hut in the midſt of a moraſs, that he was much affected, reproached himſelf ſeverely with the pain he had given her, and determined to make her amends. He deſired to ſee her, her parents, and deliverer; to the latter of whom he preſented her—"Receive from my hand," ſaid he, "the moſt amiable and "virtuous of women: I ſettle upon "her and her heirs three thouſand "roubles a year."

This reſpectable woman went often to court in full poſſeſſion of his favour, and the veneration of the public.—"I have the ſtory from "her own mouth," ſays the chevalier Bruce, from whoſe memoirs it is borrowed.

Letter of Peter the Great, *written on the field of battle at* Pultowa *the 27th of June*, 1709, *at nine o'clock in the evening, to Admiral* Feodor Matweitſch Apraxin.

This is to inform you, that, by God's bleſſing and the bravery of my troops, I have juſt obtained a complete and unexpected victory without much effuſion of blood. Theſe are the particulars of the action.

This morning the enemy's cavalry and infantry attacked my cavalry, which gave way with conſiderable loſs, after a brave reſiſtance.

The enemy then formed themſelves in line of battle exactly oppoſite our camp. I drew immediately our infantry out of the entrenchments to oppoſe the Swedes, and placed our cavalry on the two wings.

The enemy, on ſeeing this, made a movement to attack us. Our troops advanced to meet them, and received them in ſuch a manner, that the enemy deſerted the field of battle after little or no reſiſtance, leaving us in poſſeſſion of a number of cannon, colours, and ſtandards. Field-marſhal general Reinſchild, generals Schlippenbach, Stackelberg, Hamilton, and Roſen, are among the priſoners; as are alſo count Piper, prime miniſter, ſecretaries Imerlin and Cederheilm, and ſeveral thouſand officers and ſoldiers. I will ſend you in a little time a more circumſtantial account; at preſent I am too buſy to ſatisfy your curioſity entirely. In few words, the enemy's army has met with the fate of Phaeton. I can give you no account of the king, not knowing whether he be in the number of the living, or gone to ſleep with his fathers. I have ſent prince Galitzin and Bawer with part of the cavalry in purſuit of the runaways. I congratulate you on this good news, and beg all the magiſtrates and officers of my empire to conſider it as a happy omen.

PETER.

P. S. Thank God the foundations of Peterſburgh are firmly laid.

Tranſlated from the original in the Ruſſian tongue by Jacob Stæhlin.

Character of Joſeph Baretti, *Eſq.*—*Extracted from the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* 1789.

"JOSEPH Baretti was a native of Piedmont, with little patrimony, except his education. To his education he was indebted for his knowledge of the Latin language. To his own induſtry, for the acquiſition of French, Engliſh, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe. Greek he was not acquainted with, and was never aſhamed to confeſs and lament it; nor is it improbable, but that the facility he naturally experienced in acquiring modern languages, added diſguſt to the difficulty of making a proficiency in Greek. In the languages he did poſſeſs, his knowledge was not merely ſuperficial or colloquial, but accurate and critical to a great degree; and though his countrymen have ſometimes denied him the credit of poſſeſſing the Tuſcan purity in his Italian writings, he failed poſſibly in thoſe little niceties of the dialect, which none but a native can diſcover; and certain it is, that he had laboured ſo earneſtly to attain that excellence, as totally to neglect the Piedmonteſe, and become incapable of converſing in it with fluency and propriety. It is no ſmall teſtimony of his induſtry or abilities, that he was a publiſher in the Italian, French, and Engliſh languages. Of his proficiency in Engliſh, we are the beſt judges; and if we ſay that he failed in the manner, rather than the language and phraſe of our beſt writers, we muſt ſtill leave him the merit of being able to amuſe, delight, and inſtruct; —a merit, perhaps, none will deny him who have read his "Travels "in Spain," or his "Remarks upon "Mr. Sam. Sharpe's Letters from "Italy." His "Travels in Spain" is the work by which his friends would wiſh him to be remembered; and, as he received 500l. for this work from the bookſellers, it might have

have been a leſſon to teach him, that, where profit was moſt attainable, it was moſt creditable likewiſe, and ought to have deterred him from commencing that ſtyle of invective by which he was ever a loſer. Large ſupplies, however, like this, were not the produce of every day. We ought not to be ſurpriſed, therefore, if we find Baretti engaged in the humbler offices which almoſt every man muſt ſubmit to who has no profeſſion but his pen. It was want that compelled him to be a corrector of the preſs for Spaniſh or Italian works, to frame dialogues for inſtruction in thoſe languages, or compile dictionaries in the ſervice of bookſellers, in order to find the means of a regular ſupport. The latter labours of his life, which claim the title of originality, were, "A Letter to M. de Voltaire," in French, treating very freely his ſtrictures upon Shakſpeare — his "Tolondron," in Engliſh, a ſevere invective againſt Mr. Bowle, the tranſlator of "Don Quixote,"— and ſome remarks, in Italian, upon the conduct of the Biſhop of Piſtoia, who is ſuppoſed to be inſtigated by the preſent Duke of Tuſcany to prepare the minds of his ſubjects for throwing off the ſpiritual tyranny of Rome. Of the firſt of theſe works little need be ſaid to recommend it to Engliſhmen, when they are told it is in defence of Shakſpeare, the god of their idolatry. But it is in reality a ſenſible work, combating the volatile and impetuous Frenchman on his own grounds, and proving, to a demonſtration, that, though ignorant of Engliſh and Italian, he had, without ſcruple, written in the one language, and criticiſed the authors of the other. The "Tolondron" contains a ſeries of the groſſeſt abuſe upon Mr. Bowle, which nothing could juſtify, unleſs Mr. Bowle was the author of the publications in the Gentleman's Magazine, imputing the crime of murder to a man aſſaulted by pickpockets in the ſtreets of London. Baretti certainly thought Mr. Bowle the author of thoſe charges, and took therefore this ſevere, though perhaps unwarrantable, mode of retaliation. It is not even good of its kind, but muſt appear far more reprehenſible to thoſe who are not aware of the provocation. The publication in Italian relating to the Biſhop of Piſtoia, the writer of this account never ſaw, and can therefore paſs no judgment upon it. Having ſaid this of his writings, it may be neceſſary to add ſomething of his fortunes. He has himſelf been heard to ſay, that he was induced to come to England firſt, about ſix and thirty years ago, by an Iriſh nobleman (Lord Charlemont, it is ſuppoſed) to whom he had had the opportunity of ſhewing ſome civilities in Italy. What were the proſpects held out to him are not ſo evident; but certain it is, from his firſt ſetting foot on Engliſh ground (though he has been reproached with not loving the Engliſh nation) his attachment to the country and people was fixed, and incapable of diminution. It was after this firſt arrival that he returned to Italy, and commenced the publication of his "Fruſta Literaria," which brought him in a conſiderable profit, but raiſed ſuch a flame in Venice, as to make his ſtay in that country at leaſt diſagreeable, if not dangerous. With the profits of this work, and with unabated love to England, he returned to this country, and had the addreſs or good fortune to introduce himſelf to the

acquaintance of Dr. Johnſon *, Mr. Burke, Mr. Garrick, Sir Joſhua Reynolds, and moſt of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed for their talents or profeſſional abilities in the metropolis. How he ſupported himſelf before he was maſter of the Engliſh language is uncertain; but his ſpirit and moderation were ſuch, that he was under pecuniary obligations to very few of his acquaintance, that he ſought the aſſiſtance of no one by ſervility, and, when he received it, was in that abſolute diſtreſs which his friends could not fail to diſcover, and which they were ever more ready to afford than he to accept. It was not diſtreſs that compelled him to take refuge in the hoſpitality of Mr. Thrale (as has been ſuggeſted): he had lately received 500l. for his "Spaniſh Travels," but was induced by Dr. Johnſon (contrary to his own determination, of never becoming a teacher of languages) to undertake the inſtruction of Mr. Thrale's daughters in Italian. He was either nine or eleven years almoſt entirely in that family, though he ſtill rented a lodging in town; during which period he expended his own 500l. and received, in return for his inſtruction, the participation of a good table, and 150l. by way of preſents †.

The cauſe of mutual diſguſt, which took place between Mrs. Piozzi and Baretti, is before the public, in the letters addreſſed to that lady in the European Magazine; the invective contained in thoſe letters is not to be juſtified, and the puerility which ſometimes preſents itſelf, in the midſt of the ſevereſt reproaches, is a confirmation of what has been already advanced, that though Baretti had obtained the *idiom* of our language to a ſufficient degree of correctneſs, he had not acquired the *manner* of our beſt writers: he was told this by a friend, whoſe opinion he aſked upon the publication of the firſt letter, who added, that he would never read a ſecond if written in the ſame ſtyle. Baretti received the reproof with good-humour, but his mind was too far engaged to alter his plan.—The greateſt want he ever experienced was probably the immediate months after the rupture with Mr. Thrale's family. Like a true author, he had grown indolent under the ſeducting influence of luxury: his own 500l. was expended—his mind long diverted from labour—his pen long unemployed. The correction of the preſs became his reſource, and the hoſpitality of his friends one of the means of ſupporting life; theſe reſources were ſcanty; he wanted little, but that little was not in his power to obtain; and the extremity of diſtreſs came upon him ſo faſt ſoon afterwards, that, if Mr. Cator had not ſtepped forward to aſſiſt him, he muſt, in all probability, have ſunk under the burden. There is reaſon to ſuppoſe that this gentleman, who was one of Mr. Thrale's executors, had commenced

* Dr. Johnſon's letters to Mr. Baretti, when abroad in 1761 (now extant), are of the moſt friendly kind.

† In a letter from Dr. Johnſon to Mr. Boſwell, is the following paragraph relative to Mr. Baretti's quitting Mr. Thrale.——"Baretti went away from Thrale's "in ſome whimſical fit of diſguſt or ill-nature, without taking any leave. It is "well if he finds in any other place as good an habitation, and as many conveni-"ences. He has got 25 guineas by tranſlating Sir Joſhua's diſcourſes into Italian; "and Mr. Thrale gave him 100 in the ſpring, ſo that he is yet in no difficulties."

acquaintance

acquaintance with him at Streatham, and it is no ſmall teſtimony to Baretti's conduct, that it met with approbation from the moſt confidential friend of the family. Mr. Cator, in ſerving Baretti, cloathed the naked, fed the hungry, and relieved the neceſſitous; not content with this, he endeavoured to prevent the return of his calamities, and, by his powerful recommendation to Lord Hawkeſbury, obtained for him a penſion of fourſcore pounds a year. This eſſential ſervice to Baretti was accompliſhed in the latter part of Lord North's adminiſtration; and let this humble tribute of gratitude be returned to his Lordſhip, and thoſe concerned in the application, for preventing a foreigner, approaching to his ſeventieth year, from periſhing by want. All his own ſchemes for averting this evil had failed: among theſe, was that of inducing Mr. Philidore to ſet the Carmen Seculare of Horace to muſic; it was Baretti's hope to bring this annually before the public in Lent, and ſhare the profit; it was preſented one ſeaſon at Free-Maſons hall, and ſuppoſed to be ſucceſsful; but the profits ariſing to Baretti from it did not pay for the cloaths he made up for his appearance. After the important buſineſs of the penſion was ſettled, he became an independent, and indeed a happy man; his time, for great part of the year, was divided between Mr. Cator's at Beckenham, and Mr. Gaulor's at Way-Hall; he had in both houſes what he peculiarly wiſhed, an opportunity of mixing in company, and his œconomy rendered his penſion the means of ſupport for the remainder of the year almoſt to the extent of his wiſhes. Some diſappointments at the cloſe of his life poſſibly advanced his departure from the ſituation of public affairs; his penſion was nearly three quarters in arrear: the Italian Dictionary, which was reforming for the bookſellers, and for which he was to receive 100 l. did not become productive ſo ſoon as he expected it; Mr. Gaulor and Mr. Cator both ſtepped in to his relief, by divining his diſtreſs; ſtill, however, he felt it ſo pungently, and magnified the weight of his debts ſo much to his imagination, that vexation produced the gout in his ſtomach. His perverſeneſs in ſickneſs was well known to all his friends, and, having conceived that ice or cold water was a ſovereign remedy in all diſeaſes, he perſiſted in taking great draughts of the latter, till all medical aſſiſtance was in vain. The family in which he lodged, and where he was regarded as a friend or parent, were convinced he was ſinking rather under diſtreſs than diſeaſe: in this extremity a friend undertook to apply for the 50 l. ſtill remaining due on account of the Dictionary. Mr. Cadell, upon the firſt application, liberally undertook to procure the payment of it. "I went back to "him," (ſaid his friend, theſe were his own words) "I told him "to be comforted, for the money "ſhould be paid him the next morn-"ing." He preſſed my hand with the cold ſweat of death upon his palm. "My dear friend," ſaid he, "I thank you for your kind offices, "but it is now too late." He ſpoke but little after this, except to accuſe himſelf for having taught young people to think lightly of medical knowledge, and confeſſing that by his contempt of it he had been the cauſe of his own death. He died that evening, in the ſeventy-

first year of his age; the 50l. was paid the next morning. His funeral was attended by a few friends, and some members of the Royal Academy, to which he was secretary for foreign correspondence (a place without profit), and he was committed to the earth in the upper burying-ground of Mary le Bone parish. It is but justice to add, that by means of the 50l. just mentioned, and the arrears of his pension, every debt he had is covered, and that he died without a claim upon him more than he was able to discharge if he had lived. After the account here given of Baretti, a character of him may appear superfluous; but, as every author, while living, hopes for a friend to perform that office rather than an enemy, let friendship be an excuse for the following sketch.

The person of Baretti was athletic, his countenance by no means attractive, his manners apparently rough, but not unsocial; his eye, when he was inclined to please, or be pleased, when he was conversing with young people, and especially young women, chearful and engaging; he was fond of conversing with them, and his conversation almost constantly turned upon subjects of instruction; he had the art of drawing them into correspondence, and wished by these means to give them the power of expression and facility of language, while he himself conveyed to them lessons on the conduct of life; and the best answer that can be given to all those accounts, which have represented him as a man of a brutal and ferocious temper, is the attachment which many of his young friends felt while he was living, and preserve to his memory now he is no more. He was not impatient of contradiction, unless where contempt was implied, but alive in every feeling where he thought himself traduced, or his conduct impeached. His Tolondron, and letters to Mrs. Piozzi, bespeak this temper; and, as invective always finds its way to notice more readily than other subjects, it is not to be wondered at, if these have left more impression on the public than his other works. But let it be remembered, that in both instances he was attacked. Mr. Bowle treated him (or was believed to treat him) as a murderer; Mrs. Piozzi, as a man of an unfeeling and ungrateful heart: he suffered by his irritability on these and other occasions. His letter to Voltaire produced him nothing but a few copies to give to his friends; his Tolondron never sold; his letters in the European Magazine he gave to the printer. In every other intercourse with the world, he was social, easy, and conversible; his talents were neither great or splendid; but his knowledge of mankind was extensive, and his acquaintance with books in all the modern languages which are valuable, except the German, was universal. His conduct in every family where he became an inmate, was correct and irreproachable; neither prying, nor inquisitive, nor intermeddling; but affable to the inferiors, and conciliatory between the principals; in others, which he visited only, he was neither intrusive nor unwelcome; ever ready to accept an invitation when it was cordial, and never seeking it where it was cold and affected. His love to the English nation was sincere and unbounded. He might have lived in want at home, probably as much as he experienced in England; but,

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but, if his converſation may be depended on, he preferred his humble penſion here, to double the amount in his own country. His aſſiſtance to every Engliſhman who wiſhed to viſit Italy, his readineſs to give or procure recommendations was conſtant, and many have received civilities and attentions from his family, who were unconſcious that requeſts for that purpoſe had been tranſmitted. His friendſhip with Dr. Johnſon was unbroken for five and twenty years; the coolneſs which aroſe juſt before the Doctor's death, he has ſtated with great ſimplicity in his Tolondron. It is an additional proof of his impatience under ſlight or contempt; but his reverence of the abilities and worth of his friend was unimpaired to the laſt moment of his life. They had been friends in diſtreſs; and one evening, when they had agreed to go to the tavern, a foreigner in the ſtreets, by a ſpecious tale of diſtreſs, emptied the Doctor's purſe of the laſt half guinea it contained; they took their ſupper, however, as they had agreed, but when the reckoning came, what was the Doctor's ſurprize upon his recollecting that his purſe was totally exhauſted! Baretti had fortunately enough to anſwer the demand, and has often declared that it was impoſſible for him not to reverence a man who could give away all that he was worth, without recollecting his own diſtreſs.——In point of *morals*, Baretti was irreproachable; in regard to *faith*, he was rather without religion, than irreligious: the fact was, poſſibly, that he had been diſguſted with the religion of Italy before he left it, and was too old, when he came to England, to take an attachment to the purer doctrines of the Proteſtant church: but his ſcepticiſm was never offenſive to thoſe who had ſettled principles, never held out or defended in company, never propoſed to miſlead or corrupt the minds of young people. He ridiculed the libertine publications of Voltaire, and the reveries of Rouſſeau; he deteſted the philoſophy of the French *pour les femmes de chambre*, and, though too much of a philoſopher (in his own opinion) to ſubſcribe to any church, he was a friend to church eſtabliſhments.

If this was the leaſt favourable part of his character, the beſt was his integrity, which was in every period of his diſtreſſes conſtant and unimpeached. He had once treſpaſſed upon Mr. Cadell's liberality to the amount of 70 l. with little hope of diſcharging the obligation; fortune relieved him, by bringing him an Eaſtern preſent from a young lady, who had been one of thoſe he took a pleaſure to inſtruct; ſhe was juſt married to Mr. Middleton in Bengal, and tranſmitted him, among other treaſures, a diamond of ſome value; the uſe he made of it, was to lodge it in Mr. Cadell's hands till it could be ſold, and the debt diſcharged. His regularity in every other claim was equally conſpicuous; his wants he never made known but in the laſt extremity; and his laſt illneſs, if it was cauſed by vexation, would doubtleſs have been prevented, by the intervention of many friends who were ready to ſupply him, if his own ſcruples, ſtrengthened by the hopes of receiving his due from day to day, had not induced him to conceal his immediate diſtreſs till it was too late to aſſiſt him.

Such was the character of Joſeph Baretti, as it appeared to the writer

of these anecdotes. Those who never lived with him, may perhaps draw contrary inferences from his disputes with Mr. Bowle and Mrs. Piozzi; but if any of those who knew his course of life, should think more has been said of him than he deserves, the press is open to their remarks. A panegyrist might think himself called upon to reply to them; but the writer of this account, knowing what he has said is the truth, cannot object to other truths being laid before the public. It may be some satisfaction to his numerous correspondents to be informed, that every letter in his possession was burnt without inspection."

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Having inſerted in our Annual Regiſter *for* 1787, *the Obſervations of* John Hunter, *Eſq; tending to ſhew that the* Wolf, Jackal, *and* Dog, *are all of the ſame Species, we ſhall add his Supplementary Letter, addreſſed to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. in Proof of that Fact.—From Vol.* lxxix. *of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

SIR,

"IN the year 1787 I had the honour of preſenting to this learned ſociety, a paper to prove the Wolf, the Jackal, and the Dog to be of the ſame ſpecies. But as the complete proof of the wolf being a dog, which conſiſted in the half-bred puppy breeding again, had not been under my own inſpection, although ſufficiently well-authenticated, I ſaved a female of one of the half-bred puppies, mentioned in that paper, in hopes of being myſelf a witneſs of the fact; but when the period of impregnation arrived, we unluckily miſſed that opportunity. However, another half-bred puppy has had young, which is equally ſatisfactory to me as if my own had bred. John Symmons, eſq; of Milbank, has had a female wolf in his poſſeſſion for ſome time, who was lined by a dog, and brought forth ſeveral puppies, which I had the honour of ſeeing with you. This was a very ſhort time after the brood had been produced by Mr. Gough's wolf, the ſubject of my former paper, therefore the puppies were nearly of an age with mine. Theſe puppies Mr. Symmons has reared; only one of them was a female, and ſhe had much more of the mother or wolf in her than any of the reſt of the ſame litter. I communicated my wiſh to Mr. Symmons, that either his puppy or mine ſhould prove the fact to our own knowledge; which he immediately, with great readineſs, acceded to. On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of December, 1788, this bitch was lined by a dog, and on the 18th of February ſhe brought eight puppies, all of which ſhe now rears. If we reckon from the 16th of December, ſhe went 64 days; but if we reckon from the 17th, the mean time, then it is 63 days, the uſual time for a bitch to go with pup. Theſe puppies are the ſecond remove from the wolf and dog, ſimilar to that given by my Lord Clanbraſſil to the Earl of Pembroke, which bred again. It would have proved the ſame fact if ſhe had been lined by either a wolf, a dog, or one of the males of her own litter.

I may juſt remark here, that the wolf ſeems to have only one time in the

the year for impregnation natural to her, and that is in the month of December; for every time Mr. Gough's wolf has been in heat was in this month, and it proves to be the same month in which Mr. Symmons's wolf was in heat; for his half-bred wolf is nearly of the same age with mine, and the time she was in heat was also the same with that of her own mother, and the present brood corresponds in time with the brood of Mr. Gough's wolf.

I am, &c.

JOHN HUNTER."

An Account of the Moving *of a* Bog, *and the* Formation *of a* Lake, *in the County of* Galway, Ireland. *By* Ralph Ousley, *Esq*; *M. R. I. A.* —*From the Transactions of the* Royal Irish Academy.

"ON Tuesday, March 28, 1745, O. S. a very remarkable and extraordinary event happened at the bog of Addergoole, about a mile and an half from the town of Dunmore, county of Galway. As James Carroll, Esq; * of Killeeny, superintended his men cutting turf, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the day being very sultry, he observed a sudden and alarming gathering of the clouds just over his head, and had scarce time to warn his labourers of the approaching storm, when the most violent and surprizing rain, ever remembered, assailed them, accompanied with a dreadful though unknown noise, not so loud, but as tremendous as thunder, a little to the east of where they stood: though the men ran incessantly towards an adjacent village, they were wet to the skin before they got half way.

This shower, or water-spout rather, continued little more than an hour, at the conclusion of which the turf-cutters were presented with a phænomenon much more extraordinary; they saw the turbary they had just left, containing about ten acres, floating as it were after them, till it subsided at last upon a piece of low pasture of near thirty acres by the river's side, called Higgins's Park, where it spread and settled, covering the whole, to the astonishment of numbers, and the very great loss of Major Caroll; as it instantly became, and still continues, the wettest and most unprofitable piece of bog in the whole country.

Another and more considerable injury immediately succeeded this; the moving bog completely choaked up the river, which consequently overflowed the back grounds, and before evening a lough or lake of near fifty-five acres covered the adjacent fields. Major Caroll's fine bottom meadow of thirty acres was in a few hours perfectly transformed into water: fifteen acres also of meadow, of the lands of Addergoole, belonging to poor tenants, shared the same fate, which, with the ten acres of bog that moved, make up the number mentioned above; forming a considerable lough in half a day's time, to the great prejudice of many, and surprize as well as terror of the neighbourhood.

The lake naturally increasing every hour, Major Carroll in a few days collected a great number of labourers, and began to make a

* A brevet major in Queen Anne's reign.

large

large drain to carry the water by the ſhorteſt cut to the bed of the river, now dry: but perceiving the new-formed lough forcing itſelf into another line, he aſſiſted its operations, and without much trouble formed the preſent courſe of the river to its junction with the antient channel, below the late formed bog. Before the paſſage was finiſhed, and the lake let run, it was ſuppoſed to have covered three hundred acres; but in ſeven or eight days it diminiſhed to fifty or ſixty acres, of which extent it ſtill continues. The river below the new bog was nearly dry for more than a mile, and children of ten or twelve years old deſtroyed all the fiſh, even in the deepeſt holes.

Moſt of the grounds mentioned here, are bounded by the eſtate of the preſent Earl of Louth, who has been often on the premiſes, and is well acquainted with the above particulars."

An Account of an Aurora Borealis *ſeen in full Sunſhine. By the Rev.* Henry Uſher, *D. D. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. — From the ſame Work.*

"THE following phænomenon being very uncommon, if not entirely new, I think it worth communicating to the Academy, principally with a view to learn whether any other perſon has obſerved a ſimilar one at any time.

On Saturday night, May 24, 1788, there was a very bright aurora borealis, the coruſcating rays of which united, as uſual, in the pole of the dipping needle. I have always obſerved that an aurora borealis renders the ſtars remarkably unſteady in the teleſcope. The next morning, about eleven, finding the ſtars flutter much, I examined the ſtate of the ſky, and ſaw whitiſh rays aſcending from every part of the horizon, all tending to the pole of the dipping needle, where at their union they formed a ſmall thin and white canopy, ſimilar to the luminous one exhibited by an aurora in the night. Theſe rays coruſcated or ſhivered from the horizon to their point of union.

Theſe effects were diſtinctly ſeen by three different people, and their point of union marked ſeparately by each of them.

There is certainly no reaſon for confining the effects of aurora borealis to the night, although it then makes its moſt magnificent diſplay, contraſted by the darkneſs of the ſky.

The tumulous motion of the ſtars at certain times in ſerene ſkies has been taken notice of by the Abbé De La Caille, at the Cape of Good Hope; and M. De La Lande remarks, that ſometimes, when a ſouth-weſt wind prevails at Paris, the ſame effect is produced. An aurora borealis in this country is generally ſucceeded by a ſouth-weſt wind, and frequently the wind veers round to that point during its appearance; now if this phænomenon, as ſuggeſted by an ingenious member of this Academy, ſhould be inflammable air in a ſtate of inflammation, the water ſo produced by ſuch inflammation might ſatisfactorily account for this unſteadineſs of the rays, whether we ſuppoſe it either in the act of abſorption, or in the ſtate of veſicular vapour deſcending from the upper regions of the atmoſphere.

That

That inflammable air, at leaſt ſome ſpecies of it, contains iron, cannot well be diſputed, as its effect on an infuſion or tincture of galls ſhews the preſence of iron. That there is ſome connection, hitherto unexplored, between magnetiſm and the aurora borealis ſeems highly probable. The unſteadineſs of the magnetic needle during the appearance of this phænomenon is known to every one, and indicates ſuch connection; the union of the radii of a ſtrong aurora borealis in the pole of the dipping needle ſtrengthens the ſame conjecture, which is ſtill further confirmed by the ſituation of the luminous northern arch, generally the firſt ſymptom of a ſtrong aurora, and from whence, in all probability, the name was taken; for the higheſt point of this arch is always found in the magnetic meridian.

This phænomenon is certainly more common now than it was a century or even half a century ago; this I find moſt people, even the moſt illiterate, agreed in. Upon examining the accounts of the authenticated appearances of the aurora borealis, ſo carefully collected by the celebrated De Mairan, I perceive a chaſm in the liſt of obſervations for about forty years in the laſt century, in the middle of which chaſm, nearly, is the year 1661, in which year we are told the variation of the needle at Paris was o. We ſeem alſo to collect from the ſame author's reſearches that the frequency of this appearance ſeems to have decreaſed with the diminution of the eaſtern variation, and it now ſeems to increaſe with the increaſing weſtern variation. What real connection there may be between the *variation* of the needle and the aurora borealis, or the cauſe of it, I acknowledge myſelf entirely ignorant; but perhaps this trifling hint may engage the attention of others, who have both more leiſure and abilities for ſuch an intereſting diſquiſition."

A Table containing an authentic Statement of the Population *of* China, *divided into Provinces; made in the 27th Year of the Reign of* Kien-Long; *i. e. in* 1761.—*From the Tranſlation of* Abbé Groſier's *Deſcription of* China.

"THIS ſtate of the population of China, which may be conſidered as peculiarly authentic, was taken from the Tribunal of Lands there, and received in France in 1779. It is written in Chineſe characters; but an explanation of theſe characters is added by Chineſe words correſponding to them, which were tranſlated into French at Pe-king. A copy of this original piece follows; but it muſt be read from top to bottom, becauſe the Chineſe lines are vertical. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that the *ouan* of the Chineſe is equal to ten thouſand.

CHONG

CHONG MIN CHOU:
ALL THE PEOPLE NUMBERED.

I.

FONG-TIEN *.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Leou, Che, } *sixty*
Leou, *six*
Ouan, *ten thousand*
Pá, *eight*
Tsien, *thousand*
Pa, *eight*
Pei, *hundred*
Ou, Che, } *fifty*
Eul, *two*

[668,852.]

II.

TCHE-LY †.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
Ou, *five*
Pei, *hundred*
Eul, Che, } *twenty*
Eul, *two*
Ouan
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
Kieo, *nine*
Pei, *hundred*
Se, Chi, } *forty*

[15,222,940.]

* Leao-tong.
† Or Pe-tcheli.

III.

NGAN-HOEI *.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Eul, *two*,
Tsien, *thousand*
Eul, *two*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*
Leou, *six*
Ouan
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
San, Che, } *thirty*

[22,761,030.]

IV.

KIANG-SOU.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
San, *three*
Pei, *hundred*
Y, *one*
Che, *ten*, Leou, *six*, } *sixteen*
Ouan
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
Se, *four*
Pei, *hundred*
Kieou, *nine*

[23,161,409.]

* Kiang-nan is divided into two provinces; one of which is called Ngan-hoei; the other, Kiang-sou.

V.

KIANG-SI.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
Y, *one*
Pei, *hundred*
Ouan
Leou, *six*
Tsien, *thousand*
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
Se, Chi, } *forty*

[11,006,640.]

VI.

TCHE-KIANG.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*

Nan,

Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
Ou, *five*
Pei, *hundred*
Se, Chi, } *forty*
Eul, *two*
Ouan
Kieou, *nine*
Tsien, *thousand*
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
Kieou, Che, } *ninety*

[15,429,690.]

VII.

Fou-kien.

Ching, *province*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Kong, *in all*
Pa, *eight*
Pei, *hundred*
Leou, *six*
Ouan
San, *three*
Tsien, *thousand*
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*
Y, *one*

[8,063,671.]

VIII.

Hou-pe*.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Pa, *eight*
Pei, *hundred*
Pa, *eight*
Ouan
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
San, *three*

[8,080,603.]

* Hou-pe is divided into two provinces; Hou-pe and Ho-nan.

IX.

Hou-nan.

Ching, *province*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Kong, *in all*
Pa, *eight*
Pei, *hundred*
Pa, Che, } *eighty*
Eul, *two*
Ouan
Kieou, *nine*
Tsien, *thousand*
San, *three*
Pei, *hundred*
Eul, Che, } *twenty*

[8,829,320.]

X.

Chang-tong.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
Ou, *five*
Pei, *hundred*
Y, Che, Pa, } *eighteen*
Ouan
Tsi, *seven*
Pei, *hundred*
San, Che, } *thirty*
Se, *four*

[25,180,734.]

XI.

Ho-nan.

Ching, *province*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Kong, *in all*
Y, *one*
Tsien, *thousand*
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
San, Che, } *thirty*
San, *three*
Ouan
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
Ou, *five*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, *seven*

[16,332,507.]

XII.

Chan-si.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Kieou, *nine*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*

Leou,

Leou, *six*
Ouan
Pa, *eight*
Tsien, *thousand*
Y, *one*
Pei, *hundred*
Pa, Che, } *eighty*
Kieou, *nine*

[9,768,189.]

XIII.

SI-NGAN*.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Tsi, *seven*
Pei, *hundred*
Eul, Che, } *twenty*
Pa, *eight*
Ouan
Tsi, *seven*
Tsien, *thousand*
Se, *four*
Pei, *hundred*
Se, Che, } *forty*
San, *three*

[7,287,443.]

XIV.

KAN-SOU †.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Tsi, *seven*

* Or Chen-si.

† Kan-sou is a part taken from the province of Chen-si.

Pei, *hundred*
Se, Che, } *forty*
Y, *one*
Ouan
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
Y, Che, Se, } *fourteen*

[7,412,014.]

XV.

SE-TCHOUEN.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Eul, *two*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*
Pa, *eight*
Ouan
Eul, *two*
Tsien, *thousand*
Kieou, *nine*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*
Leou, *six*

[2,782,976.]

XVI.

QUANG-TONG.

Ching, *province*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Kong, *in all*
Leou, *six*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, Che, } *seventy*
Kieou, *nine*
Ouan
Tsi, *seven*
Tsien, *thousand*
Ou, *five*
Pei, *hundred*
Kieou, Che, } *ninety*
Tsi, *seven*

[6,797,597.]

XVII.

QUANG-SI.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
San, *three*
Pei, *hundred*
Kieou, Che, } *ninety*
Se, *four*
Ouan
Tsi, *seven*
Tsien, *thousand*
Se, *four*
Pei, *hundred*
Y, Che, Se, } *fourteen*

[3,947,414.]

XVIII.

YUN-NAN.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
Eul, *two*
Pei, *hundred*
Tsi, *seven*
Ouan
Pa, *eight*

Tsien,

Tſien, *thouſand*
Pa, *eight*
Pei, *hundred*
Eul, *two*
[2,078,802.]

XIX.

KOEI-TCHEOU.

Ching, *province*
Ta, *great*
Siao, *little*
Nan, *men*
Niu, *women*
Kong, *in all*
San, *three*
Pei, *hundred*
Se, Che, *forty*
Ouan
Eul, *two*
Tſien, *thouſand*
Tſi, *ſeven*
Pei, *hundred*
Eul, Che, *twenty*
Eul, *two*
[3,402,722.]

KIEN-LONG.

Eul, Che, *twenty*
Leou, *ſix*
Nien, *year*

If we add all theſe quantities, we ſhall have, for the ſum total of the inhabitants of China in 1761, which was the twenty-ſixth year of the reign of Kien-long, one hundred and ninety-eight millions, two hundred and fourteen thouſand, five hundred and fifty-three.

[198,214,553.]

This regiſter was accompanied with a comparative ſtate of the population in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth years of the reign of *Kien-long*, or in 1760 and 1761. In the former, there were found to be in China 196,837,977 *mouths*; in the ſecond, 198,214,553; there was therefore an increaſe of 1,376,576 in the courſe of one year only. But, twenty years have elapſed ſince the epocha of this numeration; and, as it can be proved by facts, that the population of China, for a long time paſt, has been progreſſively increaſing, may we not thence preſume, that this empire contains at preſent two hundred millions of inhabitants? It will, no doubt, be allowed, that there is no ſovereign in the univerſe who commands ſo many people united in the ſame ſociety, and governed by the ſame laws."

The Manner of making Porcelain.—*From the ſame.*

"THE fine Porcelain of China is ſo celebrated, that we cannot omit giving ſome account of the manner of preparing the paſte of which it is made. This ſubſtance is produced by the mixture of two ſorts of earth; one of which is called *pe-tun-tſe*, and the other, *kao-lin*; the latter is intermixed with ſmall ſhining particles; the other is purely white, and very fine to the touch. Theſe firſt materials are carried to the manufactories in the ſhape of bricks. The *pe-tun-tſe*, which is ſo fine, is nothing elſe but fragments of rock taken from certain quarries, and reduced to powder. Every kind of ſtone is not fit for this purpoſe. *The colour of that which is good*, ſay the Chineſe, *ought to incline a little towards green.* A large iron club is uſed for breaking theſe pieces of rock; they are afterwards put into mortars; and, by means of levers headed with ſtone bound round with iron, they are reduced to a very fine powder. Theſe levers are put in action either by the labour of men, or by water, in the ſame manner as the

the hammers of our paper-mills. The duſt afterwards collected, is thrown into a large veſſel full of water, which is ſtrongly ſtirred with an iron ſhovel. When it has been left to ſettle for ſome time, a kind of cream riſes on the top, about four inches in thickneſs, which is ſkimmed off and poured into another veſſel filled with water; the water in the firſt veſſel is ſtirred ſeveral times, and the cream which riſes is ſtill collected, until nothing remains but the coarſe dregs, which, by their own weight, precipitate to the bottom: theſe dregs are carefully collected, and pounded anew.

With regard to what is taken from the firſt veſſel, it is ſuffered to remain in the ſecond until it is formed into a kind of cruſt at the bottom. When the water above it ſeems quite clear, it is poured off, by gently inclining the veſſel, that the ſediment may not be diſturbed; and the paſte is thrown into large moulds proper for drying it. Before it is entirely hard, it is divided into ſmall ſquare cakes, which are ſold by the hundred. The colour of this paſte, and its form, have occaſioned it to receive the name of *pe-tun-tſe*.

The *kao-lin* which is uſed in the compoſition of porcelain, requires leſs labour than the *pe-tun-tſe*. Nature has a greater ſhare in the preparation of it. There are large mines of it in the boſoms of certain mountains, the exterior ſtrata of which conſiſts of a kind of red earth. Theſe mines are very deep, and the *kao-lin* is found in ſmall lumps, that are formed into bricks, after having gone through the ſame proceſs as the *pe-tun-tſe*. Father d'Entrecolles thinks that the earth called *terre de Malte*, or *St. Paul's earth*, has much affinity to the *kaolin*, although thoſe ſmall ſhining particles are not obſerved in it which are interſperſed in the latter.

It is from the *kao-lin*, that fine porcelain derives all its ſtrength; if we may be allowed the expreſſion, it ſtands it in ſtead of nerves. It is very extraordinary, that a ſoft earth ſhould give ſtrength and conſiſtency to the *pe-tun-tſe*, which is procured from the hardeſt rocks. A rich Chineſe merchant told F. d'Entrecolles, that the Engliſh and Dutch had purchaſed ſome of the *pe-tun-tſe*, which they tranſported to Europe, with a deſign of making porcelain; but, having carried with them none of the *kao-lin*, their attempt proved abortive, as they have ſince acknowledged. *They wanted*, ſaid this Chineſe, laughing, *to form a body the fleſh of which ſhould ſupport itſelf without bones.*

The Chineſe have diſcovered, within theſe few years, a new ſubſtance proper to be employed in the compoſition of porcelain. It is a ſtone, or rather ſpecies of chalk, called *hoa-che*, from which the phyſicians prepare a kind of draught that is ſaid to be deterſive, aperient, and cooling. The manufacturers of porcelain have thought proper to employ this ſtone inſtead of *kao-lin*. It is called *hoa* becauſe it is glutinous, and has a great reſemblance to ſoap. Porcelain made with *hoa-che* is very rare, and much dearer than any other. It has an exceeding fine grain, and, with regard to the painting, if it be compared with that of the common porcelain, it appears to ſurpaſs it as much as vellum does paper. This porcelain is, beſides, ſo light, that it ſurpriſes thoſe who are accuſtomed to handle other kinds; it is alſo much more brittle; and it

is very difficult to hit upon the proper degree of tempering it.

Hoa-che is ſeldom uſed in forming the body of the work; the artiſt is contented ſometimes with making it into a very fine ſize, in which the veſſel is plunged when dry, in order that it may receive a coat before it is painted and varniſhed: by theſe means, it acquires a ſuperior degree of beauty.

When *hoa-che* is taken from the mine, it is waſhed in rain or river water, to ſeparate it from a kind of yellow earth which adheres to it. It is then pounded, put into a tub filled with water, to diſſolve it, and afterwards formed into cakes like *kao-lin*. We are aſſured, that *hoa-che*, when prepared in this manner, without the mixture of any other earth, is alone ſufficient to make porcelain. It ſerves inſtead of *kao-lin*; but it is much dearer. *Kao-lin* coſts only ten pence ſterling; the price of *hoa-che* is half-a-crown: this difference therefore greatly enhances the value of porcelain made with the latter."

Curious Account of a young Leveret *nurtured by a* Cat. — *Extracted from the Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of* Selborne, *in the County of* Southampton, *by the Rev. Mr.* White.

"WE have remarked in a former letter how much incongruous animals, in a lonely ſtate, may be attached to each other from a ſpirit of ſociality; in this it may not be amiſs to recount a different motive which has been known to create as ſtrange a fondneſs.

My friend had a little helpleſs leveret brought to him, which the ſervants fed with milk in a ſpoon, and about the ſame time his cat kittened, and the young were diſpatched and buried. The hare was ſoon loſt, and ſuppoſed to be gone the way of moſt fondlings, to be killed by ſome dog or cat. However, in about a fortnight, as the maſter was ſitting in his garden in the duſk of the evening, he obſerved his cat, with tail erect, trotting towards him, and calling with little ſhort inward notes of complacency, ſuch as they uſe towards their kittens, and ſomething gambolling after, which proved to be the leveret, that the cat had ſupported with her milk, and continued to ſupport with great affection.

Thus was a graminivorous animal nurtured by a carnivorous and predaceous one!

Why ſo cruel and ſanguinary a beaſt as a cat, of a ferocious genus of *feles*, the *murium leo*, as Linnæus calls it, ſhould be affected with any tenderneſs towards an animal which is its natural prey, is not ſo eaſy to determine.

This ſtrange affection probably was occaſioned by that deſiderium, thoſe tender maternal feelings, which the loſs of her kittens had awakened in her breaſt; and by the complacency and eaſe ſhe derived to herſelf from the procuring her teats to be drawn, which were too much diſtended with milk, till, from habit, ſhe became as much delighted with this fondling as if it had been her real offſpring.

This incident is no bad ſolution of that ſtrange circumſtance which grave hiſtorians, as well as the poets, aſſert, of expoſed children being ſometimes nurtured by female wild beaſts that probably had loſt their young. For it is not one whit more marvellous that Romulus and Remus,

in their infant ſtate, ſhould be nurſed by a ſhe-wolf, than that a poor little ſucking leveret ſhould be foſtered and cheriſhed by a bloody grimalkin."

Some Account of the poiſonous Serpents *and* Plants *in the Country of the* Hottentots.—*Extracted from a Narrative of Four Journies into the Country of the* Hottentots *and* Caffraria, *in the Years* 1787, 8, 9, *by Lieutenant* Paterſon.

"THE *Horned Snake*, is the moſt poiſonous of theſe reptiles; it is of a greyiſh colour, and about eighteen inches long: its head, which is very flat, is large in proportion to the ſize of the body, with ſmall ſcales, which the inhabitants call horns, riſing over its eyes.

This ſerpent, ſo truly formidable from the mortal nature of its bite, particularly abounds in the country of the Boſhmen and Nimiqua Hottentots, who uſe its poiſon in preference to that of all others, for poiſoning their arrows. The Boſhmen, indeed, who have no cattle of their own, and depend entirely on their bows for ſubſiſtence, ſeem to have been furniſhed by nature with this poiſon as their only defence againſt their numerous enemies. Impelled by hunger, they often quit the mountains and plunder the Dutch peaſants of their cattle; and, were it not for theſe poiſonous weapons, they would be unable to withſtand or eſcape from the parties which in theſe caſes are ſent againſt them; but thus armed, ſeveral of the Dutch have been killed, and many have barely eſcaped with life from their wounds.

The uſual mode of preparing this poiſon, is by bruiſing the whole ſnake till it becomes of the conſiſtence of a gum: a ſmall quantity of this ſubſtance is then tied on the point of the arrow with ſmall ſinews: two or more barbs are formed in the arrow to prevent its quitting the fleſh.

This poiſon is ſometimes mixed with others, to form a preparation called rot poiſon, which, as I was informed by a peaſant of the country, produces a mortification without much pain. The wife of a Dutch peaſant travelling to the Cape, was attacked in the night by a party of Boſhmen, who came to ſteal her cattle; ſhe received a wound from an arrow on her ſhoulder; and ſo rapid was the effect of the poiſon, that before ſhe reached the Cape, her breaſts came off, and a cure was impoſſible. This and many other inſtances have been related to me by the country people. I ſhall not attempt to vouch for the truth of them; but they are generally believed at the Cape. Many Hottentots die of the bite of poiſonous ſerpents; but I have ſeen ſeveral who had recovered; though, from what I could learn, they had no mode of cure but the actual cautery.

The *Kouſe-band*, or *Garter-ſnake*, is another of the poiſonous reptiles of that country: It is particularly dangerous to travellers, as it reſembles the ſoil ſo much in colour, that it is not readily perceived. The *Kouſe-band* is ſmall, and ſeldom exceeds eighteen inches in length. I imagine it to be the Covra Manilla of the Eaſt Indies. This tribe is ſaid to occaſion almoſt inſtant death. But, as all ſnakes loſe a conſiderable portion of their poiſonous quality by repeating their bite, there may be times when the poiſon is not ſo

ſtrong, or ſo mortal. I had an opportunity of ſeeing a farmer, at the hot baths near the Cape, who had been bitten by a kouſe-band in the foot. For ſome time after the circumſtance happened, he found great benefit from bathing the wounded part with cold water, mixed with a large quantity of ſalt. When I ſaw him he had been lame for two years. Whenever he took much exerciſe, it occaſioned a ſwelling in the leg, to which the warm bath afforded a temporary relief.

The *Yellow Snake*, which differs only in colour from the Covra Capella, or hooded ſnake of India, is frequently found here. Though extremely poiſonous, their ſize and bright yellow colour renders it eaſy to avoid them. They are from four to eight feet in length. The yellow ſnake is moſtly found in rat-holes. After eating theſe animals, which form the chief part of its food, it takes poſſeſſion of their holes: this renders it dangerous for travellers to lie down in any place where there are traces of this deſtructive reptile.

The Hottentots procure the poiſon of this ſnake by diſſecting the bag from its mouth, and dipping ſinews, which they afterwards tie on the points of their arrows, in the liquid it contains.

The *Puff Adder*, which has its name from blowing itſelf up to near a foot in circumference, is of a greyiſh colour, and about three feet and a half in length: it is conſiderably thicker than any I ever ſaw in that country: its head is large and flat; the poiſon-teeth about an inch long, and hooked. The puff adder is extremely dangerous to cattle. In one of my excurſions in the country, a horſe of mine was bit by one of them in the mouth, while grazing, and ſurvived the wound but two days.

The *Spring Adder* is a very dangerous, but uncommon ſnake; it is jet black, with white ſpots, from three to four feet long, and proportionably thick. When colonel Gordon (now commander in chief at the Cape) was in that country, in the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-five, he mentioned to me a circumſtance of his having met two ſlave boys chaſed by a ſpring adder, which ſeemed to be gaining ground upon them, when he ſhot it through the middle.

The *Night Snake*, which is more beautiful than any of the others, is from eighteen to twenty inches long, and very thin: it is belted with black, red, and yellow; and when near, at night, has the appearance of fire. The Hottentots call it kill-men.

Theſe ſix ſpecies of ſerpents, about the Cape of Good Hope, I had the opportunity of ſeeing; and brought home ſpecimens of moſt of them, preſerved in ſpirits, for further inſpection. I however regret much, that, as my chief object was the collection of plants, I had it not in my power to remain long enough in any one place to make ſuch experiments on their ſeveral poiſons as might have enabled me to have given a clear account of their effects from my own obſervation. There are, I have no doubt, many other ſnakes in that country with which we are as yet unacquainted. One, which is called the *Spoog Slang*, or *Spitting Snake*, has been mentioned to me by the inhabitants of the country, who ſay it will throw its poiſon to the diſtance of ſeveral yards; and that people have been blinded by them; but this never

never came under my own inſpection.

The *Black* or *Rock Scorpion*, is nearly as venomous as any of the ſerpent tribe. A farmer who reſided at a place called the Parle, near the Cape, was ſtung by one in the foot, during my ſtay in the country, and died in a few hours.

Doctor Syde, one of the Cape phyſicians, informed me that ſeveral people had been brought to him ſtung by ſcorpions, and that he found oil to be the beſt antidote he ever tried. The natives of India hold the part wounded as near to the fire as poſſible, for a conſiderable time, which, they ſay, produces a perfect cure.

I ſhall here add a few obſervations, which occurred to me while ſerving in the ſouthern army in the Eaſt Indies, reſpecting ſome of our ſoldiers who were bitten by ſnakes in that campaign.

The ſouthern countries of Indoſtan abound with the ſmall ſnake called the *Covra Manilla*, which is well known to be very poiſonous. The Bramins tell us that they can adminiſter complete relief in the moſt deſperate caſes; but their mode of practice has hitherto been kept a ſecret from Europeans. Colonel Fullarton, however, procured a ſmall box of their pills from the reverend Mr. Swartz, a miſſionary at Tanjore; and at the ſiege of Carrore, we had an opportunity of proving the effects of them. One of our Sepoys was bitten, and ſo ill that we deſpaired of his life. The colonel gave him one of the pills, which ſeemed to act as a very ſtrong opiate for ſome time, and threw him into a delirium; in two days, however, the man was perfectly recovered.

We had alſo a ſecond proof of their utility, though the man did not appear to be ſo ill as on the former occaſion. I was witneſs to a third caſe, where we could not procure theſe pills. A ſervant of lieutenant Smith, in the ſame regiment with myſelf, was bitten. The lieutenant gave him nothing but brandy and hot Madeira wine, and kept him in a ſtate of intoxication for twenty-four hours; the next day the pain was gone, but the man continued indiſpoſed for ſome time.

A ſoldier in the ſeventy-eighth regiment, after a wound from a ſerpent, was ſo ill that his whole body was diſcoloured, and he was conſidered as incurable by all the ſurgeons in the army. In this caſe we could not have recourſe to the Bramin's pills; and it was thought that nothing but the ſtrength of his conſtitution could have ſaved him.

Another circumſtance, reſpecting the bite of ſnakes, which happened near Bengal, will not, I flatter myſelf, be deemed unworthy of attention:—When a brigade was cantoned, the houſes had not been inhabited for ſome time before. Soon after they went in, there were ſome men found dead in the morning; for which fact they were totally unable to account. The diſaſter, however, was ſoon diſcovered to proceed from the bite of ſnakes. On ſearching, they found vaſt numbers of theſe animals in the holes of the mud-walls; the greateſt part of which they killed. They were then adviſed to lay a quantity of onions and garlick about their rooms, in the inſide; and after that, no further traces of them were perceived.

It is much to be wiſhed that any certain remedy for the bite of thoſe poiſonous animals could be diſcovered, and ſuch as might be carried in

the traveller's pocket, when proceeding on a long journey. Botaniſts, or naturaliſts, are more expoſed than any other claſs of men, as they are conſtantly wandering in the fields among ſhrubs and graſs, where they cannot diſcover thoſe reptiles ſo readily as thoſe who confine themſelves to beaten paths. It is ſeldom they can carry a bed with them; and when lying on the ground, they are in danger of turning themſelves on thoſe venomous creatures, who often creep near the human body for the ſake of warmth. It is not uncommon for them to get into beds, as I have myſelf obſerved in the Eaſt Indies.

Though there are few countries in the world which abound more with deleterious vegetables than the country adjacent to the Cape of Good Hope, yet the principal danger, to the traveller, reſults from the animated part of the creation; he can always avoid the one, when he cannot apprehend the other. I am only acquainted with four of the former kind, which are commonly employed as inſtruments of deſtruction.

The firſt is a large bulbous plant, *Amaryllis Diſticha*, which is called mad poiſon, from the effects uſually produced on the animals which are wounded by the weapons impregnated with it. The natives prepare this poiſon in the following manner: they take the bulbs, about the time when they are putting out their leaves, and cutting them tranſverſely, extract a thick fluid, which is kept in the ſun till it comes quite of the conſiſtence of gum. It is then put up for uſe; and the method of laying it on their arrows has been already deſcribed.

The hunters employ this ſpecies of poiſon chiefly for the purpoſe of killing ſuch animals as are intended for food, ſuch as antelopes and other ſmall quadrupeds. After they are wounded, they can, and do in general, run for ſeveral miles; and it frequently happens that they are not found till the next day, notwithſtanding the poiſonous ſubſtance having penetrated the muſcular parts.

When the leaves of this plant are young, the cattle are very fond of them, though they are inſtant death; the farmers therefore are very cautious not to ſuffer them to enter into the tracts which are ſuſpected of producing this plant.

The ſecond is a ſpecies of *Euphorbia*, which is found in that part of the country which is inhabited by Boſhmen, and in the Great Nimiqua Land. The gum of this is alſo uſed for arrows; but the plant is more commonly uſed for poiſoning the water where the animals reſort to drink; and a ſtranger, who travels in that country, muſt be very careful in examining the ſpring before he drinks.

This plant grows from about fifteen to twenty feet in height, ſending out many branches full of ſtrong ſpines. The natives cut off as many of the branches as they think neceſſary for the deſtruction of the animals they intend to poiſon. They generally conduct the water a few yards from the ſpring into a pit made for the purpoſe; after which they put in the euphorbia, and cover the ſpring, ſo that the creatures have no choice: and in that country water is very ſcarce; ſometimes it is twenty miles from one ſpring of water to another.

The only animal I ever ſaw poiſoned by this means, was a Zebra; it had ſcarcely proceeded half a mile from

from the water before it dropped; and I was assured by the natives that none escaped which drank of such water, though they declared the flesh was not injured by the poison.

The third vegetable poison proceeds from a species of *Rhus*, which is only found near the Great River, or Orange River; and is said to be very dangerous. When this poison is extracting, the operators cover their eyes, as the least drop touching that organ would certainly deprive them of sight. It is sometimes used for arrows.

The fourth is the only poison really useful to the European inhabitants; it is a small shrubby plant, producing a nut, called by the Dutch, *Woolf Gift*, or wolf poison, which they use for poisoning the Hyenas.

The method of preparing this, is by taking the nuts and roasting them as they do coffee, after which they pulverize them: they afterwards take some pieces of meat, or a dead dog, which they stuff full of the powder, and throw them into the fields. The voracious hyenas meeting with any thing of this kind, soon devour it, and in general are found dead the following day."

Some Account of the Natural History of New South Wales.—*From a Narrative of the Expedition to* Botany Bay, *by Captain* W. Tench, *of the Marines.*

"TO the geographical knowledge of this country, supplied by captain Cook, and captain Furneaux, we are able to add nothing. The latter explored the coast from Van Diemen's Land to the latitude of 39° south; and Cook from Point Hicks, which lies in 37° 58′, to Endeavour Streights. The intermediate space between the end of Furneaux's discovery and Point Hicks, is, therefore, the only part of the south-east coast unknown; and it so happened on our passage thither, owing to the weather, which forbade any part of the ships engaging with the shore, that we are unable to pronounce whether, or not, a streight intersects the continent hereabouts: though I beg leave to say, that I have been informed by a naval friend, that when the fleet was off this part of the coast, a strong set-off shore was plainly felt.

At the distance of 60 miles inland, a prodigious chain of lofty mountains runs nearly in a north and south direction, further than the eye can trace them. Should nothing intervene to prevent it, the governor intends, shortly, to explore their summits: and I think there can be little doubt, that his curiosity will not go unrewarded. If large rivers do exist in the country, which some of us are almost sceptical enough to doubt, their sources must arise amidst these hills; and the direction they run in, for a considerable distance, must be either due north, or due south. For it is strikingly singular that three such noble harbours as Botany Bay, Port Jackson, and Broken Bay, alike end in shallows and swamps, filled with mangroves.

The general face of the country is certainly pleasing, being diversified with gentle ascents, and little winding vallies, covered for the most part with large spreading trees, which afford a succession of leaves in all seasons. In those places where trees are scarce, a variety of flowering shrubs abound, most of them entirely new to an European, and surpassing in beauty, fragrance, and

number, all I ever saw in an uncultivated state: among these, a tall shrub, bearing an elegant white flower, which smells like English May, is particularly delightful, and perfumes the air around to a great distance. The species of trees are few, and, I am concerned to add, the wood universally of so bad a grain, as almost to preclude a possibility of using it: the increase of labour occasioned by this in our buildings has been such, as nearly to exceed belief. These trees yield a profusion of thick red gum (not unlike the sanguis draconis) which is found serviceable in medicine, particularly in dysenteric complaints, where it has sometimes succeeded, when all other preparations have failed. To blunt its acrid qualities, it is usual to combine it with opiates.

The nature of the soil is various. That immediately round Sydney Cove is sandy, with here and there a stratum of clay. From the sand we have yet been able to draw very little; but there seems no reason to doubt, that many large tracts of land around us will bring to perfection whatever shall be sown in them. To give this matter a fair trial, some practical farmers capable of such an undertaking should be sent out; for the spots we have chosen for experiments in agriculture, in which we can scarce be supposed adepts, have hitherto but ill repaid our toil, which may be imputable to our having chosen such as are unfavourable for our purpose.

Except from the size of the trees, the difficulties of clearing the land are not numerous, underwood being rarely found, though the country is not absolutely without it. Of the natural meadows which Mr. Cook mentions near Botany Bay, we can give no account; none such exist about Port Jackson. Grass, however, grows in every place but the swamps with the greatest vigour and luxuriancy, though it is not of the finest quality, and is found to agree better with horses and cows than sheep. A few wild fruits are sometimes procured, among which is the small purple apple mentioned by Cook, and a fruit which has the appearance of a grape, though in taste more like a green gooseberry, being excessively sour: probably were it meliorated by cultivation, it would become more palatable.

Fresh water, as I have said before, is found but in inconsiderable quantities. For the common purposes of life there is generally enough; but we know of no stream in the country capable of turning a mill: and the remark made by Mr. Anderson, of the dryness of the country round Adventure Bay, extends without exception to every part of it which we have penetrated.

Previous to leaving England, I remember to have frequently heard it asserted, that the discovery of mines was one of the secondary objects of the expedition. Perhaps there are mines; but, as no person competent to form a decision is to be found among us, I wish no one to adopt an idea, that I mean to impress him with such a belief, when I state, that individuals, whose judgments are not despicable, are willing to think favourably of this conjecture, from specimens of ore seen in many of the stones picked up here. I cannot quit this subject without regretting, that some one capable of throwing a better light on it, is not in the colony. Nor can I help being equally concerned, that an experienced botanist was not sent out, for the

the purpoſe of collecting and deſcribing the rare and beautiful plants with which the country abounds. Indeed, we flattered ourſelves, when at the Cape of Good Hope, that Maſon, the king's botanical gardener, who was employed there in collecting for the royal nurſery at Kew, would have joined us; but it ſeems his orders and engagements prevented him from quitting that beaten track, to enter on this ſcene of novelty and variety.

To the naturaliſt this country holds out many invitations.—Birds, though not remarkably numerous, are in great variety, and of the moſt exquiſite beauty of plumage, among which are the cockatoo, lory, and parroquet; but the bird which principally claims attention is, a ſpecies of oſtrich, approaching nearer to the emu of South America, than any other we know of. One of them was ſhot, at a conſiderable diſtance, with a ſingle ball, by a convict employed for that purpoſe by the governor; its weight, when complete, was ſeventy pounds, and its length from the end of the toe to the tip of the beak, ſeven feet two inches, though there was reaſon to believe it had not attained its full growth. On diſſection, many anatomical ſingularities were obſerved: the gall-bladder was remarkably large, the liver not bigger than that of a barn-door fowl, and, after the ſtricteſt ſearch, no gizzard could be found; the legs, which were of a vaſt length, were covered with thick ſtrong ſcales, plainly indicating the animal to be formed for living amidſt deſerts; and the foot differed from an oſtrich's by forming a triangle, inſtead of being cloven. Goldſmith, whoſe account of the emu is the only one I can refer to, ſays, "that it is "covered from the back and rump "with long feathers, which fall "backward, and cover the anus; "theſe feathers are grey on the "back, and white on the belly." The wings are ſo ſmall as hardly to deſerve the name, and are unfurniſhed with thoſe beautiful ornaments which adorn the wings of the oſtrich: all the feathers are extremely coarſe, but the conſtruction of them deſerves notice—they grow in pairs from a ſingle ſhaft, a ſingularity which the author I have quoted has omitted to remark. It may be preſumed, that theſe birds are not very ſcarce, as ſeveral have been ſeen, ſome of them immenſely large, but they are ſo wild, as to make ſhooting them a matter of great difficulty. Though incapable of flying, they run with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that our fleeteſt greyhounds are left far behind in every attempt to catch them. The fleſh was eaten, and taſted like beef.

Beſides the emu, many birds of prodigious ſize have been ſeen, which promiſe to increaſe the number of thoſe deſcribed by naturaliſts, whenever we ſhall be fortunate enough to obtain them; but among theſe the bat of the Endeavour river is not to be found. In the woods are various little ſongſters, whoſe notes are equally ſweet and plaintive.

Of quadrupeds, except the *Kangaroo*, I have little to ſay. The few met with are almoſt invariably of the opoſſum tribe, but even theſe do not abound. To beaſts of prey we are utter ſtrangers, nor have we yet any cauſe to believe that they exiſt in the country. And happy it is for us that they do not, as their preſence

presence would deprive us of the only fresh meals the settlement affords, the flesh of the kangaroo. This singular animal is already known in Europe by the drawing and description of Mr. Cook. To the drawing nothing can be objected but the position of the claws of the hinder leg, which are mixed together like those of a dog, whereas no such indistinctness is to be found in the animal I am describing. It was the Chevalier de Perrouse who pointed out this to me, while we were comparing a *kangaroo* with the plate; which, as he justly observed, is correct enough to give the world in general a good idea of the animal, but not sufficiently accurate for the man of science.

Of the natural history of the *Kangaroo* we are still very ignorant. We may, however, venture to pronounce this animal a new species of opossum, the female being furnished with a bag, in which the young is contained; and in which the teats are found. These last are only two in number, a strong presumptive proof, had we no other evidence, that the kangaroo brings forth rarely more than one at a birth. But this is settled beyond a doubt, from more than a dozen females having been killed, which had invariably but one formed in the pouch. Notwithstanding this, the animal may be looked on as prolific, from the early age it begins to breed at, kangaroos with young having been taken of not more than thirty pounds weight; and there is room to believe that when at their utmost growth, they weigh not less than one hundred and fifty pounds. A male of one hundred and thirty pounds weight has been killed, whose dimensions were as follows:

	Ft.	In.
Extreme length —	7	3
D° of the tail — —	3	4½
D° of the hinder legs —	3	2
D° of the fore paws —	1	7½
Circumference of the tail at the root — —	1	5

After this perhaps I shall hardly be credited, when I affirm that the kangaroo, on being brought forth, is not larger than an English mouse. It is, however, in my power to speak positively on this head, as I have seen more than one instance of it.

In running, this animal confines himself entirely to his hinder legs, which are possessed with an extraordinary muscular power. Their speed is very great, though not in general quite equal to that of a greyhound; but when the greyhounds are so fortunate as to seize them, they are incapable of retaining their hold, from the amazing struggles of the animal. The bound of the kangaroo, when not hard pressed, has been measured, and found to exceed twenty feet.

At what time of the year they copulate, and in what manner, we know not: the testicles of the male are placed contrary to the usual order of nature.

When young, the *Kangaroo* eats tender and well flavoured, tasting like veal, but the old ones are more tough and stringy than bull-beef. They are not carnivorous, and subsist altogether on particular flowers and grass. Their bleat is mournful, and very different from that of any other animal: it is, however, seldom heard but in the young ones.

Fish, which our sanguine hopes led us to expect in great quantities, do not abound. In summer, they are tolerably plentiful, but for some months

months paſt very few have been taken. Botany Bay in this reſpect exceeds Port Jackſon. The French once caught near two thouſand fiſh in one day, of a ſpecies of grouper, to which, from the form of a bone in the head reſembling a helmet, we have given the name of light horſeman. To this may be added baſs, mullets, ſkait, ſoles, leather-jackets, and many other ſpecies, all ſo good in their kind, as to double our regret at their not being more numerous. Sharks of an enormous ſize are found here. One of theſe was caught by the people on board the Sirius, which meaſured at the ſhoulders ſix feet and a half in circumference. His liver yielded twenty-four gallons of oil; and in his ſtomach was found the head of a ſhark, which had been thrown overboard from the ſame ſhip. The Indians, probably from having felt the effects of their voracious fury, teſtify the utmoſt horror on ſeeing theſe terrible fiſh.

Venomous animals and reptiles are rarely ſeen. Large ſnakes beautifully variegated have been killed, but of the effect of their bites we are happily ignorant. Inſects, tho' numerous, are by no means, even in ſummer, ſo troubleſome as I have found them in America, the Weſt Indies, and other countries.

The climate is undoubtedly very deſirable to live in. In ſummer the heats are uſually moderated by the ſea breeze, which ſets in early; and in winter the degree of cold is ſo ſlight as to occaſion no inconvenience; once or twice we have had hoar froſts and hail, but no appearance of ſnow. The thermometer has never riſen beyond 84, nor fallen lower than 35, in general it ſtood, in the beginning of February, at between 78 and 74 at noon. Nor is the temperature of the air leſs healthy than pleaſant. Thoſe dreadful putrid fevers, by which new countries are ſo often ravaged, are unknown to us: and, excepting a ſlight diarrhœa, which prevailed ſoon after we had landed, and was fatal in very few inſtances, we are ſtrangers to epidemic diſeaſes.

On the whole (thunder ſtorms in the hot months excepted) I know not any climate equal to this I write in. Ere we had been a fortnight on ſhore, we experienced ſome ſtorms of thunder, accompanied with rain, than which nothing can be conceived more violent and tremendous, and their repetition for ſeveral days, joined to the damage they did, by killing ſeveral of our ſheep, led us to draw preſages of an unpleaſant nature. Happily, however, for many months we have eſcaped any ſimilar viſitations."

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

An Account of the Method of making the Otter *of* Roſes, *as it is prepared in the* Eaſt Indies. *Communicated in a Letter from* Donald Monro, *M. D. of* London, *to Mr.* John Robinſon, *Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the Univerſity of* Edinburgh.—*From Vol. II. of the* Tranſactions *of the* Royal Society *of* Edinburgh.

London, Jermyn Street, July 10, 1783.

SIR,

"I Had the following receipt for making the Otter of Roſes, as it is prepared in the Eaſt Indies, from major Mackenzie of Coull, in the county of Roſs, who told me he got the account from an officer of his corps, who was up in the country where it is prepared, and aſſiſted in making it himſelf.

Take a very large glazed earthen or ſtone jar, or a large clean wooden caſk; fill it with the leaves of the flowers of roſes, very well picked, and freed from all ſeeds and ſtalks; pour on them as much pure ſpring water as will cover them, and ſet the veſſel in the ſun in the morning at ſunriſe, and let it ſtand till the evening, when take it into the houſe for the night; expoſe it in this manner for ſix or ſeven ſucceſſive days, and, at the end of the third or fourth day, a number of particles, of a fine yellow oily matter, will float on the ſurface, which, in two or three days more, will gather into a ſcum, which is the Otter of Roſes. This is taken up by ſome cotton, tied to the end of a piece of ſtick, and ſqueezed with the finger and thumb into a ſmall phial, which is immediately well ſtopped; and this is repeated for ſome ſucceſſive evenings, or while any of this fine eſſential oil riſes to the ſurface of the water.

N. B. I have been informed that ſome few drops of this eſſential oil have been more than once collected by diſtillation, in the ſame manner as the eſſential oils of other plants here in London.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
D. Monro.

The following Letter from Mr. Boote, *addreſſed to the Secretary of the* Society *for the Encouragement of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce, *on the comparative Merits of the* Drill *and* Broad-caſt *Huſbandry, received the Gold Medal (the Premium offered by the Society on that Subject.) The very ſatisfactory Information it contains, will moſt probably determine a Point which has ſo long divided the Opinions of the moſt experienced and inquiſitive Agriculturiſts.—From Vol. VII. of the Tranſactions of the* Society

Society *for the Encouragement of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce.

SIR,

"AS my former accounts of experiments comparatively made between drilling and broad-caſting, in order to diſcover which was the moſt advantageous method of cultivating land, have met with a favourable reception by the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, I am induced to lay before them a further ſtatement of my ſucceſs in drilling, upon a ſcale of three hundred and twenty-three acres, in the year 1788 (which makes the third year of my practice at large, in the drill ſyſtem, upon my farm) viz. wheat ſeventy, barley ninety, oats ſeven, beans fifty-two, peas twenty-eight, turneps ſeventy, cole ſix acres.

The comparative experiments which I made in the year 1787, between drilling and broad-caſting four acres of each with wheat, was upon cold clay, that being the only ſoil upon which I entertained at that time any doubts of the drill ſyſtem having a ſuperiority over the broad-caſt; and, having repeatedly and ſucceſsfully derived an uniform ſuperiority in favour of drilling, on light ſands and dry loams, it was my intention never to give myſelf the trouble of repeating a comparative experiment on ſuch ſoils: but, reflecting on the attention which the Society have paid to my former letters on the ſubject of drilling, by giving them a place in their Tranſactions; and conſidering that the Society, by continuing to offer a premium for the comparative culture of drilling and broad-caſting, was deſirous of ſtill further experiments than thoſe I have already communicated; I determined to ſacrifice the profits of ſixteen pounds, which, from the reſult of former experiments, I had reaſon to believe I ſhould loſe, by ſowing four acres broad-caſt, to the pleaſure and ſatisfaction I might have in furniſhing the Society with the reſult of a comparative experiment between drilling and broad-caſting four acres of each upon a ſandy loam, agreeably to the terms propoſed by the Society for making ſuch aſcertainment.

Accordingly I fixed upon a twenty-acre piece, which was trench-ploughed for a turnep-fallow in the beginning of November 1786, and dunged about Chriſtmas following; afterwards ploughed three times, at proper intervals; alſo harrowed occaſionally, and drilled with turneps, in rows twelve inches apart: the turneps were well hoed three times, and produced an exceeding good crop; which was eat off by ſheep in autumn: the land was afterwards trench-ploughed, four acres of which were drilled with four buſhels of wheat; the ſame day four acres adjoining (the ſoil as ſimilar as poſſible) were ſown broad-caſt with ten buſhels of wheat, in order to make the comparative experiment.

In the firſt week of April 1788, the drilled wheat was hoed, and repeated the laſt week in the ſame month; at which time the broad-caſt was alſo hoed, with hoes of a proper ſize for the purpoſe, in order to give it every advantage: at harveſt the crops of the reſpective four acres were ſeparately reaped, each laid by itſelf in the barn, and ſeparately thraſhed, in order to aſcertain, with the greateſt accuracy, the difference of each produce. The reſult

reſult as follows; which alſo appears in the numbers 14 and 15 of the next aſcertainments.

Produce of four acres drilled, one hundred and nineteen buſhels, one gallon, and four pints; produce of four acres broad-caſt, ninety-four buſhels, two gallons, and four pints —difference in favour of drilling; twenty-four buſhels, ſeven gallons, which, at five ſhillings and ſix pence per buſhel, together with ſix buſhels of ſeed ſaved by drilling, which coſt me ſeven ſhillings and four pence halfpenny per buſhel, amounts to nine pounds one ſhilling and three farthings. Deduct the extra expences of drilling four acres at ſixpence, and extra hoeing at eighteen pence per acre, amounting to eight ſhillings, the net profit in favour of drilling will be eight pounds thirteen ſhillings and three farthings, or two pounds three ſhillings and three pence per acre.

From the apparent diſproportion between the real advantages in favour of drilling, as above, and my apprehenſion, in a former letter, of loſing ſixteen pounds by ſowing four acres broad-caſt, it may at firſt ſight be inferred, that I muſt have been very much miſtaken in my calculations reſpecting the real advantages of drilling, compared with thoſe of broad-caſting; on which account I have to obſerve, that toward the latter end of April 1788, when the four acres drilled, three weeks after it had been hoed, gained ſuch a decided ſuperiority over the adjoining four acres broad-caſt, which was ſelf-evident by the ſtrength of the plants, and being of a darker green, that I determined to give the broad-caſt every advantage: accordingly I had it as well hoed as was practicable to be done; which is, in fact, doing all that can be done for any broad-caſt crop: this evidently improved the four acres broad-caſt; otherwiſe I am decidedly of opinion, that, in caſe the hoeing of the four acres broad-caſt had not taken place, but the weeds had been ſuffered to grow, the four acres drilled would have exceeded the four acres broad-caſt more than one third; from whence I cannot ſee that I have any reaſon to make the leaſt abatement reſpecting my aſſertions in a former letter, that I was apprehenſive I ſhould loſe ſixteen pounds by ſowing four acres broad-caſt. Hoeing of broad-caſt corn is nothing new with me, or others; it is commonly done in Berkſhire, and other places; and was my uniform practice for twelve or thirteen years of my broad-caſt farming: but, as it cannot be performed ſo effectually in a broad-caſt crop as in a drilled one, it is unreaſonable to expect equal advantages from it, ſince, after all the care and pains that can be taken in hoeing a broad-caſt crop, there will be many weeds left growing, being ſo mixed and interwoven with the corn, as not to be cut up without cutting up the corn alſo. I muſt own, that neither the produce of the above four acres drilled, nor the produce of the four acres broad-caſt, came up to my expectations, conſidering the due preparation of the ſoil. This I attribute entirely to the dryneſs of the ſeaſon: there is nevertheleſs this inference to be drawn from it, that, in whatever proportion any drilled crop may ſuffer in a dry ſeaſon, for want of moiſture, the broad-caſt crop will ſuffer ſtill more, by reaſon of the ſeed being depoſited in improper depths; for the plants of thoſe ſeeds

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in particular which were ſown too near the ſurface of the land, will be almoſt parched up for want of moiſture in a dry ſeaſon.

In my attempts to aſcertain the difference between drilling and broad-caſting, I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed it ſhould never occur to me, before now, to aſcertain the difference in quality as well as quantity of grain produced from both methods of culture, by weighing equal quantities of each. In the above comparative experiment the drill has no material advantage over the broad-caſt; a buſhel of the latter being nearly equal in weight to a buſhel of the former: this I attribute to the circumſtance of the broad-caſt crop being hoed, particularly as my neighbour Mr. William Greenway informs me, that, from the reſult of his experiments of laſt year, in order to aſcertain the difference between drilling and broad-caſting, the grain of his drilled crop was ſuperior to that of his broad-caſt, not only in quantity, but alſo in quality, two pounds weight per buſhel; and his broad-caſt crop was not hoed: from whence I conclude, that the grain of his broad-caſt crop was imperfectly vegetated, and not brought to full maturity, by reaſon of the injury done to it by the weeds, or for want of the ſoil being pulverized by the hoe.

In one of my early experiments in drilling, I found that hoeing the intervals between the rows or drills was indiſpenſably neceſſary; otherwiſe, where land was foul with weeds, or caked upon the ſurface, ſo as to exclude the air from the fibres of the plants, or hinder the extenſion of the fibres in the ſoil, the advantages of drilling were, upon the whole, not worthy of notice. On the contrary, and by the ſame experiment, I found that, by hoeing the intervals, cutting up the weeds, and pulverizing the ſoil at ſeaſonable times, a ſurpriſing and almoſt incredible advantage might be derived: this left me no alternative but that of declining the drill ſyſtem altogether, except for beans and peas, at wide diſtances, where the horſe-hoe, or ſhim, might work; or of ſubmitting to the formidable expence of hand-hoeing the intervals of drills at nearer diſtances. To the advantages gained by hoeing, I was at that time no ſtranger; and I was not long in finding out that the value of ſeed ſaved by drilling, would more than defray the expences of hoeing; and the hoeing, I was confident, would inſure a ſuperior crop: from whence I concluded that the only obſtacle that lay between me and ſucceſs, in the drill ſyſtem, upon a large ſcale, was the difficulty, if not the impoſſibility, of procuring a ſufficient number of labourers to perform the buſineſs of hoeing, juſt at the time required: and, as I apprehended, ſo it has turned out: the difficulty in procuring a number of hands in due time, and, in tickliſh ſeaſons, perhaps at an hour's notice, is very conſiderable; excluſive of the attention required in ſeeing that the work was done in a huſbandmanlike manner, and the fear of the crops of corn growing too high to admit of the uſe of the hoe: the weeds at the ſame time committing ſuch horrid depredations, without a poſſibility of retrieving the loſs, muſt needs create no little anxiety of mind.

Anxious, however, as I may have been, at intervals, on this account, for three years laſt paſt, I have now the pleaſure of ſaying, that all the above

above fears and anxieties, are done away, being now in poſſeſſion of an inſtrument, viz. a horſe-hoe, the ingenious invention of the Rev. Mr. Cooke, to whom a large ſhare of public praiſe is certainly due, not only for this inſtrument, and his improved drill, but alſo for his ſpirited exertions, and indefatigable labour, in introducing the drill ſyſtem at large. Of the utility of the above horſe-hoe I am inclined to entertain a very high opinion, having already tried it upon a piece of drilled wheat; and find that the inventor has, by a moſt ſimple contrivance, enabled the perſon who attends the inſtrument, to guide it ſo as to avoid cutting up the rows of corn. Its effects appear to be ſuperior to thoſe of hand-hoeing; and, ſo far as I have experienced, I have reaſon to believe that two men, or one man and a boy, with two horſes, working alternately, will effectually hoe ten acres a day.

It is not uſual with me to decide haſtily and prematurely, for or againſt any inſtrument not yet ſufficiently tried: I am nevertheleſs inclined to think, that by this invention the drill ſyſtem will ſoon be brought to perfection, at leaſt to ſuch a degree of perfection as to enable every huſbandman, of common capacity only, to underſtand and practiſe it.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN BOOTE.

Atherſtone upon Stower, near Stratford upon Avon, Jan. 31, 1789.

Mr. MORE.

ACCOUNT

Account of the different Sorts of Grain produced from Seed ſown by the Rev. Mr. Cooke's Drill Machine, on the Eſtate of Mr. John Boote, of Atherſtone upon Stour, near Stratford upon Avon, in the County of Warwick, in the Year 1788.

		Land meaſured. A.	R.	P.	Produce of the Land meaſured. Buſh.	Gal.	Pints	Produce per Acre. B.	G.	P.
N° 1.	Beans drilled upon loamy ſand, after barley	0	1	12	13	5	6	42	1	5
2.	Ditto ditto ditto	0	1	14	12	6	6	38	0	3
3.	Barley drilled upon loamy ſand, after turneps	0	2	36	44	5	4	61	5	0
4.	Barley drilled upon ſandy land, after peas	0	1	13	17	3	5	52	5	4
5.	Ditto ditto ditto	0	1	15	22	7	1	66	4	5
6.	Ditto ditto ditto	0	1	35	29	3	5	62	6	5
7.	Beans drilled upon ſand and mixed ſoil, after barley	0	1	27	18	4	2	44	2	0
8.	Peas drilled upon marl and mixed ſoil, after wheat	0	2	10	17	7	0	31	6	1
9.	Ditto ditto, upon mixed ſoil, after wheat	0	0	38	10	0	3	42	2	3
10.	Wheat drilled upon marl and mixed ſoil, after clover	0	1	1	7	4	5	29	4	4
11.	Ditto, upon clay and mixed ſoil, after fallow	0	0	31	6	0	4	31	2	2
12.	Wheat drilled upon loamy ſand, after clover	0	2	7	22	3	5	41	2	2
13.	Oats drilled upon loamy ſand, after turneps	0	2	35	44	5	4	62	1	3
14.	Wheat drilled upon loamy ſand, after turneps	4	0	37	126	1	1	29	6	3
15.	Wheat ſowed broad-caſt, upon loamy ſand, after turneps, and adjoining the drilled in the ſame ground	4	2	11	107	6	2	23	4	5

The above land was meaſured, and the workmen examined, by me

JOSEPH BARBER.

Wimpſtone, near Stratford upon Avon,
Jan. 28, 1789.

Mr. Eccleſton's *Account of his Improvement of* Martin Meer, *in the County of* Lancaſter, *incloſed in a Letter to the* Society * *for the Encouragement of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce.—*From the ſame.*

"MARTIN Meer was formerly a large pool, or lake of freſh water, of an irregular form, ſurrounded chiefly by moſſes or boggy land, containing near one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen acres, of eight yards to the pole, which is the cuſtomary meaſure of the neighbourhood (about three thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two ſtatute acres). It lies in the different manors of Scariſbrick, Burſcough, North-Meols, Tarleton, and Rufford.

About the year 1692, Mr. Fleetwood, of Bank-hall, propoſed to the ſeveral other proprietors to drain Martin Meer, on condition that a leaſe (for the whole) of three lives and thirty-one years ſhould be granted him; which they agreed to; and Mr. Fleetwood obtained an act of parliament the ſame year to empower him to effect it. The following year he began the work: his plan was, to diſcharge the waters immediately into the ſea, at the mouth of the river Ribble, which before had forced themſelves a paſſage into the river Douglas, when the Meer waters were raiſed above their uſual height by the land floods, as is noted by Camden in his *Britannia*.

The intermediate ground between Martin Meer and the Douglas, lying conſiderably higher than the Meer, occaſioned the ſtagnation, and kept it continually full.

Mr. Fleetwood began the undertaking, by making a canal, or ſluice, twenty-four feet wide, of a depth ſufficiently lower than the Meer, which he cut from the Ribble mouth through an embanked ſalt marſh, and then through a moſs or bog in North Meols, about a mile and a half in length; and he continued it through the loweſt parts of the Meer. To prevent the ſea from ruſhing up the canal, and overflowing the Meer, which lies ten feet lower than high-water mark, at the ſpring tides, he erected in his canal, near the ſea, a pair of flood-gates, which ſhut when the ſea waters roſe higher than thoſe in the canal, and opened again by the ſluice ſtream when the ſea retired. In this place, the mouth of the Ribble is nearly five miles over at the ſpring tides; but the bed of the river at low water is no more than a furlong in breadth; and it lies under the Lytham, or oppoſite ſhore to the flood-gates, about the diſtance of four miles from them. This is a very unfavourable circumſtance to the draining of the Meer, as it greatly diminiſhes the effect of the out-fall by the length of the way the waters have to run over a very flat, looſe, flying, ſandy coaſt, before they can diſembogue into the river. Theſe ſands, in a few years after the drainage was finiſhed, drifting by the winds into the out-fall ſluice, ſoon obſtructed the flow of the waters, and in a ſhort time

* The Society preſented their gold medal to Mr. Eccleſton, "for his ſpirited "exertions on the improvement of *Martin Meer*, by which three thouſand ſix hun-"dred and thirty-two acres of land have been gained and protected from the inun-"dation of the ſea."

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choaked up the paſſage, which had been made ſufficiently deep to carry them off.

The ſpring tides in boiſterous weather brought up great quantities of mud to the flood-gates; here it lodged in ſediment for want of a powerful current in dry ſeaſons to waſh it away: thus the wiſhed-for effect of ſo much labour was fruſtrated, for the Meer was once more nearly reduced into its primitive ſtate. In order to remove this deſtructive obſtacle of mud and ſand, the managers for Mr. Fleetwood, in the year 1714, thought it moſt adviſeable to raiſe the ſill or threſhold of the flood-gates, which they elevated twenty inches: this, with ſome other meaſures then adopted, did, for ſome time, enable them to keep the flood-gates free from the above-mentioned obſtructions.

But it proved very detrimental; for ſo much fall was loſt, that the arable and meadow grounds upon the Meer diminiſhed greatly in value, by the water remaining upon them all the winter, and very late oftentimes in the ſpring ſeaſon.

By a gradual, continual loſs of out-fall amongſt the ſands, and by the ſluice on the marſh and other parts wrecking up, the Meer lands for many years were only made uſe of as a poor, fenny, watery paſture for the cattle of the neighbourhood, and that for a part of the ſummer months only.

Some time after, Mr. Fleetwood's executors continued their ſluice farther upon the ſhore, and erected a new pair of flood-gates, winged with ſtone walls, conſiderably nearer to the out-fall; and they found great benefit from it, as the gates were much leſs liable to be obſtructed by the ſand and mud brought up with the tide.

About the year 1750 Mr. Fleetwood's leaſe expired; and in 1755 the flood-gates and walls were waſhed down by a very uncommon high tide, but were rebuilt (fourteen feet wide) at the joint expence of the proprietors, in whoſe hands it remained in a neglected ſtate for many years; for, as before, from inattention to the cleanſing of the ſluice, and from the narrow paſſage at the flood-gates, which were ſtill liable to be choaked with mud, &c. and much of the out-fall being loſt, the lands upon the Meer became again of little value, being covered with water all the winter, and liable to be flooded by very trivial ſummer rains.

In this condition the beſt Meer lands let for a few ſhillings the large acre only.

In the year 1778 I ſettled here; and, as the moſt extenſive and valuable ſhare of the Meer belonged to this eſtate, I had the levels taken from low-water mark; and finding a conſiderable fall, I had recourſe to Mr. Gilbert, of Worſeley (who had judiciouſly planned, and happily executed the aſtoniſhing works of his grace the duke of Bridgewater). To his friendſhip and abilities I am indebted for the ſucceſs of the drainage; for, after the moſt minute inſpection, he gave me every encouragement, and kindly aſſiſted me in directing the undertaking. By his advice I applied to the other four proprietors of Martin Meer, for a leaſe for the term of three lives for their ſeveral ſhares, and opened to them my intention of effectually draining the whole at my own expence. In 1781 I obtained

the leaſes from all the proprietors (one only excepted) and immediately began the work.

The plan Mr. Gilbert ſtruck out (which I have executed) was to have in the main ſluice three different pair of flood-gates. The firſt are, to keep the ſea out, which are called the Sea-gates. The ſecond pair are erected at about half a mile diſtance nearer to the Meer, to ſtop the ſea there, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to the firſt: theſe are termed the Stop-gates. The third pair are built cloſe to, and in the ſame walls with the ſea-gates, but open and ſhut in a contrary direction to them: theſe are named the Fluſhing-gates. All theſe three flood-gates are kept open, to give a free paſſage to the waters from the Meer, when the tide has ſufficiently retired; and when the tide riſes again above the level of the waters on the Meer, the ſea-gates are ſhut. In dry ſeaſons, when a ſufficient quantity of water does not come down from the Meer, to keep the out-fall ſluice open acroſs the looſe flying ſands on the ſhore, the tide itſelf is permitted to flow up the ſluice to the ſtop-gates, which are then ſhut; and at high water the fluſhing-gates are cloſed to keep the ſea water in.

N. B. All theſe three ſeveral gates have four paddles at the bottom, three feet in length, and two feet in depth, which are drawn up by ſcrews, to fluſh away any obſtacle that may chance to impede their working.

At low water the paddles of the fluſhing gates are drawn up, and the retained ſea-water ruſhes out with ſo much violence, that the ſluice to low water is in a very ſhort time cleanſed from every obſtruction, ſand, mud, &c. that may have been brought up by the tide.

Thus, by the great ſkill and ſuperior ingenuity of one man (Mr. Gilbert) the great obſtacle to the perfect drainage of Martin Meer is done away, which had baffled the many vain efforts of the proprietors for almoſt a century.

By an accurate examination of the out-fall, Mr. Gilbert found it would admit of the ſill or threſhold of the new gates being laid five inches lower than it formerly had been; and he recommended the ſea-gates to be advanced about two hundred yards nearer to the out-fall upon the open marſh. To prevent the ſea flowing into the ſluice behind theſe gates, large and ſtrong banks are thrown up on each ſide, which are continued to the ſtop-gates; and at the ſame time they anſwer another eſſential purpoſe, viz. by containing a larger quantity of ſea-water to fluſh with.

The new ſea-gates are eighteen feet wide, and nineteen feet and a half high, and the ſill five feet lower than the former: this makes the paſſage in rainy ſeaſons, when the water would have run four feet upon the old ſill, to bear the proportion of one hundred and ſixty-two feet in the preſent gates, to fifty-ſix in the old ones.

When we had ſunk to the proper depth of the foundations of the new gates, we found a quickſand, and built upon it. The walls are twelve bricks in thickneſs at the bottom, and there is no ſettlement, nor have they ſunk in the leaſt.—N. B. Large flat ſtones were laid under the brick and ſtone work, and were the only precaution uſed.

Whilſt the gates were building, I employed

I employed all the hands I could procure in deepening and widening the ſluice upon a dead level with the ſill up to the Meer, ſix yards wide at the bottom, allowing a foot and a half ſlope to every foot in elevation. In ſome places the cutting was near twenty feet deep; and at the depth of ſixteen feet in ſand, I found an entire trunk of a tree, which ſquared a foot.

In April 1783 the level was carried up completely to the Meer, which then (owing to the waters having been dammed up) was flooded higher than it had been for ſeveral years. As ſoon as the damhead was cut, the ſuperior efficacy of the new works appeared; and this uncommon flood ran off in five days, which would have required as many weeks to have been diſcharged through the old flood-gates.

After the waters had run off, the ſluice was deepened nearly to the ſame level through the loweſt parts of the Meer. The ſluice is nearly five miles in length from the ſea gates.

The ditches were next attended to; and ſince the drainage, above a hundred miles in length have been perfected: but as ſmall open drains were neceſſary to carry off the rain-water into the ditches, I procured a draining or guttering plough, on Mr. Cuthbert Clark's conſtruction, which was drawn by eight, ſometimes ten able horſes, and which I can with certainty recommend as a moſt uſeful implement in all fenny countries.

I am greatly indebted to the inventor; for with this, in one day I cut drains nearly eight miles in length, thirteen inches in depth, twenty inches wide at the top, and five at the bottom, more perfect than could have been done in that land by the hand, and which would have coſt, if done by hand, ſeven pounds five ſhillings and ten pence.

The ſummer in 1783 was employed wholly as above, in laying the land dry. In the year 1784 ſome few acres were ploughed, and yielded a tolerable crop of ſpring corn; ſome yielded a very inferior kind of hay: the reſt was paſtured. Early the laſt year I prepared for oats and barley, and ploughed nearly two hundred large acres.

The effects of the drainage appear from the crops; for I have ſold barley for eleven pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix pence the large acre, the produce of the land which before let at no more than four ſhillings the acre; and oats at ten pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix pence per acre, off land, which would bring no price before; the purchaſer to cut, carry off, &c. all at his own expence.

From the lands which before afforded a very poor paſture in the drieſt ſummers, I laſt year fed ſeveral head of Scotch cattle, which did better than any that were fattened upon the beſt grazing lands in our neighbourhood. The beſt meadow lands in the moſt favourable ſeaſons did not let for more than about nine ſhillings per acre.

Laſt year I mowed many acres, worth three pounds, and let off ſeveral of inferior graſs, at two pounds per acre, reſerving the after-graſs for my own cattle.

We are ſorry to obſerve, in a ſubſequent Letter of Mr. Eccleſton's *to the Society, that his improvements had ſuffered from the failure of the*

Douglas Bank, *in* Ruffard, *in* 1786, *and of the banks of the* Leeds *and* Liverpool Canal *in* 1787. *Mr.* Eccleſton *at the ſame time adds,* "*That the works erect-*" *ed for the drainage have fully* "*anſwered every expectation, and* "*never failed in any one in-*" *ſtance.*"

An effectual Remedy *for curing the* Scab, *in* Sheep, *communicated by Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. to the* Society * *for the Encouragement of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce.—*From the ſame.*

"HAVING obſerved, in the laſt volume publiſhed by the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, that an effectual method of curing the ſcab in ſheep was ſtill wanting to the farmers (in the ſouth of England at leaſt) when it was publiſhed; I take the liberty of tranſmitting the encloſed receipt to you.

Take one pound of quickſilver,
half a pound of Venice turpentine,
half a pint of oil of turpentine,
four pounds of hogs lard.

Let them be rubbed in a mortar till the quickſilver is thoroughly incorporated with the other ingredients; for the proper mode of doing which, it may be neceſſary to take the advice, or even the aſſiſtance, of ſome apothecary, or other perſon, uſed to make ſuch mixtures.

† The method of uſing the ointment is thus: beginning at the head of the ſheep, and proceeding from between the ears along the back to the end of the tail, the wool is to be divided in a furrow till the ſkin can be touched; and as the furrow is made, the finger ſlightly dipped in the ointment is to be drawn along the bottom of it, where it will leave a blue ſtain on the ſkin and adjoining wool: from this furrow, ſimilar ones muſt be drawn down the ſhoulders and thighs to the legs, as far as they are woolly; and if the animal is much infected, two more ſhould be drawn along each ſide, parallel to that on the back, and one down each ſide between the fore and hind legs.

Immediately after being dreſſed, it is uſual to turn the ſheep among other ſtock, without any fear of the infection being communicated; and there is ſcarce an inſtance of a ſheep ſuffering any injury from the application. In a few days the blotches dry up, the itching ceaſes, and the animal is completely cured: it is ge-

* "The thanks of the Society were preſented to Sir Joſeph Banks, Baronet, preſident of the Royal Society, for his attention to the views of its inſtitution, by this communication reſpecting the diſorder called the ſcab in ſheep.

The Society, during the courſe of ſeveral years, offered premiums for the diſcovery of an effectual remedy for this diſeaſe, but without effect, though ſome claims were made for the reward offered; yet, as the following method has been found fully adequate to the purpoſe intended, it is hoped due attention will be paid to it in the different parts of the kingdom."

† Though there does not appear to be any difference between this ointment and the Unguentum Cæruleum of the ſhops, I have choſen to give the receipt exactly as it was given to me. Some of our graziers begin to uſe it by rubbing it into the naked part of the thigh and fore leg; a practice much leſs troubleſome, but which requires much more judgment than the above.

nerally, however, thought proper not to delay the operation beyond Michaelmas.

The hippoboſca ovina, called in Lincolnſhire, ſheep fagg, an animal well known to all ſhepherds, which lives among the wool, and is hurtful to the thriving of ſheep, both by the pain its bite occaſions, and the blood it ſucks; is radically deſtroyed by this application; and the wool is not at all injured. Our wool-buyers purchaſe the fleeces on which the ſtain of the ointment is viſible, rather in preference to others, from an opinion that the uſe of it having preſerved the animal from being vexed either with the ſcab or faggs, the wool is leſs liable to the defect of joints or knots; a fault obſerved to proceed from every ſudden ſtop in the thriving of the animal, either from want of food, or from diſeaſe.

This mode of curing was brought into that part of Lincolnſhire where my property is ſituated, about twelve years ago, by Mr. Stephenſon, of Mareham, and is now ſo generally received, that the ſcab, which uſed to be the terror of the farmers, and which frequently deterred the more careful of them from taking the advantage of paſturing their ſheep in the fertile and extenſive commons with which that diſtrict abounds, is no longer regarded with any apprehenſion: by far the moſt of them have their flock anointed in autumn, when they return from the common, whether they ſhew any ſymptoms of ſcab, or not; and having done ſo, conclude them ſafe for ſome time, from either giving or receiving infection. There are people who employ themſelves in the buſineſs, and contract to anoint our large ſheep at five ſhillings a ſcore, inſuring for that price the ſucceſs of the operation; that is, agreeing, in caſe many of the ſheep break out afreſh, to repeat the operation *gratis*, even ſome months afterwards.

I beg to have it underſtood, that in communicating this information to the Society, I do not offer myſelf as a candidate for the medal propoſed by them as a reward: having been neither the diſcoverer nor the introducer of the remedy, I can lay no claim to it. Reſpect to the patriotic views which have ever guided their conduct, and the hope of being uſeful to the breeders of ſheep, are the motives which have induced me to lay this paper before them; and an additional one I confeſs it to be, that it gives me an opportunity of publicly teſtifying the reſpect with which, in conſequence of your active induſtry, in bringing forward uſeful inventions, and checking the pretenſions of deſigning impoſtors, I can with ſincerity profeſs myſelf,

Your real well-wiſher,
And faithful ſervant,
JOSEPH BANKS."

Soho Square, April 17, 1788.

The following Receipt for the Scurvy, *ſuppoſed to be communicated by a Mr.* Hucking, *of* Cambridge, *on Account of the great Benefit he himſelf received from it, is extracted from the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* 1789.

"TO four beer quarts of good rich ſweet-wort, add half a pound of ſaſſafras, one ounce of ſarſaparilla, and four ounces of daucus ſeed (commonly called wild carrot): boil them gently over the fire

for three quarters of an hour, frequently putting the ingredients down with a ladle; then ſtrain the ſame through a cloth. To each quart of this liquor put one pound and a half of good thick treacle, boil the ſame gently for three quarters of an hour, ſkimming it all the time; put it into a pan, and cover it till cold, then bottle it for uſe. Be careful not to cork the bottle too tight.

Of this ſyrup a moderate tea-cup full is to be taken in the morning, and the ſame on going to bed. The above did no more than keep the body open. The effect, however, was ſuch, that it took off the itching, cleared the ſkin, eaſed the feet, relieved his drowſineſs in the day-time, and brought on comfortable nights, made him active, and, though 60 years old, as full of ſpirits as he ever remembered himſelf.

The time of his taking the ſyrup was in September, October, and November, 1787, during which time he abſtained from high ſauces, and in a great meaſure from animal food. His drink at dinner was table beer, and ſometimes mild ale.

N. B. The wild carrot ought to be gathered in September or October."

An Enquiry concerning a ſure and certain Method of improving ſmall Arable Farms.—By Mr. Wimpey, *in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society inſtituted at* Bath, *for the Encouragement of* Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce, *within the Counties of* Somerſet, Wilts, Gloceſter, *and* Dorſet, *and the City and County of* Briſtol.

SIR,

"IT is generally thought, and on very good grounds, that ſmall arable farms do not afford the occupier ſo good a maintenance as dairy farms of the ſame annual value. That the latter will do well and ſave money, while the former, with a vaſt deal more labour and trouble, is ſtarving himſelf and family. This matter has been fully inveſtigated in a former paper, and the true reaſon aſſigned; but a ſure and certain remedy, which would enable the farmer to live and pay his rent punctually, is greatly to be wiſhed, and would be of univerſal convenience. An attempt to effect which is the intended uſe of this paper.

The advantage and propriety of applying land to the growth of ſuch articles to which nature has moſt fitly ſuited it, has been ſhewn at large, and alſo that all land which is naturally and properly arable, can by no means be converted into meadow, or valuable paſture of any duration. Such as from a wild ſtate of nature, overrun with furze, fern, buſhes, and brambles, has been rendered fertile by means of the plough, muſt be kept in that improved ſtate by its frequent uſe, otherwiſe it would ſoon revert to that wild barren ſtate which was its original condition.

A farm, therefore, which conſiſts wholly, or almoſt ſo, of land that is properly arable, muſt ever continue arable; for it is not practicable to render it in any degree fertile, but by means of the plough; or to keep it long ſo, even when it is made ſo. But though arable land cannot be converted into meadow or paſture proper for a dairy, it may be planted with articles which, it is well known now, will anſwer the purpoſe of feeding horned cattle, eſpecially milch-cows, as effectually as good meadow or paſture, producing as much

much milk, and altogether as rich, as ſweet, and as good.

But the great intereſting queſtion is, Whether thoſe articles which can be procured only by the heavy expences of ploughing, harrowing, ſeed, and other operations which neceſſarily attend their culture and harveſting, will afford as much ſuſtenance in proportion to the expence, as meadow or paſture, which is liable to little or none, excepting what is made into hay, the cattle gathering it for themſelves as they conſume it?

To aſcertain this fact, we muſt enquire, what may be the average expence of keeping a milch-cow on a dairy-farm for any given time? It is ſaid upon very good authority, that the expence generally is from 3l. to 3l. 10s. per annum. Two acres and a half of paſture fit for this uſe is ſufficient to keep a cow the whole year through, and ſuch land is valued at from 25 s. to 30 s. per acre. At 25 s. ſuppoſe, the keeping of each cow would amount to 3l. 2 s. 6 d. per annum. A dairy-farm, therefore, conſiſting of forty-eight acrees, at 25 s. per annum, would amount to 60l. rent per annum; and the number of cows that might be kept upon ſuch a farm, allowing two acres and a half to each cow, would be nineteen and a fraction, therefore we will ſay twenty.

In the next place, let us enquire, what would be the average expence of keeping a cow upon food raiſed in arable land as a ſuccedaneum to graſs, &c. rent and every neceſſary expence included?

We are aſſured by unqueſtionable authority, that a buſhel of potatoes, given half at night and half in the morning, with a ſmall allowance of hay, is ſufficient to keep three cows a day. On that allowance their milk will be as rich and as good, and the quantity as great, as in the ſummer months when the cows are in good paſture.

In a former paper we have ſhewn, that an acre of land, properly cultivated with potatoes, will produce 337 buſhels; and the total expence of cultivating an acre, rent and tithe included, was 6l. 13 s. 7½ d. If three cows eat ſeven buſhels per week, then they would eat 365 buſhels in a year; and twenty cows would conſume 2433 buſhels. The queſtion then is, If twenty cows require 2433 buſhels to keep them a year, and as above an acre of land properly cultivated will produce 337 buſhels nett, how many acres will be required to produce 2433 buſhels, or the quantity neceſſary to feed 20 cows, to keep them in full milk the year round? The anſwer is, Seven acres and a quarter nearly.

If then an acre of land can be cultivated with potatoes, as above, for 6l. 13 s. 7½ d. the cultivation of ſeven acres and a quarter will amount to 48l. 8 s. 9½ d. We have ſeen as above, that the rent of a dairy farm, capable of maintaining 20 milch-cows, is upon a medium 60l.; but it clearly appears that the ſame number of cows may be kept equally well on a very ſmall part of an arable farm planted with potatoes for 11l. 11 s. 2½ d. leſs than that ſum, which is ſo much in favour of the arable farm; or in other words, ſeven or eight acres of arable land under this mode of management, are as much ſuperior to forty-eight acres of meadow or paſture, as the difference of the two ſums mentioned; the arable farmer receiving as great a ſum for the expenditure of 48l. 8 s. 9½ d. as the dairy farmer doth for his bare rent of 60l. without

without reckoning a penny for incidental expences.

It muſt be obſerved, that in this ſtatement no allowance is made for the ſmall quantity of hay given to the cows with the potatoes. It muſt be noted alſo, that the account of cultivation is charged with 40 s. an acre for manure, and ſome expence of ploughing, which of right is chargeable to the crop of wheat that is to follow. Now if we deduct 40 s. an acre from the expence of cultivating the potatoes, it reduces the ſum to 4 l. 13 s. 7½ d. and the whole expence then upon ſeven acres and a quarter is only 33 l. 18 s. 9¼ d. and conſequently the keep of 20 cows is little more than half to the occupier of the arable farm, what it is to the occupier of the grazing farm. If this concluſion be fairly drawn, and the calculation free from errors, as I hope and believe, it is matter of the greateſt importance, eſpecially to the little arable farmer. It plainly raiſes him from a ſtate of acknowledged great inferiority, to one altogether as ſuperior.

It may be ſaid, this calculation reſpects potatoes only; how will this mode of culture anſwer when applied to the growth of other articles of food uſed as a ſuccedaneum to herbage? Let us try.

By an experiment made on a pretty large ſcale, lately by Mr. Vagg, it ſeems to appear, that cabbage on arable land is much about as ſuperior to natural paſture as potatoes. —— His experiment was made on twelve acres of land, which was very far from being the moſt ſuitable for a crop of cabbage. The average value about 30 s. per acre, and the whole expence of the culture, carting off included, 11, 14 s. 1d. per acre. The rent and expences of cultivating the twelve acres then amount to 38 l. 9 s. He ſays the ſtock he fed with it was forty-five oxen, and upwards of ſixty ſheep; that it fed them three months, and that he is very well aſſured that they proved as faſt upon it as they do in the prime months of the ſeaſon, May, June, and July. Now if, inſtead of ſixty ſheep, we reckon fifteen oxen, or that four ſheep are about equal to one ox, in which we cannot err much; then ſixty oxen were kept well for three months, or, which is the ſame thing, fifteen oxen for a whole year, for 38 l. 9 s. and conſequently twenty would coſt 51 l. 5 s. 4 d. which is not quite 3 l. more than the keep of 20 cows coſt in potatoes.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary that two experiments, made on articles ſo very different in their nature, ſhould ſo nearly coincide in their effects when applied to the ſame purpoſe. Turnips, turnip-rooted cabbage, carrots, parſnips, and ſome other articles, by many experiments often repeated, have been found quite adequate to the ſame valuable purpoſes, at leaſt ſo far as to be more lucrative than meadow or paſture. I omit clover and rye-graſs, becauſe they have been long in general practice; but are in common very ſhort of the advantages which may be derived from the cultivation of the other articles recommended.

There is one other article, however, which is particularly worthy of the arable farmer's utmoſt care and attention, which he may rely on with great confidence, if he will be at the pains of thoroughly cleaning his land, and of keeping it ſo for two or three years after it is planted,

planted. The article I mean is Sainfoin. From the miſerable appearance it often makes the firſt year, I long doubted if its ſucceſs in poor land was not very precarious; but I have now the fulleſt conviction, that it will grow and produce a very good crop in poor land, provided the ſoil be dry, and proper care be taken to keep it clean till it be fully eſtabliſhed in the ground.

Small arable farms, which in a manner are quite deſtitute of herbage, cannot well be ſupplied with any ſubſtitute that is by any means its equal. Indeed one acre of good ſainfoin is of more value than two acres of middling meadow or paſture. And as it will thrive ſo well on a very poor ſoil, the arable farmer, who either keeps no cows for want of herbage, or keeping them is pinched for food for them, is perfectly ignorant of the advantages attending the culture of this plant, or miſerably indolent and inexcuſable in not better attending to his intereſt.

Whatever crop precedes the planting ſainfoin, the ground ſhould be ploughed in the winter, and laid up in ſharp deep ridges by one bout of the plough, to continue till the beginning of April. Then it ſhould be dragged and harrowed level: and if the land be very poor, it ſhould have ſome light dreſſing of aſhes, ſoot, or a compoſt of lime, earth, and rotten dung, well incorporated together. A ſmall quantity of either of theſe would greatly encourage the plants in their infant ſtate. The beginning or middle of April, as the ſeaſon may prove, the ſeed ſhould be ſown, and there would be little danger of its ſucceeding to one's wiſh.

Perhaps there cannot be a better nor a ſurer means of cultivating this very uſeful plant to the greateſt advantage, than by ſowing it after potatoes. The horſe and hand-hoeing them during their growth, and the ploughing, dragging, and harrowing the ground to clean it of the potatoes, ſo thoroughly deſtroy the weeds and pulverize the ſoil, that it is made in the moſt perfect condition for a crop of ſainfoin; and though the land may in its nature be very poor, the manuring properly for a crop of potatoes, and that being grown perfectly rotten, the ſoil is become ſufficiently fertile.

Beſides the above, perhaps, there are very few articles in uſe as ſubſtitutes for paſture, that are equally profitable with carrots and parſnips, when the ſoil is ſuitable to their manner of growth and culture. The ſoil they delight and flouriſh moſt in is a deep, light, free ſoil, which is eaſily penetrated, and moderately fertile. In ſuch a ſoil, if properly hoed and ſet out at due diſtances, they will arrive at a great magnitude, and the acreable produce be very ſurpriſing. Another advantage is, their being ſo very acceptable to the farmer's ſtock of every kind. Horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs, eat them ſeemingly with the ſame appetite, and are equally improved by them. Unfortunately the quantity of ſuch land bears but a ſmall proportion to what is totally unſuitable to them. Hard, ſtiff, obdurate land, and ſuch as ſtrongly cohere, is quite unnatural to them, and never anſwers the expence and trouble; what grows in ſuch land being very ſhort, generally forked, and of ſmall value. Potatoes, cultivated as above directed, would, I think, be as good a preparation for thoſe roots as can well be invented. If the ſoil be well

well manured for the potatoes, it will be ſufficiently fertile for carrots and parſnips, and, lying through the winter in fallow, will be in excellent order for ſowing the ſeeds of theſe roots the March following.

Upon the whole of this account, it ſeems clearly to follow, that an arable farm of 50l. or 60l. per annum, though it has not an acre of meadow or paſture land belonging to it, may by ſkill and proper management be made to produce as much good butter and cheeſe, as a dairy farm of the ſame value, and have a large proportion of land left for the growth of corn and other purpoſes.

For inſtance; twenty acres of the ſixty, I conceive, would be competent to the maintenance of the ſtock abovementioned; and they might be fitly divided as follows: viz. ſix acres of potatoes, two or four of cabbages, two of turnip-rooted cabbage, and two of turnips, making together twelve or fourteen acres; the remainder to be ſainfoin; in all twenty acres. The proportion to be varied, and ſome articles exchanged for others, as the nature of the ſoil and particular circumſtances might require, and as the farmer might think fit and proper. On twenty acres thus planted, I reckon, beſides twenty milch-cows, ſix or eight young cattle, and pigs in proportion, might be well kept on the offal.

It may be aſked, ſhould this plan be generally adopted by the farmer, for whoſe uſe it is principally intended, if it would not be running out of one extreme into another? If ſo conſiderable an increaſe of milk, butter, and cheeſe, would not lower the prices of thoſe articles too much, and raiſe the price of wheat in a greater proportion? That it would lower the prices of thoſe articles is very certain, and it is a very deſirable circumſtance that it ſhould. At this time, and for ſix weeks paſt, butter has been ſold in this neighbourhood for nine pence a pound, and will moſt probably be ſold for ten pence very ſoon; whereas I ſhould hope the average price might, by the propoſed improvement, be reduced to ſeven pence.

There is little danger, however, of the price of wheat being advanced by the appropriation of about twelve acres of land annually to the cultivation of the above articles; for the land would be ſo much improved by the extra tillage given to the ſoil intended for thoſe articles, and alſo during their growth, that I am rather of opinion they would produce more corn than if conſtantly planted in the uſual very imperfect manner.

The greateſt obſtacle to this mode of managing a ſmall farm (ſay from 20l. to 60l. per annum) is, the confined or narrow circumſtances of the occupiers of ſuch farms. In general their capitals are much too ſmall to carry on their buſineſs to any advantage in the preſent mode of management; but the mode recommended would require an increaſe of capital to the tune of 200l. or 300l. Leſs than 400l. would not ſtock a farm in this way of 60l. per annum at any rate; but a capital of 500l. would be vaſtly more convenient, and indeed much more to the farmer's advantage.

If the improvements propoſed are ſo intereſting to the individuals immediately concerned, how very important are its effects in a political view, as it reſpects the community at large! If eight acres of land, by ſkill and management, can be rendered as productive and as profitable

fitable as forty-eight acres whose natural produce is of a medium value, it is virtually increasing the extent of territory in a fixfold proportion; for if every acre of land could by art and industry be made to yield six times the quantity of produce it does at present, the whole might be rendered capable of supporting six times the number of the present inhabitants.

But this is far from being the whole of the advantage that will accrue from it. It will not only increase the quantity of provisions as aforesaid, but it will also find abundance of employment for the poor labourer and his family. In this respect dairy farms are in a manner of no use; they afford little or no employment at all for the poor labourers. Within a few miles of me lives a dairy-man, who milks constantly between twenty and thirty cows. He has no wife, keeps only one maid-servant, has neither man nor boy to assist him, he only hires a woman in the neighbourhood to assist in milking night and morning, for which he pays her 15 d. or 16 d. per week. This is his whole expence in the management of his dairy; scarce a tenth part of his rent; whereas every arable acre cultivated with potatoes, &c. as above, will cost four or five times as much as the rent of the land they grow on. What an amazing difference doth this make to the poor of a populous country, and also to those who must either find them employment, or maintain them without any!

I have often employed a poor family in planting potatoes, and also in following the plough and picking them up when harvested; a man, his wife, and two children, about 12 or 13 years of age. The man I paid 6 s. a week, the woman 3 s. and the two children 3 s.; together 12 s. A very pretty income for a poor family! At these times they usually got them a few clothes; at other times, when I had no employment for them, they have been often obliged to seek relief from the parish.

It is certainly a matter of great importance to all men in business, to do all in their power to promote the beneficial employment of the poor; it not only serves to alleviate a burthen, which in many places is become intolerable; but is also the surest means of keeping the poor honest. Many of them, I hope, would never have thought of being otherwise, if they had not been first impelled by necessity; who from petty pilferings to get a penny, go on to greater thefts, till they too often go to the gallows; whereas, had they been constantly employed, they would have been neither necessitous nor idle——the two grand sources of all the evils they suffer, and the injuries they do to society!

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JOSEPH WIMPEY."

North-Bockhampton, Hants,
Nov. 25, 1788.

Of Furze or Whins [Ulex Europæus, Linn.] *as a Food for Horses and Cattle; Description of a Machine for bruising them; and Hints for rearing that Plant œconomically as a Crop. By Dr.* J. Anderson.—*Addressed to the same Society.*

"THE machine consists simply of a large circular stone set

ſet on its edge (the weightier and bigger the better) with a wooden axis paſſing through its centre. One end of this axis is fixed upon a pivot placed in the centre of a circular area, and to the other end of it is fixed a yoke, to which the horſe that is to move it is attached. The ſtone, being placed on its edge, when the horſe moves, it revolves round its axis in a circular groove, or ſtone trough (this trough ſhould be made of hewn ſtone) exactly in the ſame manner as a ſugar-baker's or a tanner's mill. The whins being placed in this trough, are bruiſed by the weight of the ſtone as it paſſes over them, and being raiſed up by a three-pronged fork, by the attendant, after they have been well flatted down, they riſe in a ſort of matted cake, which, being ſet in ſome meaſure upon its edge, is again ſmaſhed down by the wheel as it revolves around. In this way the operation is continued, by ſucceſſively preſenting new ſurfaces to the action of the wheel, till the whole be reduced to a ſoft pulpy maſs, that can eaſily be eaten by the animals to which it is to be preſented.

During the continuance of this proceſs, it is neceſſary to pour plenty of water upon the whins, at different times, without the help of which, they can ſcarcely be reduced to a pulp ſoft enough. On this account it will be proper to make choice of a place for the machine where plenty of water can be obtained with little labour. It follows alſo, that as rain can never be prejudicial to this operation, it may properly be placed in the open air.

As this operation is greatly facilitated by a judicious way of raiſing or turning the whins, during the operation, which a little experience will enable any attentive perſon to attain, but which cannot be taught by words only; I would therefore adviſe any perſon, who ſhould think of erecting an apparatus of this ſort, to put one of his moſt ſagacious ſervants to conduct this operation at the beginning, as ſuch a perſon will more quickly diſcover the circumſtances that facilitate the proceſs, than one of a ſlower comprehenſion would do. After he has become expert at the buſineſs, he will be able to inſtruct an inferior perſon, who may then be employed for the purpoſe. But in whatever way it ſhall be conducted, the perſon who begins this manufacture muſt lay his account with performing very little work for ſome time at the firſt, in compariſon of what he will be able to execute afterwards with eaſe.

If the whins that are to be employed for this purpoſe grow naturally in the ſoil in irregular buſhes, it is a troubleſome work to cut and gather them. To underſtand the proper mode of managing this buſineſs in all its departments, it is neceſſary to advert to ſeveral particulars in the natural œconomy of this ſingular plant. Inſtead of leaves, the whin is furniſhed with an innumerable quantity of prickles. Theſe ſpring out from every part of the young ſtem, and are, at the firſt, like the ſtem itſelf to which they adhere, ſucculent, ſoft, and inoffenſive; but, like the ſtems alſo, they become gradually harder, as the ſeaſon advances, and ſeem, indeed, to a caſual obſerver, to form a part of that ſtem, though they are as different from it as the leaves of other trees are from the branches which produce them.

Theſe prickles do not, like the leaves of moſt deciduous trees, fall off

off at the approach of winter, but like evergreens, they remain upon the branches all winter, and retain during that time their full ſucculence and verdure. Early in the ſpring, innumerable bloſſoms ſpring out around theſe prickles, adhering to them, and not to the ſtem. The bloſſoms are ſucceeded by pods containing the ſeeds, which gradually ripen; a little after Midſummer the ſeeds harden, and the pods ſlowly become dry and wither, the prickles to which they adhere becoming dry and withered at the ſame time, and gradually looſen from the ſtalk, which ſtill continues freſh, though it has now attained a woody conſiſtence. Theſe prickles having now performed all the functions that nature had deſigned them, fall off in part, at firſt from the ſtalk, and in part adhere to it for ſome time, till they are gradually ſhaken off by the agitation of the wind, or other cauſes. Hence it happens that it is only the *ſurface* or top twigs of a whin buſh that are green, ſoft, and ſucculent, the ſtems below being dry and woody, and frequently covered with dry prickles, that are not only not uſeful as food for cattle, but rather hurtful to them, on account of the hardneſs of their conſiſtence, and ſharpneſs of their prickles.

In gathering whins, therefore, for food for cattle, it is only the tender top ſhoots that are wanted; and the eaſieſt method of gathering them, that our practice has yet diſcovered, is, to take a forked ſtick in the left hand (the readieſt thing is the branch of a tree of a proper ſize) and a ſickle in the right hand (both hands, but more eſpecially the right, ſhould be armed with ſtrong gloves) then thruſting the ſickle among the young ſhoots, and pulling it backward, the forked ſtick when oppoſed to them, keeps the branches ſteady enough to produce a reſiſtance ſufficient to make the ſickle cut them; and as the tops of the whins are intermixed with each other, they ſtick to the prongs of the fork, which, after it is as full as it can hold, is taken to a ſide, and cleared by preſſing the whins to the ground, and pulling the fork backwards. Theſe little heaps are afterwards forked to a cart, and preſſed down by a man walking upon them, having his legs covered with large ſtrong boots made on purpoſe, and thus are carried home.

If the whins have grown upon a good ſoil, and have made very vigorous ſhoots, they may be thus reaped pretty expeditiouſly; but if the ſoil has been poor, and the ſhoots ſhort, the expence of this operation is very conſiderable; and as theſe ſhort whins are, in other reſpects, of a very inferior quality to the others as food for beaſts, it is only at times when fodder is ſcarce and dear, that they can be œconomically applied to this uſe.

To abridge this labour, and to obtain the full benefit of this valuable winter food, I tried myſelf to cultivate whins artificially, and have ſeen others rear them in ſeveral different ways; among which I found the two following modes of culture to prove the moſt ſucceſsful:

In a field of a good dry loamy ſoil, I ſowed along with a crop of barley, the ſeeds of the whin in the ſame way as clover is uſually ſown, allowing at the rate of from 15 to 30 pounds of ſeed to the acre. The ſeeds, if harrowed in and rolled with the barley, quickly ſpring up and advance under the ſhelter of the barley during the ſummer, and keep

keep alive during the winter. Next ſeaſon, if the field has not a great tendency to run to graſs ſo as to choak them, they advance rapidly after Midſummer, ſo as to produce a pretty full crop before winter. This you may begin to cut *with the ſcythe* immediately after your clover fails, and continue to cut it as it is wanted during the whole of the winter; but it is ſuppoſed that after the month of February the taſte of this plant alters, as it is in general believed, that after that time horſes and cattle are no longer fond of it. I muſt however obſerve, that never having had myſelf a ſufficiency of whins to ſerve longer than till towards the middle of February, or beginning of March, I cannot aſſert the above fact from my own experience. I have frequently ſeen horſes beating the whins with their hoofs, ſo as to bruiſe the prickles, and then eat them, even in the months of April and May; and ſheep which have been uſed to this food certainly pick off the bloſſoms and young pods at that ſeaſon, and probably the prickles alſo; ſo that it is poſſible this opinion may only be a vulgar error.

Circumſtances, which I need not here ſpecify, have prevented me from aſcertaining what is the weight of the crop that may be thus attained; but I think I may ſafely venture to ſay, that it is at leaſt equal to that of a crop of green clover; and if it be conſidered that this affords a green ſucculent food during winter, on which cattle can be fatted as well as on cut graſs in ſummer, it will I think be admitted, that it muſt be accounted even a more valuable crop than clover. After being cut, it ſprings up the following ſeaſon with greater vigour than before; and, in this ſituation, acquires a degree of health and ſucculence very different from what it is ever obſerved to poſſeſs in its natural ſtate*. The prickles too are ſo ſoft, and the ſtems ſo tender, that very little bruiſing is neceſſary: indeed horſes, who have been accuſtomed to this food, would eat it without any bruiſing at all: but cattle, whoſe mouths ſeem to be more tender, always require it to be well bruiſed.

How long this crop might continue to be annually cut over, without wearing out, I cannot ſay; I believe a long while, in favourable circumſtances. But I muſt now take notice of a peculiarity that, unleſs guarded againſt, will very ſoon extirpate it, as I myſelf experienced.

The natural progreſs of this plant has been deſcribed above with tolerable accuracy, but one particular was omitted. During the beginning of the ſeaſon, nature ſeems to be ſolely employed about the great work of fructification only, and it is not till near Midſummer that the whin begins to puſh forth its wood-bearing branches, which advance with great luxuriance only during the latter part of the ſeaſon. Hence it happens, that if care be not taken to have the graſs that ſprings up on the field before the whin begins to ſend out its ſhoots eaten cloſe down, that graſs will acquire ſuch a luxuriance before the young branches of the whin begin to advance, as to overtop them, and choak them entirely. Whoever therefore has a field under this particular crop, muſt be careful to ad-

* I have ſeen ſhoots of one ſeaſon near four feet in length.

vert to this circumſtance, or, if the field be in good heart, he will infallibly loſe it. The field therefore ſhould be kept, as a paſture, bare as poſſible during the beginning of the ſeaſon, and the cattle ſhould only be taken from it when the ſhoots of the whin are diſcovered to begin to advance with vigour. Under this management I preſume it may be kept for many years, and yield full crops: but unleſs the mowers ſhall be particularly attentive, *at the beginning*, to cut it as low as poſſible, it will very ſoon become impoſſible to cut the field with a ſcythe, as the ſtumps will ſoon acquire ſo much ſtrength as to break the ſcythe when it happens to touch them.

This is the beſt way I know of rearing whins as a crop for a winter food for cattle or horſes. For ſheep, who take to this food very kindly when they have been once accuſtomed to it, leſs nicety is required; for if the ſeeds be ſimply ſown broad-caſt very thin (about a pound of ſeed per acre) upon the pooreſt ſoils, after they come up the ſheep of themſelves will crop the plants, and ſoon bring them into round cloſe buſhes, as this animal nibbles off the prickles one by one very quickly, ſo as not to be hurt by them. Sheep, however, who have not been uſed to this mode of browſing, do not know how to proceed, and often will not taſte them; but a few that have been uſed to this food, will ſoon teach all the reſt how to uſe it.

Another very œconomical way of rearing whins, that I have ſeen practiſed at large by another, rather than experienced it myſelf, is as follows:

Let a farm be incloſed by means of a ditch all round, with a bank thrown up upon one ſide; and if ſtones can be had, let the face of that bank be lined with the ſtones from bottom to near the top; this lining to ſlope backward with an angle of about ſixty or ſeventy degrees from the horizon. Any kind of ſtones, even round bullets gathered from the land, will anſwer the purpoſe very well; upon the top of the bank ſow whin ſeeds pretty thick, and throw a few of them along the face of the bank. Young plants will quickly appear. Let them grow for two years, and then cut them down by means of a hedge-bill, ſtripping down by the face of the bank. This mode of cutting is very eaſy; and as the ſeeds ſoon inſinuate themſelves among the crannies of the ſtones, the whole face of the bank becomes a cloſe hedge, whoſe ſhoots ſpring up with great luxuriance. If another ditch be made on the other ſide of the bank, and if this be managed in the ſame way, and if the hedge be cut down only once every ſecond year, (and in this way it affords very good food for beaſts) and the inſide and the outſide be cut down alternately, the fence will always continue good, as the hedge at the top will at all times be compleat. This mode of rearing whins is both convenient and œconomical. But where ſtones cannot be obtained for making the facing, the bank very ſoon moulders down, and becomes unfit for a fence.

I know few plants that deſerve the attention of the farmer more than the whin. Horſes are peculiarly fond of it. Some perſons think they may be made to perform hard work upon it, without any

any feeding of grain; but I think it tends more to fatten a horſe than to fit him for hard labour, and that therefore ſome grain ſhould be given with it where the work is ſevere. Cattle eat it perfectly well when thoroughly bruiſed, and grow fat upon it as upon turnips; but unleſs it be very well bruiſed for them they will not eat it freely, and the farmer will be diſappointed in his expectations. Cows that are fed upon it yield nearly as much milk as while upon graſs, which is free from any bad taſte; and the beſt winter-made butter I ever ſaw was obtained from the milk of a cow that was fed upon whins."

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

A literal Tranſlation of the Will of King Alfred, *from the* Saxon *Original, preſerved in a Regiſter of the Abbey of* Newminſter, *at* Wincheſter, *founded by that King a ſhort Time before his Death.*

The better to elucidate ſo valuable a Record, we ſhall alſo lay the Preface, *and* Introductory Remarks *to the Will before our Readers.*

Preface.

"THE following will of King Alfred the Great, is preſerved in a regiſter of the Abbey of Newminſter, at Wincheſter, founded by that King a ſhort time before his death. This regiſter commences with an account of the firſt foundation of the abbey in the cemetery on the north-weſt ſide of the cathedral of Wincheſter, which about the year 1110 was removed to Hyde. The greateſt part of the regiſter, and particularly that in which the will is inſerted, appears to have been written between the years 1028 and 1032, ſo that the entry in the regiſter could not have been later than one hundred and thirty-two years after the foundation of the abbey, though it was probably earlier; and it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that care would be taken by the abbot and convent, to exemplify the will of their great and munificent founder, in the moſt correct manner.

This regiſter appears to have been un-noted, from the time of the diſſolution of Hyde Abbey, till about the year 1710; when it was in the poſſeſſion of Walter Clavel, Eſq; afterwards it was the property of the Rev. Mr. North; on whoſe deceaſe it came into the hands of his executor the Rev. Dr. Lort, one of the vice-preſidents of the ſociety of antiquaries, who in the year 1769 kindly depoſited it in the MS. library of Mr. Aſtle.

The following valuable document is intereſting on many accounts.

Firſt, we learn from it the ideas entertained by the king, and the great men of the realm, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the times of the Saxons.

Secondly, we are informed of ſeveral particulars relative to the rights, liberties, and privileges of the different orders and degrees of men, at that early period.

Thirdly, we are furniſhed with many curious facts, which elucidate the nature of the tenures, by which eſtates were held in the time of our Saxon anceſtors.

Mr. Aſtle having converſed with ſeveral of his literary friends on the contents of this valuable record, and particularly with ſome reſpectable

members of the univerſity of Oxford, it was determined by the delegates of the Oxford preſs, to lay it before the public, conſidering it a monument which will reflect honour on the memory of the royal founder of the univerſity.

In Aſſer's life of King Alfred, Mr. Wiſe has printed what he called, *Teſtamentum Ælfredi Regis*; but the reader will find that it is nothing more than a very incorrect tranſlation into Latin of part of the following will.

The public is indebted to the Rev. Mr. Owen Manning, well known as the editor of Lye's *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*, for the following tranſlation, and for moſt of the notes.

Introductory Remarks.

It appears by the preface or introduction to this will, that K. Ethelwolf left certain manors and other eſtates in land (beſides what he had given them in his life-time) to his three ſons, Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, and to the ſurvivor of them.

That on Ethelbald's deceaſe, Ethelred and Alfred made over their joint intereſt herein to K. Ethelbert their then eldeſt brother, in truſt, to releaſe it to them again in the ſame condition in which he received it: with a covenant to do the ſame by ſuch eſtates alſo as he had obtained by their joint aſſiſtance, and ſuch as he ſhould have acquired himſelf.

That, on Ethelbert's deceaſe, and Ethelred's ſucceeding to the crown, Alfred applied to him in Witenagemot, to make partition of the eſtates, and to aſſign him his ſhare: but that Ethelred refuſed; alledging in his excuſe, that it was a mixed property, which he had entered upon at different times; and that he could not eaſily diſtinguiſh the lands one from another: that, however, he would make him his heir; with which declaration Alfred was ſatisfied.

That, ſhortly after, in a Witenagemot at Swinburgh, it was agreed between Ethelred and Alfred, that the ſurvivor ſhould give to the children of the other, 1. All ſuch lands as they two themſelves ſhould have acquired; and, 2. All ſuch as Ethelwolf their father had given to them two in Ethelbald's life-time: but not, 3. Thoſe which he had bequeathed by will to the three; which, together with the perſonal eſtate of him of the two that ſhould die firſt, was to go to the ſurvivor.

That, finally therefore, this third ſort of lands, *viz.* ſuch as K. Ethelwolf the father had deviſed by will to the three brothers and the ſurvivor of them, and which had now devolved on Alfred, was the ſubject of the following bequeſt: which, in the Witena-gemot at Langden (K. Ethelwolf's will being firſt produced and read) it was unanimouſly agreed, that Alfred had undoubted authority to make: and which the nobility there aſſembled pledged themſelves to ſee carried into execution.

King Alfred's *Will.—The Literal Tranſlation.*

I Alfred king, by God's grace, and with the counſel of [a] Ethelred archbiſhop, and all the Weſt-

[a] Ethelred, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who died, Ao 888.

Saxon

Saxon nobles' concurrence, have considered of my soul's health, and of my inheritance that to me God and my ancestors did give; and of that inheritance which K. [b] Ethelwolf my father to us [c] three brothers did bequeath, Ethelbald, and Ethered, and me; and which of us soever longest liver were, that he should take to all.

But it came to pass that Ethelbald died [d]; and we two Ethered [*and I* [e]] with all the West-Saxon nobles' concurrence, our part did give in trust to Ethelbert [f] king our brother, on the condition that he it should redeliver to us as entire as it then was when we it to him did make over. And he then so did, both by that estate, and that which he by our joint concurrence had obtained, and what he himself had acquired.

When it so happened that Ethered [g] succeeded, then prayed I him before our nobles all, that we two the inheritance might divide; and he to me would give my share. Then said he to me, that he not easily might divide, for that he had, at many different times formerly taken possession. And he said concerning that which he of our joint property enjoyed, and [*that which he* [h]] had acquired, after his days, he to no man rather would give it than to me. And I therewith, at that time was well satisfied.

But it came to pass, that we all by the heathen [i] folk despoiled were. Then discoursed we concerning our children, that they some support would need to be given by us out of these estates, as to us was given. Then were we in council at Swinburgh [k]; when declared we two, in the West-Saxon nobles' presence, that which soever of us two longest liver were, that he should give to the other's children those lands that we two our selves had acquired, and those lands that to us two Ethelwolf the king gave while Ethelbald was living; except those that he to us three brothers bequeathed. And of this, of us two each to the other his security did give, that whether of us two longest should live, he should take both to the land and to the trea-

[b] Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred, died, 13 Jan. A° 857–8, leaving four sons, 1. Ethelbald, 2. Ethelbert, 3. Ethered, 4. Alfred, who were successively kings of England; and one daughter, Ethelswith, who, A° 851, married Burthred king of Mercia; and, after his death, A° 873, became a nun at Padua, where she died, A° 889.

[c] K. Ethelwolf made no mention, in his will, of his second son, Ethelbert, having, in his life-time (on the death of Athelstan, uncle of Ethelbert) A° 851, given him the kingdom of the South-Saxons, East-Saxons, and Kent.

[d] Ethelbald, the eldest brother of Alfred, died, 20 Dec. A° 860.

[e] The words, ⁊ ic, seem to be wanting in the original.

[f] Who succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Ethelbald, A° 860; and was now the eldest surviving brother of the three.

[g] Ethered succeeded to the throne on the death of Ethelbert, A° 866.

[h] The words, þæt þe he, though not expressed in the original, must be understood, as absolutely necessary to enable the reader to distinguish between the two species of estate here mentioned, viz. that which Ethered was seised of by joint heirship with Alfred, and such as he had acquired himself.

[i] The whole reign of this prince was one continued war with the Danes, who are here meant by the hæðen folc.

[k] I find no place of this name at present in England.

ſures; and to all his poſſeſſions except that part, which of us either to his children ſhould bequeath.

But it came to paſs that Ethered[l] the king deceaſed, when communicated to me no man no title-deed, nor no evidence, that it any other was than as it before witneſs we before had agreed. Then heard we now of many inheritance-ſuits. Now therefore brought I Ethelwolf the king's will into our council at Langandene[m]; and it they read before all the Weſt-Saxon nobles. When it read was, then prayed I them all for my love (and to them my ſecurity gave, that I of them never to none would bear ill will for that they right ſhould ſpeak) that of them none would neglect, neither for my love nor for my fear, that they the common right ſhould declare; leſt any man ſhould ſay, that I my kinſfolk, whether elder or younger, wrongfully had excluded. And they then all for right pronounced and declared, that they no more rightful title conceive could, nor in a title-deed hear of "Now *(ſaid they)* "it all delivered is there into thy "hand: Wherefore thou it mayeſt "bequeath and give, either to a "relation or a ſtranger, as to thee "moſt eligible may be." And they all to me thereupon their ſecurity gave, and their hand-ſetting, that, during their life, it no man never ſhould pervert in none other wiſe but ſo as I it my ſelf ſhould direct on the next day.

I Alfred, of the Weſt-Saxons[n] king, by God's grace, and before this company of witneſſes, declare how I concerning my eſtates will after my day.

Firſt, I give to [o] Edward, my eldeſt ſon, the land at [p] Stræneat in [q] Tricon-ſhire, and [r] Heortigtune, and the book-land all that Leof heah holds, and the land at [s] Carumtune, and at [t] Cylfantune, and at [u] Burnhamme, and at [x] Wedmor. And I am a [y] petitioner to the [z] families

[l] King Ethelred died 23 Apr. A° 872; when Alfred ſucceeded to the crown.

[m] There are diverſe places in England of the name of Langdon and Longdon; but which of them this was, it is impoſſible to ſay. If this point could be ſettled, and the time at which the council was holden, we could aſcertain the date of the will, as well as the place at which it was made.

[n] Alfred being king at the time he made his will, it muſt have been made between A° 872, when he came to the crown, and A° 885, in which biſhop Eſne, one of the legatees therein mentioned died.

[o] Edward, the eldeſt ſon of Alfred, was born a little before his father aſcended the throne; and afterwards ſucceeded him therein, by the name of Edward the Elder.

[p] Probably Stratton in Cornwall. See the next note.

[q] I take Tricon-ſhire to have been, without all doubt, Cornwall; it being but a ſmall Saxon variation from Trig-ſhire, as it was called by the Britiſh inhabitants. See Borlaſe's Corniſh Vocabulary.

[r] Perhaps Hardington in co. Som. as moſt of the lands here bequeathed are in that county or Wilts.

[s] Carhampton, co. Som. [t] Chilhampton, co. Wilt. [u] Burnham, co. Som.
[x] Wedmore, co. Som. [y] For ꝑhymbiȝ. "Qui requirit," &c.

[z] Theſe hiꝑaꝑ, "families," at Chedder, were the Ceorls, who occupied the tenemental lands there. They were ſo far analogous to thoſe who, in the ſucceeding feudal times, were called privileged villains, as that they could not be compelled to hold their lands againſt their own conſent. Hence it was that Alfred had ſtipulated with them, on the ground of a requiſition on his part, to chuſe Edward his ſon to be their landlord; i. e. to continue his tenants after he himſelf ſhould be dead and gone.

at

at [a] Ceodre, that they him would chuſe on the condition that we formerly expreſſed had; with the land of [b] Ciwtune, and that which thereto belongeth. And I to him give the land at [c] Cantuctune, and at [d] Bedewind, and at [e] Pefeſigge, and [f] Hyſſeburn, and at [g] Suttune, and at [h] Leodride, and at [i] Awel-tune.

And all the bookland that I in Cent have, and at the Nether [k] Hyſſeburn, and at [l] Cyſeldene, let it be given to Wintan-ceaſtre, on the condition on which it my father formerly gave; and that my private eſtate which I to Ecgulf gave in truſt at the Nether Hyſſeburn.

And to my [m] younger ſon the land at [n] Eaderingtune, and that at [o] Dene, and at [p] Meone, and at [q] Ambreſbyry, and at [r] Deone and at [s] Sturemynſter, and at [t] Gifle, and at [u] Cruærn, and at [w] Whitchurch, and at [x] Axanmouth, and at [y] Brancef-cumbe, and at [z] Columtune, and at [a] Twyfyrd, and at [b] Mylenburn, and at [c] Exanmynſter, and at [d] Sutheſ-wyrth, and at [e] Liwtune, and the lands that thereto belong; which are all that I in [f] Weal diſtrict have, except [g] Triconſhire.

And

[a] Chedder, co. Som. [b] Chewton, co. Som. [c] Quantock, co. Som.
[d] Bedwin, co. Wilt. [e] Pewſey, co. Wilt. [f] Huſſebourn, co. Hant.

[g] There are ſo many places in England of the name of Sutton, that it is hard to ſay which of them is here meant; but, doubtleſs, one of thoſe of this name in Somerſetſhire or Wilts. [h] Probably Ledered in Surrey.

[i] I take this to have been Aulton in Wilts, which was given by ſome of his ſucceſſors to the cathedral of Wincheſter, Cart. 29. E. 1. n. 54. For Aulton in Hants ſeems to have been given to that church by Egbert the grandfather of Alfred. Dug. Mon. I. 979. Yet Camden takes it for granted to have been Aulton in Hants; and, following the printed Latin tranſlation of the Will, ſays, that Alfred gave it to the keeper of Leodre. Edit. Gibſ. p. 146.

[k] Nether Huſſebourn in Hants; which was afterwards given by Edward to the cathedral of Wincheſter.

[l] Chiſeldon or Chiſtleton in Wilts; which was given to the Old Foundation at Wincheſter for the preſent; but, as it ſeems, for the benefit of his intended new minſter at that place, which appears to have been poſſeſſed of it in 4 Edw. iii. Rom. 4. E. 3. m. 4. apud Tann. Notit. p. 156.

[m] This younger ſon of Alfred was Ethelward, born about A° 880. He was educated at Oxford, became a very learned man, and died 16 Oct. A° 922.

[n] Adrington, co. Som.

[o] There are places of this name both in Hants and Wilts, as well as in many other counties. But I take it to have been in one of thoſe two, as moſt of the eſtates here bequeathed lay among the Weſt-Saxons.

[p] Eaſt and Weſt-Meon, co. Hant. [q] Ambreſbury, co. Wilt.
[r] Down, co. Dorſ. or Devon. [s] Sturminſter, co. Dorſ.
[t] Gidley, co. Devon. [u] Crewkern, co. Som.
[w] Whitchurch, co. Hant. [x y z] Axmouth, Branfcomb, Columbton, co. Devon.
[a] Twiford, co. Hant. [b] Milbourn, co. Dorſ. or Som. [c] Axminſter, co. Devon.
[d] Of this I find nothing. [e] Litten, of which there is one in Dorſ. and one in Som.

[f] "On pealcynne." The author of the printed tranſlation hath rendered this "ſub cœlo," as if Alfred had meant to ſay, under the welkin. But, beſide that this word is always written, in the Saxon language, pedicen, polcen, or pelcn, the very termination, cynne naturally refers us to ſome diſtrict. The only queſtion is, What that diſtrict was?—Now the Britons, who retired into the Weſt of England, were called, by our Saxon anceſtors, pealar, and their tribes, peala cynne, i. e. Britannorum gentes. The word indeed, is, at preſent, retained in the name of thoſe only who retired to the extremity of the iſland; who are to this day called Corn-pealar. But

And to my eldeſt [h] daughter the manor at [i] Welewe.

And to the middlemoſt [k], [*that*] at [l] Cleare, and at [m] Cendefer.

And to the youngeſt [n], the manor at [o] Welig, and at [p] Æſtune, and at [q] Cippanhamme.

And to Æthelm [r], my brother's ſon, the manor at [s] Ealdingburn, and at [t] Cumtune, and at [u] Crundell, and at [x] Beading, and at [y] Beadinghamme, and at [z] Burnham, and at [a] Thunresfield, and at [b] Æſceng.

And to [c] Athelwold, my brother's ſon, the manor at [d] Godelming, and at [e] Gyldeford, and at [f] Stening,

And to [g] Oſferth, my couſin, the manor at [h] Beccanlea, and at [i] Rytherfield, and at [k] Dicceling, and at [l] Suthtune, and at [m] Lullingminſter, and at [n] Angmering, and at [o] Felham, and the lands that thereto belong.

And to [p] Ealhſwith, the manor at [q] Lamburn, and at [r] Waneting, and at [s] Ethandune.

And to my two ſons, one thouſand of pounds; to each five hundred of pounds.

And to my eldeſt daughter, and to the middlemoſt, and to the youngeſt, and to Ealhſwith, to them

this does not hinder but that it might formerly extend farther. Nay, the prefix, Eopn, applied to one ſet of the pealaſ, ſeems to imply that there were other pealaſ beſide theſe, and bordering upon them. Accordingly, I do ſuppoſe that, by a latitude peculiar to common ſpeech, the inhabitants of Devon, or even of Somerſetſhire, might be called pealaſ alſo: And that, therefore, when Alfred had bequeathed his eſtates in theſe parts, he finiſhed with ſaying, ꝧ ꝥꝛnꝺ ealle ꝛc on pealcynne hæbbe butan ꝥꝛiconꝛcꝛiſe, i. e. as we ſhould expreſs it now, "Which are all that I have in the Weſt of England, "except in Cornwall."—And as a proof of this, it is obſervable, that none of the lands hereafter bequeathed are farther Weſt than Wiltſhire.

[g] This hath been explained already in note [q], p. 86.

[h] His eldeſt daughter was Ethelfleda, who married Ethelred, D. of Mercia; after whoſe death, A° 912, ſhe governed that province till her own deceaſe, 15 Jun. A° 919.

[i] Wellow, co. Hant.

[k] His middlemoſt daughter, as he calls her, was Ethelgeda, a nun, and afterwards abbeſs of Shaftſbury, where ſhe died and was buried.

[l] King's Clere, co. Hants.

[m] Probably one of thoſe places in Hampſhire which ſtill bear this addition to their name, viz. Preſton-Candever, Chilton-Candever.

[n] The youngeſt daughter of Alfred was Elfrida, who married Baldwin II. Earl of Flanders; and, dying, 7 Jun. A° 929, was buried in the monaſtery of St. Peter at Ghent.

[o] Willey, co. Wilt. [p] Aſhton, co. Wilt. [q] Chippenham, co. Wilt.

[r] Æthelm, the eldeſt ſon of K. Ethelbert, elder brother of Alfred.

[s] Aldingbourn, co. Suſſex. [t] Compton, co. Suſſex. [u] Crundal, co. Hant.

[x] Beden, co. Suſſex. [y] Bedingham, co. Suſſex. [z] Barnham, co. Suſſex.

[a] I take this to have been the manor of Thunderfield, in the pariſh of Horſey, near Reygate, in Surrey, where was formerly a caſtle of conſiderable ſtrength.

[b] Probably Eaſhing, in the pariſh of Godelming, in Surrey, the manor of which alſo belonged to Alfred.

[c] Ethelwold, the youngeſt ſon of K. Ethelbert, elder brother of Alfred; who died in arms againſt Edward his couſin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Alfred, A° 905.

[d e] Godelming and Gildford, both in Surrey. [f] Steyning in Suſſex.

[g] Who this Oſferth his couſin was, I do not find.

[h i k] Beckley, Rotherfield, and Dichling, all in Suſſex.

[l m n o] Sutton, Lullington, Angmering, and Felpham, all in Suſſex.

[p] Ethelſwitha was the wife of Alfred, and daughter of Ethelred the Great, Earl of Mercia. She ſurvived her huſband four years; and, dying A° 904, was buried in the nunnery at Wincheſter of her own foundation.

[q r] Lambourn and Wantage in Berks, at the latter of which K. Alfred was born.

[s] Edingdon, near Weſtbury, in Wilts, where Alfred defeated the Danes, A° 878.

four

four, four hundred of pounds; to each one hundred of pounds.

And of my [t] aldermen to each one hundred of [u] mancuſes; and to Æthelm, and Athelwold, and Oſferth alſo.

And to Ethered the alderman, a ſword of an hundred mancuſes.

And to the men that me follow, to whom I now at Eaſter-tide money gave, two hundred of pounds. Let them give to them, and divide them between, to each as to him to belong they ſhall judge; after the manner that I to them now have diſtributed.

And to the [x] archbiſhop, 100 of mancuſes, and to [y] Eſne biſhop, and to [z] Werferth biſhop, and to the [*biſhop*] [a] at Schireburn.

Alſo, let them diſtribute for me and for my father, and for the friends that he interceded for, and I intercede for, two hundred of pounds; fifty to the maſs-prieſts over all my kingdom; fifty to the poor miniſters of God; fifty to the diſtreſſed poor; fifty to the church that I at ſhall reſt. And I know not certainly whether of the money ſo much is; nor I know not but that thereof more may be; but ſo I ſuppoſe. If it more be, be it to them all common to whom I money bequeathed have. And I will that my aldermen and my miniſters there all together be and this thus diſtribute.

When I had formerly in other wiſe diſpoſed in writing of my inheritance, then I had more eſtate, and more relations; and had to many men the writings intruſted; and in the ſame company of witneſſes they were written. But I have now burned thoſe old *deeds* that I by inquiry recover might. If of theſe any found ſhould be, let it ſtand for nothing: for that I will that it now thus be by God's aſſiſtance.

And I will the men that the lands ſhall have, the words to fulfil that in my father's teſtament do ſtand, ſo as they ſooneſt may.

And I will, if I to any man any money unpaid have, that my relations that at leaſt repay.

And I will the men to whom I my bookland bequeathed have, that they it do not give from my kindred after their day: but I will [b *after*] their day, that it go unto the higheſt hand to me; unleſs of them any one children have; then it is to me moſt eligible that it go to that iſſue on the male ſide, the while that any of it worthy be. My grandfather hath

[t] The King's aldermen were his juſtices itinerant and other great officers of his own appointment.

[u] The mancus was about 7 s. 6 d. of our preſent currency.

[x] Ethelred archbiſhop of Canterbury, who died A° 888.

[y] Eſne, biſhop of Hereford; who died, according to Godwin, A° 885. Indeed Stevens and Willis place him a century higher. But, as a biſhop Eſne is here expreſsly mentioned as a legatee, and no other of that name occurs in the whole catalogue of biſhops, it ſeems a full proof that Godwin is right in the point of chronology.

[z] Werferth was biſhop of Worceſter, a man of ſingular learning, and employed by Alfred in tranſlating the Dialogues of pope Gregory I. into the Saxon language. He died, according to ſome, A° 911, according to others, A° 915.

[a] The biſhop of Shirbourn was Aſſer, the great friend and favourite of Alfred; and who alſo wrote the annals of his reign down to the year 893. He died, according to the moſt probable accounts, A° 909, or 910. See Fra. Wiſe de vita et ſcriptis Aſſerii, §. 12. prefixed to his edition of Aſſer's Annals of Alfred.

[b] The word open ſeems to be wanting here.

bequeathed

bequeathed his land to the [c] ſpear-ſide, and not to the [d] ſpindle-ſide. Wherefore, if I have given to any female what he had acquired, then let redeem it my relations, if they it while ſhe is living have will: if it otherwiſe be, let it go after their day, ſo as we before determined have. For this reaſon I ordain that they it pay for, becauſe they will ſucceed to my [eſtate] that I give may, or to female hand, or to male hand, whether I will.

And I beſeech, in God's name, and in his ſaints', that of my relations none, nor of my heirs none do obſtruct, none of the [e] freedom of thoſe that I have redeemed. And for me the Weſt-Saxon nobles as lawful have pronounced that I them may leave either free or bond whether I will. But I, for God's love, and for my ſoul's advantage, will that they be of their freedom maſters, and of their will, and I, in God the living's name intreat that them no man do not diſturb, neither by money-exaction, nor by no manner of means, that they may not [f] chuſe ſuch man as they will.

And I will that they reſtore to the [g] families at [h] Domerham their land-deeds, and their free liberty ſuch perſon to chuſe, as to them moſt agreeable may be; for me, and for [i] Elfleda, and for the friends that ſhe did intercede for, and I do intercede for.

And ſeek [k] they alſo, with a living [l] price, for my ſoul's health, as it be may, and as it alſo fitting is; and as ye me to forgive ſhall be diſpoſed.

Deſcription of the famous Labyrinth *of* Gortyna, *in* Crete.—*From Letters on* Greece *by Mr.* Savary; *tranſlated from the* French.

[c d] Spene healfe . . . . . Spinl healfe. The ſexes are here denominated from the implements peculiar to their reſpective occupations; the male from the ſpear, the female from the ſpindle. And hence, I cannot but think it probable, that the word pæpeneð, ſignifying alſo maſculine (though derived, by the authors of our vocabularies, from pæpen, which they ſuppoſe to have been a Saxon word correſponding to the veretrum of the Latins) has its origin in the word pæpen as it ſignifies arms; and is therefore only applied to the male ſex, as the particular weapon, the ſpear was, becauſe it was the only ſex that bore arms.

[e] The latter part of this compound, lip, is put for leap; and the whole word, cynelip, is as much as to ſay "arbitrii licentiam," *i. e.* the liberty of diſpoſing of themſelves.

[f] Alfred having manumitted diverſe þeopar, and put them into the condition of ceorler, deſires that his heirs would not abridge them of that liberty, but leave them to chuſe ſuch man for their landlord as they would; which all ceorler, by the Saxon conſtitution might do.

[g] The hipar of Domerham were the ſame ſort of people with thoſe of Chedder, ſpoken of in note [z], p. 86, viz. The Ceorler who occupied the tenemental lands there, which they might relinquiſh when they pleaſed. And as they were entreated, in that inſtance, to chuſe Edward for their lord, *i. e.* to continue to occupy thoſe lands under him, as they had done under Alfred: ſo here, the heirs are required to leave thoſe of Domerham to chuſe ſuch man for their landlord, as they would; *i. e.* to continue to occupy thoſe lands, or relinquiſh them, as they ſhould think proper.

[h] Domma hemme, The manor of Dummer, co. Hant.

[i] His eldeſt daughter.

[k] Sec man, "Let them ſeek," or, make application to, viz. God.

[l] On ærcum ceape. "With a living price;" viz. by prayer and interceſſion, and the uſual offices of devotion.

"WE quitted the plain of Gortyna to visit the Labyrinth. The road leading to this memorable place is rough and steep; but, after an ascent of near an hour, we, at length, reached the entrance. We had brought with us the thread of Ariadne, that is to say, four hundred fathoms of twine, which we fastened to the gate, where we stationed two janissaries, with orders to suffer nobody to enter. The opening of the Labyrinth is natural, and not wide. When you have advanced a little, you find a considerable space strewed with large stones, and covered with a flat roof cut out of the solid mountain. To discern our way amid this gloomy abode, we each carried a flambeau. Two Greeks bore the clew, which they unfolded or wound up as occasion required. At first we lost ourselves in different alleys without an opening, and were obliged to measure back our steps, but at length discovered the true passage, which is on the right as we enter; we arrive at it by a narrow path, and are obliged to creep on our hands and feet for the space of an hundred yards, the roof being extremely low. At the end of this narrow passage the ceiling rises suddenly, and we were able to walk upright, in the midst of the impenetrable darkness that surrounded us, and the numerous ways which struck off on each side, and crossed each other in different directions. The two Greeks we had hired trembled with apprehension; the sweat poured down their faces, and they refused to advance, unless we took the lead.

The alleys through which we passed were in general from seven to eight feet high; in width they varied from six to ten, and sometimes more. They are all chiseled out of the rock, and the stones, of a dirty grey, are ranged in horizontal layers. In some places, huge blocks of stone, half detached from the roof, seem ready to fall on your head, and you must stoop in passing them, not without some danger of their falling. This havock has, no doubt, been occasioned by earthquakes, which are so frequent in Crete.

Thus did we continue wandering in this maze, of which we endeavoured to discover all the windings, and as soon as we had got to the end of one alley, entered into another. Sometimes we were stopped short by a passage without an opening, and at others, after long circuits, were astonished to find ourselves at the cross-way from which we had set out. Frequently, after encircling with our cord a great extent of rock, we were obliged to wind it up, and return the way we came. It is impossible to describe to what a degree these passages are multiplied and crooked; some of them form curves which lead you insensibly to a vast empty space, supported by enormous pillars, whence three or four passages strike off that conduct to opposite points; others, after long windings, divide into several branches: these again extend a great length, and, terminated by the rock, oblige the traveller to trace back his way. We walked with precaution in the doublings of this vast labyrinth, amid the eternal darkness that reigns throughout it, and which our torches could hardly dispel. Thus situated, the imagination raises up phantoms; it figures to itself precipices under the feet of the curious, monsters placed as centinels, and, in a word,

word, a thouſand chimeras which can have no exiſtence.

The precaution we had taken of proceeding with the thread of Ariadne, and of faſtening it at different diſtances leſt it ſhould break, allowed us to advance farther than Belon, Tournefort, and Pocock, were able to do for want of ſuch aſſiſtance. We obſerved, in ſeveral parts of the middle avenue, the cyphers 1700 written with a black pencil, by the hand of the celebrated French botaniſt. An extraordinary circumſtance which he remarks, and which we admired no leſs than he had done, is the property poſſeſſed by the rock of preſenting the names engraven on it in relief. We ſaw ſeveral of them, wherein this ſort of ſculpture had ariſen to the thickneſs of two lines (the ſixth part of an inch.) The ſubſtance of this relief is whiter than the ſtone [a].

After ſtraying for a long time in the frightful cavern of the Minotaur [b], we arrived at the extremity of the alley which Tournefort followed. There we found a wide ſpace, with cyphers cut in the rock, none of which were of an earlier date than the fourteenth century. There is another ſimiliar to this on the right; each of them may be about twenty-four or thirty feet ſquare. To arrive at this place we had run out almoſt all our line, that is to ſay, about twenty-four hundred feet, without mentioning our various excurſions. We remained three hours in the labyrinth, continually walking, without being able to flatter ourſelves with having ſeen every thing. I believe it would be impoſſible for any man to get out of it, if left there without either clew or flambeau; he would loſe himſelf in a thouſand windings: the horrors of the place, and the intenſe darkneſs, would fill him with conſternation, and he muſt miſerably periſh.

On our return, we examined a winding we had not before noticed; it conducted us to a beautiful grotto, riſing into a dome, wrought by the hand of nature. It has no ſtalactites, nor indeed is a ſingle one to be found in the whole extent of the cavern, as the water does not filtrate through the roof. Every thing is dry; and, as the air is never renewed, the ſmell is extremely diſagreeable. Thouſands of bats, the dung of which lies in heaps, inhabit this gloomy abode. They are the only monſters we diſcovered. We came out with a great deal of pleaſure, and breathed the external air with a kind of rapture. Night now began to come on, and the road was not very eaſy to be found; we haſtened, therefore, to deſcend the mountain, and entered a neighbouring farm, where we were very hoſpitably entertained by a Turk.

I have the honour to be, &c."

[a] Several of us engraved our names deeply at the end of 1779. At the time of preparing theſe letters for publication, I am informed that the hollow is already filled with this white ſubſtance, which projects about a line (the twelfth of an inch) above the names.

[b] The reader will ſee in the following letter why M. Savary gives it this name.

In

In the following Letter, M. Savary, *proceeds to ſhew that the abovementioned* Labyrinth *was the reſidence of the fabulous* Minotaur, *and diſtinguiſhes it from the Labyrinth of* Cnoſſus, *in* Crete, *built by* Dædalus.

To M. L. M.

"SEveral authors, madam, among whom are Belon[c] and Pocock[d], pretend that the labyrinth, which I have been deſcribing, is no more than a quarry, from which ſtones were brought to build the city of Gortyna. M. Tournefort[e] has ſatisfactorily confuted this opinion; he has proved that the ſtone of this cavern is too ſoft to be fit for building, and that it would have coſt enormous ſums to convey it acroſs the ſteep mountains that lie between the labyrinth nnd the city. It muſt have been much more natural for the inhabitants to procure their ſtone from the mountains in the vicinity of Gortyna. Had the labyrinth been but an ordinary quarry, why leave at the entrance a channel a hundred yards long, ſo low as not to be acceſſible but by creeping, and from whence ſtones could not be brought until broken in pieces? This would have been to double both labour and expence to no purpoſe. It is much more probable, adds M. Tournefort, that nature has produced the labyrinth, and that the paſſage at the entrance has not been altered, to ſhew poſterity what was the ſtate of theſe ſubterranean channels before they were enlarged by the hand of man. It is evident, that nothing more has been attempted than merely to render them paſſable, ſince only thoſe ſtones have been cleared away which have obſtructed the paſſage; all the others have been left, and are ranged in order along the walls.

But for what purpoſe was this labyrinth intended? Is it of great antiquity? And was it there the Minotaur was confined? Theſe are queſtions which, I believe, have never been anſwered. Let us endeavour, if poſſible, to reſolve them. The diſcovery of truth, obſcured by the lapſe of time, gives pleaſure to the reader, and amply recompenſes the labour of inveſtigation.

In the firſt place, it is certain that the immenſe cavern, the windings of which I have deſcribed, is not the labyrinth formed by Dædalus, on the plan of that of Egypt[f]. All the ancient writers atteſt, that the famous work of that celebrated architect was ſituated at Cnoſſus. "It "was agreed," ſays Pauſanias, "to "ſend to the Minotaur of Crete "ſeven virgins and ſeven boys, to "be thrown into the labyrinth built "in the city of Cnoſſus[g]." "As "ſoon as Apollonius arrived at "Cnoſſus, he viſited the laby-"rinth[h]," &c.

[i] John Tzetzes very ſatisfactorily

[c] Obſervations de pluſieurs Singularités et Choſes memorables trouvées in Gréce, &c. [d] Deſcription of the Eaſt. [e] Voyage du Levant.

[f] Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. It is ſaid that Dædalus, travelling into Egypt, was ſtruck with admiration at the ſight of the labyrinth conſtructed with wondrous art, and that he formed a ſimilar one for Minos king of Crete.

[g] Pauſanias in Atticis. [h] Philoſtratus, in Vitâ Apollonii.

[i] Johannes Tzetzes.

deſcribes this famous edifice, and informs us of the uſe for which it was intended. "Dædalus, the Athe-
"nian, made for king Minos a pri-
"ſon, from which it was impoſſible
"to eſcape. Its numerous wind-
"ings were in the form of a ſnail,
"and it was called the Labyrinth."
Philocorus [k] aſſerts, after the unanimous teſtimony of the Cretans, that "the labyrinth was a priſon con-
"trived more effectually to prevent
"the eſcape of malefactors."

It was a priſon wherein Theſeus and his companions were to end their days, or live deprived of honour. But love and courage extricated them from their danger. This labyrinth ſubſiſts no longer. It was indeed already deſtroyed in the days of Pliny. Let us therefore proceed to conſider that which is ſtill exiſting.

Permit me, madam, to go ſomewhat further back, in order to throw a little light on a few obſcure facts, mingled with ſo many fables. By collecting the various opinions of ancient authors, perhaps, we may be able to remove the veil which conceals truth. You know that Androgeos, ſon of Minos, went to Athens, and that Ægeus, at his return from Trœzene [l], celebrated what were called the Panathenaic games, to which all Greece repaired. The Cretan hero entered the liſts, vanquiſhed all the combatants, and was publicly crowned [m]. This prince entered into a friendly alliance with the Pallantides, who made pretenſions to the throne. Ægeus, dreading the conſequences of this friendſhip, had him aſſaſſinated near Œnan in Attica, when on his way to a ſacred ſolemnity.

[n] Minos ſoon appeared at the head of a naval armament, to demand vengeance for the death of his ſon; and, after a long and bloody ſiege, during which Athens was ravaged by the plague, Ægeus, incapable of defending himſelf any longer, demanded of the king of Crete what ſatisfaction he required. That prince inſiſted on his ſending him, every ſeventh year [o], ſeven boys and ſeven girls, to be delivered to the Minotaur. Theſe unhappy victims were abandoned to him, and he carried them off in his fleet. At the ſtated time he again appeared with a number of ſhips, and was ſatisfied in like manner.

Theſe children were choſen by lot, and the parents of thoſe on whom the fatal chance fell, murmured loudly againſt Ægeus. They were filled with indignation, on reflecting that the author of the miſchief ſhould alone eſcape the puniſhment [p]; and that he ſhould raiſe to the throne a natural ſon [q], while he deprived them of their legitimate children. They were even ripe for a revolt. But when the time for ſending the third tribute arrived, Theſeus, whom ſeveral gallant actions had already raiſed

[k] Plutarch, in Theſeo.
[l] Apollodorus, lib. iii.
[m] Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv.
[n] Apollodorus, lib. iii.
[o] Diodorus, lib. iv. ſays, that they were ſent every ſeven years. Apollodorus ſays, every year. Plutarch (in Vitâ Theſei) aſſerts, that this tribute took place only once in nine years. Theſe opinions, though they vary reſpecting the number of years, all confirm the fact.
[p] Plutarch, in Vitâ Theſei.
[q] Hygin. Fab. xxxvii. Neptune and Ægeus, ſons of Pandion, had amorous commerce, in the ſame night, with Æthra, daughter of Pytheus, in the temple of Minerva.

raised to the fame of a hero, and who, in the bloom of youth, united every endowment of mind and body [r], was determined to put an end to these murmurs. He voluntarily offered himself to be one of the victims, resolving to perish, or free his country from an odious tribute; and departed, after sacrificing to Apollo at Delphi, who directed him to take Venus for his guide [s].

Let us now endeavour to discover the true meaning of the fable of the Minotaur. Taurus was the name of one of the principal men of Crete, who was a native of Cnossus [t]. His valour, and other great qualities, no doubt, recommended him to Minos, who made choice of him to command an expedition against Phœnicia. "Taurus," adds Palæphatus, "a "citizen of Cnossus, made war on "the Tyrians. Having overcome "them, he carried off several young "women from their city, among "whom was Europa, daughter of "king Agenor. This it was that "gave rise to the fable of a bull "having seized Europa, and carried "her away. The poets, fond of the "marvellous, added, that she was "ravished by Jupiter in the form of "a bull."

The conqueror lived at the court of Minos: he had returned laden with the spoils of Tyre, and as he possessed the advantage of a fine person, the renown he had acquired by his military exploits, rendered him still more handsome in the eyes of Pasiphaë, the daughter of the Sun, and wife of the king of Crete. She became enamoured of him, and finding means to gratify her passion [u], had a son by him. Minos having discovered "that this child "ould not be his, but that he was "the fruit of the amours of Taurus "and Pasiphaë, would not, how-"ever, put him to death, but con-"fined him to the mountains, to "serve the shepherds. In these so-"litary abodes he grew wild and "fierce, and lived by robbery, and "stealing sheep from the flocks. "Having learnt that Minos had "sent soldiers to take him, he dug "a deep cavern, which he made his "place of refuge. At length the "king of Crete sent to the son of "Taurus such criminals as he wish-"ed to punish with death." His ferocity, and this employment, no doubt, procured him the name of Minotaur, and induced poets and painters to represent him as a monster, half a man, and half a bull. An ingenious emblem, which had reference at once to his birth, his character, and his odious services.

Minerva. Theseus sprang from this union. Isocrates says, he was called the son of Ægeus, but that Neptune was really his father.

[r] Servius ad Æneid, lib. vi. Theseus was as beauteous as brave. (Isocrates) I may say to the praise of Theseus, that, being born in the time of Hercules, he so comported himself as to merit a like glory. Not only did they bear the same arms, but they applied to the same exercises of body and mind, as became two heroes of the same blood.

[s] Plutarch. Theseus having consulted the Delphic Apollo, before his departure, the oracle told him to take Venus for his guide.

[t] Isaac Tzetzes ad Lycophron. Taurus was a native of Cnossus, a city of Crete, and general of the army that carried off Europa. [u] Palæphat. de Fab.

Theseus

Theſeus having landed in Crete, endeavoured to calm the anger of Minos, who had fallen in love with [x] Pæribea, one of the ſeven Athenian virgins. He convinced him, that he was the ſon of Neptune, and endeavoured to mitigate the rigour of his fate. The prince, almoſt diſarmed, treated him at firſt very favourably, and permitted him to mix with the combatants in the public games. The Athenian hero excited univerſal admiration [y] by his addreſs and courage, and enchanted every heart with the gracefulneſs of his perſon [z].

In Crete, women were permitted to be preſent at the public ſhews [a]; and Ariadne ſaw Theſeus engage with, and overcome, the moſt renowned warriors of her country; but while ſhe admired the bravery and graces of the youthful hero, love ſtole into her heart, and inflicted one of his deepeſt wounds. It is probable ſhe confeſſed her paſſion to the conqueror; and that, to fulfil the precept of the oracle [b], he profited by her declaration. It is natural to ſuppoſe alſo, that Minos, informed of this intrigue, conſidered it as a new offence, and reſolved to ſhut him up in the labyrinth of Cnoſſus, that he might be for ever buried in the horrid obſcurity of that tremendous priſon. This conjecture is rendered more than probable by the following paſſage [c]. "Theſeus arriving at the gate of "the labyrinth, encountered Deu-"calion and the guards, and put "them to death." So deſperate an action determined Minos no longer to keep any meaſures with his enemy, and he ſent him to Taurus, with orders to put him to death [d].

You recollect, madam, that Taurus was the executioner of Minos; that he dwelt in a profound cavern, in which he deſtroyed the priſoners condemned to death. The ancients aſſert, that the name of labyrinth was given alſo to this gloomy abode, in which art aſſiſting nature, had formed new paſſages, and contrived a multitude of windings, from which it was almoſt impoſſible to eſcape.

"The labyrinth of Crete [e] was "a cavern dug out of a mountain." Cedrenus adds theſe remarkable words [f]: "The Minotaur fled to a "place called the Labyrinth, and "concealed himſelf there, in the "depth of a cavern."—"[g] The "Labyrinth of Crete, that ſubter-"raneous cavern, with a thouſand "windings, contained an inhabi-"tant."

Theſe teſtimonies, madam, remove all doubt. They accurately deſcribe the labyrinth I viſited; its ſituation in a mountain, its winding paſſages, ſufficiently prove it contained an in-

[x] Plutarch, in Vita Theſei. [y] Ibid.

[z] Servius, Euſtathius, and Hyginus, agree in informing us, that Theſeus united the utmoſt gracefulneſs of perſon with a loſty ſtature, ſtrength, and courage.

[a] Plutarch (in Vitâ Theſei) ſays, Theſeus was admitted to the public games of Crete; that he vanquiſhed the warriors who entered the liſts againſt him; and that Ariadne ſaw, and fell in love with him.

[b] Apollo, as we have ſeen, had commanded him to ſacrifice to love.

[c] Plutarch, in Vitâ Theſei. [d] Palæphat. de Incredibilibus.

[e] Auctor. Etymologic. [f] Cedrenus. [g] Euſtathius, in Odyſſ.

habitant,

habitant. This could be no other than the ſon of Taurus, who, in order to eſcape the emiſſaries of Minos, dug a cavern in the mountain. This horrid place was his abode, and, in part, his work; and here the monſter performed the bloody executions commanded by the king. The following facts will clearly demonſtrate theſe aſſertions. But let us return to Theſeus.

[h] Condemned to ſuffer an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner of Minos, the Athenian hero departed from Gortyna; and, ignorant of the deſtiny that awaited him, muſt have fallen, but for love, who watched over his life. Ariadne, alarmed, informed him of the ſnare laid for him. She deſcribed to him the windings and dangers of the labyrinth [i]; gave him the thread by which he might direct his ſteps; taught him the method of making uſe of it, and ſent him the ſword that was to ſhed the hateful blood of the Minotaur.

It ſhould ſeem as if Theſeus had procured ſecret friends in the iſland, and that, by his addreſs, his courage, or the good offices of his miſtreſs, he had gained the guards, who attended on Taurus, and aſſiſted him in his executions: for, as ſoon as he arrived at Gortyna, all of them, "forſaking the Minotaur [k], pre-"tended to take to flight. The "monſter, ſuſpecting he was be-"trayed, fled into the place called "the Labyrinth." Theſe words clearly prove, that he eſcaped into the gloomy cavern I have before mentioned; which was a place of refuge, perhaps his fortreſs; for there he put his victims to death. Claudian, to diſtinguiſh this cavern from the famous edifice built by Dædalus at Cnoſſus [l], calls it, "the "Labyrinth of Gortyna, the uſual "abode of the Minotaur."

The retreat of the executioner of Minos might have been a feint. He might wiſh to draw his enemy into a cavern, with all the avenues of which he was well acquainted, and where it would have been eaſy for him to kill him, by attacking him at an advantage. But Theſeus had the thread of Ariadne, her ſword, and his own undaunted courage. He purſued the Minotaur through the winding alleys of his den, came up with him, and put him to death.

As ſoon as he had executed his deſign, he fled precipitately on board a veſſel [m], taking with him his miſtreſs, and the young victims he had ſaved. The remainder of the hiſtory

[h] Minos, getting his enemy Theſeus into his power, ſent him to be ſlain by Taurus. Ariadne, informed of this deſign, ſent him a ſword, with which he ſlew the Minotaur. Palephat. de Incredib.

[i] Plutarch, in Vita Theſei. Theſeus arriving in the iſland of Crete, Ariadne fell deſperately in love with him. She bore him a ſon, and taught him how to eſcape from the winding paſſages of the labyrinth; and he ſlew the Minotaur.

[k] All the guards forſaking the Minotaur of Gortyna, pretended to take to flight. The Minotaur, ſuſpecting treachery, took refuge in the place called the Labyrinth. Cedrenus.

Claudian, in Sext. Conſ. Honorii. It forms different circuits, which are neither inferior to the art with which the labyrinth of Gortyna, the uſual abode of the Minotaur, is built; nor the windings of the river Meander.

[m] Plutarch, in Vita Theſei. He ſlew the Minotaur, and immediately haſtened on board his ſhip, carrying with him Ariadne, and the young Athenians.

of Ariadne and Theſeus is well known; not to mention that it is foreign to my ſubject.

This is what appears to me moſt probable concerning the labyrinths of Crete. One of them, ſituated at Cnoſſus, was an edifice built by Dædalus [n], and which, on account of its various windings, deceived thoſe who got bewildered in it, and prevented their return. It was in the form of a ſnail, and the engraving, prefixed to this letter, is an exact plan of it. Minos converted it into a royal priſon; but the criminals, confined there, were only deprived of their liberty.

The other, near Gortyna, and called by the ancients the Labyrinth of Gortyna, ſtill ſubſiſts, and has been treated of in the preceding letter. It was partly the work of the ſon of Taurus; but the firſt ſketch of it was given by nature. He indeed rendered the paſſages more ſpacious, and excavated new ones. In this cavern he deſtroyed thoſe who were ſent to him by the king to be put to death. Thus have we viſited the gloomy habitation of a man, who, from the ferociouſneſs of his character, merited to be tranſformed into a monſter.

There were ſeveral other ſimilar labyrinths, more or leſs complicated. Near Nauplia, ſays Strabo [o], we ſee caverns, in which labyrinths have been formed, and which are called the Cyclops.

I have the honour to be, &c."

Memoir of the Language, Manners, *and* Cuſtoms *of an* Anglo-Saxon *Colony ſettled in the Baronies of* Forth *and* Bargie, *in the County of* Wexford, Ireland, *in* 1167, 1168, *and* 1169. *By* Charles Vallancey, *LL. D. Member of the Royal Societies of* London, Dublin, *and* Edinburgh; *of the Academy of* Cortona, *and of* Belles Lettres; *of the Antiquarian Society of* Perth, *and of the Philoſophical Society of* Philadelphia.—*From Tranſactions of the* Royal Iriſh Academy.

"THE baronies of Bargie and Forth are ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the county of Wexford, and, together, contain about ſixty ſquare Iriſh miles. They lie due eaſt from Cardiganſhire, in Wales; the ſhortneſs of the paſſage cauſed a frequent intercourſe between the Iriſh and the Britons from the earlieſt account of their hiſtory.

In the year 1167 Dermod, king of Leinſter, was a powerful prince; the errors of his civil government, the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and the tyranny he exerciſed over his nobility, cauſed a total defection in them and the people. His kinſmen, friends, ſervants, and followers, had all been prevailed on to forſake him.

In 1168 the diſtreſſed king repaired to England, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of king Henry; telling him he was become an exile by the treachery of his vaſſals, and beſeeching him to give him aid, whereby he might be reſtored to his inheritance, which if it ſhould pleaſe him to grant, he would acknowledge him to be his lord, and ſerve him during his life.

King Henry, moved with compaſſion, promiſed him aid, and de-

[n] Apollodorus, lib. iii.

[o] Strabo, lib. viii.

fired

fired him to remain at Briſtol until he ſhould hear further from him. Dermod, after ſtaying there one month, and hearing nothing from the king, weary of delay, he applied to Richard earl of Strigul, commonly called Strongbow, promiſing that if he would aſſiſt him he would give him his daughter to wife, and with her the whole kingdom of Leinſter. The earl excuſed himſelf, unleſs king Henry would give his conſent.

In the mean time Dermod applied to the princes of Wales, and Richard Fitz-Godobert accompanied him, but with ſo ſmall a body of men, they were of no uſe, and they ſoon returned home.

Dermod finding his ſubjects ſtill held out againſt him, cauſed proclamation to be made in Wales, offering large recompenſe in lands, money, and cattle to ſuch as would give him aid. Immediately men of all ſorts, and from divers places, prepared themſelves to embark for Ireland, under the command of Fitz-Stephen, who had lately been enlarged from priſon by the mediation of Dermod with Rice, a king in Wales. This little army conſiſted of about three hundred horſemen and foot.

With this ſmall body Dermod did wonders, and being grown proud with victory, gave great diſcontent to the Engliſh, many of whom returned home. But in the year following (1169) earl Richard ſent Raymond Le Groſs to Dermod's aſſiſtance, with a ſmall ſuite, promiſing to follow with a conſiderable army. Accordingly, in 1170, the earl arrived at Waterford with ſixteen hundred ſoldiers.

This conſiderable reinforcement enabled Dermod not only to ſuppreſs his rebellious ſubjects, but alſo to make war on the neighbouring princes. Peace being once reſtored, Dermod made good his promiſes, and the part of the country we are now deſcribing was parcelled out to the Britiſh ſoldiers, who have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of their atchievements unto this day.

This colony have preſerved their ancient manners, cuſtoms, and language; and fully occupying every inch of ground, the natives could never obtain a re-eſtabliſhment therein. As population encreaſed, ſome of the Engliſh have been obliged to remove into the neighbouring baronies within theſe fifty years, and by an intercourſe with the Iriſh, the language of theſe emigrants became corrupted, and theſe, by their connection with their kindred remaining in the baronies of Bargie and Forth, have in ſome meaſure introduced this corrupted dialect there. The town of Wexford is the market to which this colony reſorted to diſpoſe of the produce of their farms, and in this market all things are bought and ſold in the modern Engliſh dialect; this alſo is another cauſe of the decline of the language of the coloniſts, but not one word of Iriſh is underſtood or ſpoken in theſe two baronies; ſtill they preſerve many words and phraſes of their original language, and ſome original ſongs, which having been committed to writing, will exiſt as long as the people.

Were there no hiſtorical documents to aſcertain the arrival and eſtabliſhment of this colony, the language ſpoken by them would be a ſufficient teſtimony. "Language," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "is the pedigree "of nations; there is no tracing "the connections of ancient na-

" tions but by language *." And the learned Dr. Prieſtley informs us " that the language of a people is a " great guide to an hiſtorian, both " *in tracing their origin*, and in diſ- " covering the ſtate of many other " important circumſtances belong- " ing to them. Of all cuſtoms and " habits (adds the doctor) that of " ſpeech being the moſt frequently " exerciſed, is the moſt confirmed, " and leaſt liable to change. Colo- " nies, therefore, will always ſpeak " the language of their mother coun- " try, unleſs ſome event produce a " freer intercourſe with people who " ſpeak another language; and " even the *proportion* of that foreign " intercourſe may in ſome mea- " ſure be eſtimated by the *degree* of " corruption of the language †." To theſe authorities we will add a few more of equal weight: " cog- " nitio linguarum gentium *ortum* " & *proſapiam* docet, indicatque, ut " et ſolum et genus vitæ mutave- " rint monſtrat ‡." This author goes ſo far as to ſay, that language is to be preferred even to the annals of re- mote times, to prove the origin of a people, particularly of an emigrating people, ſuch as the Scythian anceſ- tors of the Iriſh are known to have been: " Veſtigia migrationum gen- " tium quibuſlibet faſtis certius " prodit," or as he more ſtrongly expreſſes it in his own language, " Som nationers flyttoringar är, ofta " lemnar säkrare underrättelſer, än " alla ſagor och hiſtorier." " Lin- " guarum cognatio cognationis gen- " tium præcipuum, certioſimumque " argumentum eſt §."

On theſe great authorities we reſt, to prove that the ancient hiſtory of the primitive inhabitants of this iſland is founded in truth; for if they had not had an intercourſe in for- mer days with the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Perſians, how is it poſſible ſo many hundreds of words, ſo many idioms of ſpeech, ſo many technical terms in the arts of thoſe ages, could have been introduced into the old Iriſh dialect? terms not to be met with in the dialect of any other northern or weſtern nation. What people, the Egyptians and Iriſh excepted, named the harp or muſic ORNN. ouini. Iriſh Aine. i. e. Oirfideadh, i. e. muſic, a muſi- cal inſtrument; oirphideadh or oirfi- deadh expreſſes the action of play- ing. What people in the world, the Orientaliſts and the Iriſh excepted, call the copy of a book the *ſon of a book*, and echo the *daughter of a voice*? With what northern nation, the Iriſh excepted, can the Oriental names of the tools and implements of the ſtone-cutter, the carpenter, the ſhip-builder, the weaver, be found? And with what people, the old Iriſh and Egyptians except- ed, does the word *Ogham* ſignify a book, and the name of *Hercules* or *Mercury* ‖? Of theſe we propoſe to treat more at large in a memoir on the *Ogham*, and from Iriſh docu- ments ſhew the origin of alphabeti- cal writing, which the Hiberno- Scythians muſt have learnt from the Egyptians.

* Boſwell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.
† Lectures on Hiſtory and General Policicy, Part. ii. Lect. viii.
‡ The very learned IHRE in his *Lexicon Lapponicum*, Pref. p. xxxiii.
§ SHERINGHAM.
‖ Copt. oughjam. Liber. KIRCHER. and WOIDE.
Copt. ghjam, and with the article, oughjam, Hercules, Ermes, Mercury. The very

Egyptians, before their descent to the Mediterranean, to Spain, and thence to the Britannic islands.

To return to our colonists. When we were first acquainted with this colony, a few of both sexes wore the ancient dress: that of the man was a short coat, waistcoat, and trunk breeches, with a round hat and narrow brim; that of the woman was a short jacket, a petticoat bordered at bottom with one, two or three rows of ribband or tape of a different colour. We have seen one, whose jacket was of superfine woollen cloth, of a dark brown colour, edged with a narrow silver lace. The dress of the head was a kircher.

The names of the old colonists are Hore, Cod, Stafford, Whitty, Rossiter, Sinnot, Murphy, Stephen, Quinsey, &c. The gentlemen who now inhabit the country are mostly descended from the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's and king William's army, viz. Hervey, Nuin Edwards, Hughes, Pallifer, &c.

The people of these baronies live, well, are industrious, cleanly, and of good morals; the poorest farmer eats meat twice a week, and the table of the wealthy farmer is daily covered with beef, mutton, or fowl. The beverage is home brewed ale and beer, of an excellent flavour and colour. The houses of the poorest are well built and well thatched; all have out-offices for cattle, fowls, carts, or cars. The people are well clothed, are strong and laborious. The women do all manner of rustic work, ploughing

very name Ermes lies concealed in the Irish compound *Ed-airmes*, i. e. the root, or art of invention. In Arabic yejedaram. And we might add, in what part of the globe, Egypt, Ireland, and Scotland excepted, were priests or holy persons denominated Culdes or Caldes. Copt. Kaldes. Sanctitas. KIRCHER. 226—Copt. ouab sanctus. Copt. efouab sacerdos, whence the Irish *easeob*, a bishop. To these we may add six hundred others, of which in their proper place: but the most striking instance of the intercourse of the Hiberno-Scythians with the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, is the præfixes to surnames, O, Ua and Mac; the former denoting the eldest of the family, the second being a general name for the son. O, stirps, familia; hence, O Sirs. (Kircher. Ling. Ægypt. rest). Mac, mac filius. (Woide)—ὑὸς Arabicè, major natus (Georgius Cedrenus). Thus the Irish use either O or Ua; as Ua Con Cobhar, Anglicè O Coner, &c. &c. Again, Cubhar is the Arabic Kubeer, major. major natus. So the name Cormac is the Arabic Kuremac of the same meaning, major, maximus. nobilis. Chinese heu. familia. nomen proprium unius familiæ Augustæ. LUCIAN tells us that the Celts named Hercules Ogmios, in their vernacular tongue—verum enimverò nomen illud (Ὄγμιος) (si quid me sapiat conjectura) ortu, *Phœniceum* est. formatione Græcum: atque solummodò usu, Celticum. (Dickinson Faliculus. 1. de Hercule Ægyptio. p. 45.—nam *Og*, philosophus sonat, idem, p. 29. Or with what people, the Ægyptians and Irish excepted, did *Seach nab* signify the writing priest, he who was skilled in the sacred writing. Antiquum nomen Ægyptiacum Græca ἱερογραμματεὺς respondens videtur fuisse Copt. Sach. quomodo in uerbione librorum Scripturæ Copticæ semper redditur γραμματεὺς Scriba. Scripturæ peritus. Lingua Ægyptiorum nabat designatur νοήμων, i. e. sapiens, intellectu potiens, indè Sach-nebat, the writing priest. (Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. Prolegom. xciv.—xcvi.) Or with what people, the above excepted, does *sheair* signify a son, as in Sean-shor or Sin-shior, the eldest born. Sear-eac, a colt, i. e. son of a horse, which are evidently the Sheri (filius) of the Ægyptians (KIRCHER. WOIDE.); whence shin-shior or shean-shior, the eldest born, signifies also the presbytery, by which it would seem that the eldest born was dedicated to the church.

excepted; they receive equal wages with the men.

In this delightful ſpot the greateſt harmony ſubſiſts between the landlord and the farmer; and it is common to meet the tenant at the landlord's table. Such is their averſion to idleneſs, that if a beggar is met in theſe baronies he is immediately handed from houſe to houſe until he is out of the barony.

The profeſſed religion here is the Roman catholic; there are about one hundred to one Proteſtant.

Marriage is ſolemnized much in the ſame manner as with the Iriſh. The relations and friends bring a profuſion of viands of all kinds, and feaſting and dancing continues all the night; the bride ſits veiled at the head of the table, unleſs called out to dance, when the chair is filled by one of the bride-maids. At every marriage an apple is cut into ſmall pieces, and thrown among the croud; a cuſtom they brought from England, but the origin of it has not deſcended with it.

The produce of the ſoil in theſe baronies is great *, the whole is under tillage, and near the ſea-ſhore they manure with the ſea-weed twice a year, and in the memory of the oldeſt man the ground has never been fallowed, but a plentiful crop obtained every year. The pariſh of Carne contains five hundred acres, all or moſtly under tillage; this pariſh pays 100l. a year for tithes to the rector. The church-land of Carne contains ſixty acres, of which forty are plowed, and pays to the rector 14l. 14s. and to the landlord 90l. a year.

Fuel is ſcarce in this diſtrict; the chief firing is furze, planted on the tops of all the dikes; theſe are cut and dried, and bring a good return. Along the coaſt there has formerly been a bog or turbary, which has been encroached on by the ſea, ſo much that now it is covered with ſand, and that at high-water, with many feet of the watery element. The great expenſe of cutting and drying this turf renders this kind of fuel too dear for the common people. In this turbary, many feet under the ſea at high water, trees are daily found, and ſome dug up; they conſiſt chiefly of oak, fir, and hazle.

Vocabulary of the Language *of the Barony of* Forth *and* Bargie.

A.

ALOGHE, below.
ammache, a dwarf.
arkagh, eager.
amize, amazed.
aim, deſign.
amezill, themſelves.
arich, the morning.

B.

bodee, *bothige*, } the body. A. S. *bodige*.
buye, a boy.
baſh, the palm of the hand.
bellee, the belly.
bane, a bone. A. S. *ban*.
blooed, blood.
brian, the brain.
blauthur, the bladder.
brazon, bold.

* The old Iriſh names Bargie and Forth ſignify a fertile ſpot, viz. *Bar*, fruitful *go*, the ſea. The fertile land on the ſea coaſt. *Fortha*, plenty. Arab. buhar. Perſ. bahar; a rich and extenſive province (in Hindoſtan)—bar, fruitful; bardar, idem—bar, idem.

breed,

breed, bread.
bawcoon, bacon.
buthther, butter.
bouchure, a butcher.
baree, the goal at the game of ball or hurly.
bibbern, trembling, fearful.
blackeen, bawling.
blayeen, ſhouting.
bouſt, boaſt.
bra, brave.
buthes, the goal at the game at ball.
barnaugh, a limpit, a wilk (or ſhell-fiſh) which adheres to the rocks ſo as to require a ſtrong blow to diſengage it.
brough, to break.
boththone, a button.
brower, a brother.
brykvaſt, breakfaſt.

C.

co, quoth, ſayeth.
coſhes, conſcience.
clugercheen, a flock, a clutch, a croud.
cowlee-man, the keeper of the goal at the game of ball.
chote, to know; *chote, well*, to know well, to think, ſuſpect.
cornee, peeviſh.
curcagh, ſnappiſh.
corkite, tumbling or thruſting one another down, wreſtling.
comman, the bat or hurling club.
coureate, carrots.
cooloors, pigeons. Angl. Sax. *culfre*, a pigeon; *culufre*, idem.
calleſ, a calf.
cawle, a horſe.
cozeens, kinſfolks.
crweſt, a cruſt.
coſhur, a feaſt.
cowm, a comb.
comree, truſt, confidence.
choule, the cheek; *recte choule*, i. e. the jole.
coolane, the hinder part of the head.
cortere, a quarter, as
arraugh cortere, ſpring.
zimmer cortere, ſummer.
harreſt cortere, autumn.
wonter cortere, winter.
cole, cold.
crooken, croſſneſs, peviſhneſs.

D.

dellen, to dig.
dearnt, to look, to behold, to look up.
d'off, to ſtrip, to put off.
draught, a drawing ſtroke with a weapon.
drowe, to throw or caſt.
doneb, a dunce, blockhead.
deight, to put.
dap, a touch.
durk, dark.
dunder, thunder (Daniſh).
die, the day.
danecn, the dawn.
Mondei.
Tuſedei.
Wenneſdei.
Thorſdei.
Vridei.
Zathardei.
Zindei.
Dei oaſkean, Aſh Wedneſday.
dreade, thread (Daniſh).
denear, dinner.
doaugh, dough.
driſe, a thruſh (bird).
droſtal, a blackbird.

E.

ee, the (article).
errone, errand.
earchee, every.
ete, point, quarter.
ein, eyes.
egaſt, fear; *egaſted*, frightened.
iee, iec, the eye. A. S. *eage*.
eene, the end.

eatheit, evening.
eart, *eard*, earth.
eora, *eorth*, earth. A. S. *eord*.
emothee, an emmet, ant or piſmire.

F.

fug, fog.
fauſe, the face; the features of the face, *lickeen*. A. S. *wlita*, *anwlita*, the face, the features. A. S. *neb*, the face.
feelen, feeling.
fartoo, ailing.
f'ad, for what?
fan, when.
fouſteen, confuſed, trembling.
fade, what.

G.

gridane, ſorrow.
gandet, wonder'd.
gazb, duſt, breath, fume. *There's no gaſh in him*, i. e. he is dead.
gentrize, gentry.
glade, ſun-ſet. *Goe to glade*, i. e. *Zin zettene*, ſun-ſetting.
gabble, talk, pratling.
gay, fair, calm.
gubbach, cabbage.
gearte, a ſhe-goat; *puckane*, a he-goat.
garrane, a gelding.
granouge, a hedge-hog.
geinuare, a joiner, a carpenter.
gurl, a child; *gurleliſh*, childhood.
gurtear, a garter, bandage.
garr, anger.
grizee, ugly.
gent, a joint.
gue, dew.
gaſt, a ſprite. A. S. *gaſt*.
garſon, a youth.

H.

heoven, heaven.
helle, hell. A. S. *helle*.
hote, heat.
holgave, Shrove-Tueſday. A. S. *halga*, holy; *halgan fæſten*, Lent.
haade, the head.
helboghe, the elbow. A. S. *elboga*.
hone, the hand; *riaught hone*, the right hand.
hip, the thigh. A. S. *theoh*.
heal, health.
herieen, hearing.
hornta, horned; *hornta baſt*, a horned beaſt.
hiver, a heifer.
harpleat, a ſnipe.
hereen, a herring.
heiſtem, weight, burthen.
har-nothes, pig-nuts.
hachee, croſs, ill-tempered.
hey, an incloſure; *chourch-hey*, church-yard.
hole, buried.
hap, chance,
halluf, half; *halluf-mona*, half-moon

I.

joud, croud; *joud an moud*, crouds and throngs of people.

K.

keileſs, ſkittles, nine-pins.
kink, to kick.
keilt, to roll on the ground.
knaggee, croſs, ill-tempered, peeviſh.
kewe, a ſhove, a thruſt.
kimlere, a fumbler, aukward.
keine, cows.
knaghane, an ant or piſmire hill, a little hill.

L.

leigheen, laughing.
llean, miſchief.
lluſkes, flocks.
leigh, idle; *leigh out ee dei*, idle out the day.

loutheed,

loutheed, ſheltered.
lournagh, melancholy.
letch, ſmall-beer; *ty v' letch*, a drink of ſmall-beer.
lug, hollow.
lerock, a lark.
lowem, a lamb.
leicon, a lion.
lawveen, leaven.
laus, lace.
lethel, little; *lethel vinger*, the little finger.
ligt, light.
lappeen, a plover.
lous, open.
lickeen, the features. A. S. *wlita*, *anwlita*, the face.
lone, land; *Englone*, England; *Erelone*, Ireland.
lug, a hollow.

M.

methel, middle.
man, a man; *yolaw man*, an old man; *man*, a huſband.
mawen, a woman; *yoella mawen*, an old woman, a wife.
mide, a maid.
moweth, the mouth.
marrough, marrow.
met, food.
mothoon, mutton.
moothar, mother.
maſtrace, miſtreſs.
milleare, a millar.
magetty-pie, a magpie.
miſtern, dazzled.
muzlere, worthleſs.
moud, crowd, throng.
mot, aſking.
mot, but.
mope, aſtoniſhed, a fool.
mothee, a little hill.
milagh, trefoil, clover.
mell, meal, flour.
mire, ſurprize, in amazement.

N.

nouth, knoweth.
nate, *anate*, prepared.
nize, the noſe; *niztrols*, noſtrils.
neapeſs, parſnips.
nipore, neighbour.
neal, a needle.
neeght, night.
nought, a knuckle.
naatur, nature.

O.

oree, one another.

P.

poul, the crown of the head.
pethy, pity.
pooke, pocket.
puckane, a he-goat.
pether, pewter.
pit, put.
pouſtee, power.
pomell, a fool.
piz, peaſe; *piz porachis*, peaſe porridge.
* *paug-mele*, feaſt of harveſt-home.

paug,

* This extraordinary word *paug*, if I miſtake not, is borrowed from the Iriſh phogh or fogh, which literally means panis ſubcinneratus, and is borrowed from the Egyptian *pioik*, of the ſame meaning; it is the Chaldean Ogh. (for *pi* is the Egyptian article) whence in Hebrew עוגה עשה Oghoſe. i. e. factor aut ſacrificator panis ſubcineritii (ſee Jacob Bolducus, and Dickinſon Faſciculus, p. 169); it was the feaſt of firſt fruits, whence the Iriſh word Fogh-mir, harveſt, literally, the autumn

paug, the harveſt; *mele* or *mael*, a feaſt.

R.

riſhp, a ſtroke; A. S. *rèſe*.
rapple, to rattle.
ruſhbeen, afternoon's luncheon.
rub, a rib.
riaught, right; *riaught hone*, right hand; *riaught earme*, right arm.

S.

ſankts, the ſaints.
ſkey, the ſky.
ſteorr, a ſtar; A. S. *ſteorra*.
ſneew, ſnow.
ſtarm, a ſtorm.
ſmill, the ſmell.
ſhameface, baſhful.
ſtuckeens, ſtockings.
ſhoone, ſhoes.
ſniſheen, ſnuff.
ſeppear, ſupper.
ſkir, to riſe in the air.
ſhuller, ſhoulder.
ſuite, to appear, to ſhew one's ſelf.
ſtone, to ſtand.
ſhimmereen, glittering.
ſcoth, a ſhirt.
ſcudden, rubbing the back.
ſtouk, a fool.
ſmort, ſmothered.
ſtell, the handle of a thing.

T.

teap, toſſing and tumbling one another about.
troll, to roll.
'twiſh, between, betwixt.
teight, taught.
tarvizeen, tormenting.
titch, a kid.
ty, a drink, ſee *letch*.
taweſt, taſte.
thouum, the thumb, A. S. *thuma*.

V.

vier, the fire, A. S. *fir*. *Belgis Vier*.
vaaper, vapour.
vraſt, froſt.
vorreate, the forehead.
voote, the foot.
vleſh, fleſh; *byiltta vleſh*, boiled meat.
vat, fat.
vice, voice.
volleat, a handkerchief.
vurſt, firſt.
vier, a weazel.
vream, from; *vreem*, idem.
vappereen, bragging, boaſting.
valler, more.
vezzeen, driving or ſtriking a ball hard.
vengem, ſpite, malice.
vell, fell; *vall*, to fall.
vlee, to fly.
valler, more, longer (in time)

autumn cake of new wheat, for *mir* is the Perſian mihr, or the Arabic muhrjan, autumn. I think we cannot be miſtaken in this derivation, becauſe the Iriſh do ſtill preſerve the cuſtom of making the bleſſed cake at this ſeaſon, called Baran bereac, or vulgo' Barreen breac, which is literally the נר נרוה Bar baruk, or frumentum benedictum of the Jews and Chaldeans. We might alſo derive paug or phogh from the Hebrew כב bag or vag, which ſignifies food, what one eats; whence ἔφ in Greek is bread, and hence the Spaniſh *Figon*, a ſeller of food; hence alſo the Gothic *baccen* and the German *bek*, a meal-man, piſtor, hence paug-meal, ſignifies the autumnal cake of new wheat, which the old Iriſh dedicated to *Cann*, or the Queen of Heaven, and the Egyptians to Iſis. Another name for this cake in Iriſh is Sudoig, borrowed of the Egyptians, who ſacrificed to their gods the Sod-oik, a compound of *oik* placenta and of *ſoti* farina, or of *ſed*, ſacrificare, I know not which, from whence *ſed*, victima, ſacrificium.

W. *wafur*,

W.

wafur, uneaſy.
wourlok, to tremble.
wedeen, a wedding.
wather, water.
woul, to wiſh.
witheen, the looks, the countenance or features.
whating, ſneezing.
weepeen, weeping.
wraſte, the wriſt.
wik, a week.
weend, the wind; *Eaſt weend, Weſtan weend, Zouth weend, Nordh weend.*
wazcoote, a waiſtcoat.

Y.

yerſtei, yeſterday; *ear yeſtei*, the day before yeſterday.
yolaw, old m; *yoella*, old f.
yowe, an ewe.
yalpen, ſpewing.
y'oure, give over, ceaſe.
ye, give; *yate*, give.
yith, if.

Z.

zitch, ſuch.
zin, the ſun; *zin zettene, or, go to glade*, ſun-ſetting.
zichel, ſuch.
zey-ſaw, ze, to ſee.
zar, to ſerve.
zill, ſelf; *thèezill*, thyſelf.
zed, ſtewed; *zed-mett*, ſtewed meat.
zalt, ſalt.
zeide, the ſide.
zongh, a ſigh.

I ſhall here ſubjoin

AN OLD SONG,

in the dialect of theſe baronies, which has been handed down by tradition from the arrival of the colony in Ireland. Subject, the game at ball called Camánn or Hurley. Scene, the commons in the Barony of Forth. Time, a church holy-day. *Walter* relates how his ſon *Thomas* loſt the game, by aiming a ſtrong blow at the ball, and miſſing it, broke his bat againſt a piſmire hill.

A YOLA

A YOLA ZONG. *Tune—Collin and Phebe.*

Fade teil thee zo lournagh, co Jone, zo knaggee.
Th' weitheſt all curcagh, wafur, an cornee.
Lidge w'ous ana milagh, tis gay an louthee,
Huck nigher, y'art ſcudden, fartoo zo hachee.

Well, goſp, c'hull be zeid, mot thee fartoo, an fa'de
Ha deight ouz var gabble, tell ee Zin go t'glade
Ch'am a ſtouk, an a donel; wou'll leigh out ee dey
Th' valler w'ſpeen here, th' laſs i Chourch-hey.

Yerſtey w'had a baree, giſt ing our hone
Are gentrize ware bibbern, amezill, cou no ſtone.
Yith Muzlere had ba hole, t'was me Tommeen,
At by mizluck was i pit t'drive in.

Joud an moud, vrem earchee ete, was i Lough
Zitch vaperren, an ſhimmereen, fan ee daff i tha'r ſcoth
Zitch blakeen, an blayeen, fan ee ball was ee drowe
Chote well 'ar aim was t'yie ouz n'eer a blowe.

Mot w'all 'ar bouſt, hi ſoon was ee teight
At 'ar errone was var ameing 'ar 'ngiſh i height
Zitch vezzen, tarvizzen 'till than w'ne'er zey
Nore zichel, n'eer well nowe nore n'eer mey.

Many a bra draught, by Tommeen was ee mate,
Th' cowlee-man ſauſteen; zey well 'twas a nate
Yith w'had any lluck our name wou'd b' zung
Vreem ee *Choure* here aloghe up to *Cargun*.

Th' heiftem o' pley, vell all ing to lug,
An there w' had Treblere an ſturdy Cournug.
Th' commanes t'rapple, th' ball ſkir an vlee,
Our eein woud b' miſtern t' dearnt up ee ſkee.

Than came ee ſhullereen i teap an corkite,
Hi kinket an keilt i vewe ame t'wode ſnite;
Zim dellen harnothes, w'are nize i reed cley
More trollen, an yalpen an moulten away.

AN OLD SONG.

What ails you ſo melancholy, quoth John, ſo croſs,
You ſeem all ſnappiſh, uneaſy and fretful:
Lie with us on the clover, 'tis fair and ſhelter'd;
Come nearer, you're rubbing your back, why ſo ill tempered.

Well, goſſip, it ſhall be told, you aſk what ails me, and for what;
You have put us in talk, 'till the ſun goes to ſet.
I'm a fool and a dunce; we'll idle out the day;
The more we ſpend here, the leſs in the church-yard.

Yeſterday we had a goal juſt in our hand,
Their gentry were quaking, themſelves could not ſtand.
If good for little had been buried, it had been my Tommy,
Who by miſluck, was placed to drive in.

Throngs and crouds from each quarter of the Lough;
[*of Ballymacuſhin near the commons.*]
Such vapouring and glittering, when ſtript in their ſhirts.
Such bawling and ſhouting, when the ball was thrown;
I ſaw their intent was to give us neer a ſtroke.

But with all their bravado they were ſoon taught
That their errand was aiming to bring anguiſh upon 'em.
Such driving and ſtruggling 'till then we ne'er ſaw,
Nor ſuch never will, no, nor never may.

Many a brave ſtroke by Tommy was made,
The goal-keeper trembling, ſaid well 'twas intended them.
If we had any luck our name would have been ſung
From the Choure here below up to Cargun.
[*Two diſtant points of the Barony.*]

The weight of the play fell into the hollow,
And there we had Treblere and ſturdy Cournug.
[*Two famous players.*]
The ball-clubs they rattled, the ball roſe and flew;
Our eyes would be dazzled to look up to the ſky.

Then came the ſhouldering, toſſing and tumbling;
They kicked and rolled the few that appeared.
Some digging earth-nuts with their noſes in red clay,
More rolling and ſpewing and pining away.

Na nowe or neveir w' cry't t' Tommeen,
Fan Cournug yate a riſhp, an Treblere pit w'eeme.
A clugercheen gother, all ing pile an in heep
Wourlok'd anan 'oree, lick lluſkes o' ſheep.

T' brek up ee bathes, h' had na pouſtee,
Tommeen was lous, an zo was ee baree;
Oure hart cam' t' our mouth, an zo w' all i green
Th' hap an ee ferde an ee crie was Tommeen.

Up came ee ball, an a dap or a kewe
Wou'd zar, mot all arkagh var ee barnaugh-blowe
W' vengem too hard, he zunk ee commane
An brough et i ſtell ing a emothee knaghane.

Th' ball want a cowlee, th' gazb mate all rize
Licke a mope an a mele; he gazt ing a mire,
Than ſtalket, an gandelt, w'ie o! an gridane
Our joys all ee ſmort, ing a emothee knaghane.

Ha-ho! be me coſhes, th'aſt ee pait it, co Jone
You're w' thee crookeen, an ye me thee hone.
He it nouth fade t'zey, llean vetch ee man,
Twiſh thee an Tommeen, an ee emothee knaghane.

Come w' ous goſp Learry, theezil and Melchere;
Outh o'me hone ch'ull no part wi' Wathere.
Jowane got leigheen, ſhe pleaſt ame all, fowe—
Sh' ya ame zim to doone, as w' be doone nowe:
Zo bleſs all oure frends, an God zpeed ee plowe.

An Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Iriſh *Stage. By* Joſeph C. Walker, *Eſquire, Member of the Royal* Iriſh *Academy; Fellow of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of* Perth, *and honorary Member of the Etruſcan Academy of* Cortona.—*From the ſame Work.*

"IN tracing the progreſs of ſociety, we diſcover the Drama amongſt the firſt amuſements of man. Soon as communities were formed, it appeared as well in the bleak regions of the North, as in thoſe countries which feel the genial influence of the ſun. Even hiſtory, when ſhe firſt ventured to raiſe her voice, invoked the aid of the dramatic muſe. It is therefore very extraordinary that we cannot diſcover any veſtiges of the drama amongſt the remains of the Iriſh bards, or amongſt the amuſements of the vulgar Iriſh of this

Nay, now or never we cry'd to Tommy,
When Cournug gave a ſtroke, and Treblere put with him; [*helped*]
A croud gathered up, all in pile and in heap
Tumbled on one another like flocks of ſheep.

To break up the goal they had not power,
Tommy was open, and ſo was the goal.
Our hearts came to our mouth, and ſo did all in the green,
The chance and the fear and the cry was Tommeen.

Up came the ball, and a tap or a ſhove
Would ſerve; but all eager for the barnagh ſtroke
With venom too hard, he ſunk his bat-club or bat,
And broke the handle, in an emmot [*piſmire*] hill.

The ball o'erſhot the goal, the duſt roſe all about.
Like a fool in a mill, he looked in amazement;
Then ſtalked and wondered, with Oh! and with grief
Our joys are all ſmothered in a piſmire hill.

Hey-ho! by my conſcience, you have paid it, quoth John,
Give o'er your croſsneſs, and give me your hand.
He that knows what to ſay, miſchief fetch the man,
Betwixt you and Tommy and the piſmire hill.

Come with us, goſſip Larry, yourſelf and Miles;
Out of my hand I'll not part with Walter.
Joan ſet them a laughing, ſhe pleaſed them all, how—
She gave them ſome to do, as we are doing now: [*Drinking.*]
So bleſs all our friends, and God ſpeed the plough.

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this day *, though a people ſo religiouſly obſervant of the cuſtoms of their anceſtors.

It is true that ſome Iriſh poems are conducted in a kind of dramatic narrative, and it is probable that theſe poems were recited at the convivial feaſts of the chiefs, and in the public conventions by ſeveral bards, each bard aſſuming and ſupporting a character in the piece: but no production in a regular dramatic form

* It muſt, however, be obſerved that the vulgar Iriſh of the preſent day exhibit, in many parts of the kingdom, ſeveral awkward attempts at comedy at their weddings and wakes; but theſe attempts cannot be conſidered as veſtiges of an ancient regular drama. Theſe pieces are called, *The Cottoning of Frize*; *The Marriage Act*; *The Servants ſerving their Lord at Table*; *The fulling or thickening of Cloth*, and *Sir Sop or Sir Sopin*.

form is extant in the Iriſh language *, nor even alluded to by any of our ancient writers. So that if the ſtage ever exiſted in Ireland previous to the middle ages, like the "baſeleſs "fabric of a viſion" it has melted into air, leaving not a trace behind.

Yet in the dances of the vulgar Iriſh we may diſcover the features of a rude ballet, performed in honor of ſome pagan deity, and accompanied, it may be preſumed, by hymnick verſes; and in an ancient deſcription of Tamer Hall, Druith Rizhearth, or royal mimics or comedians, are expreſsly mentioned †. All this, however, only ſerves to open a field to conjecture, affording no poſitive proof of the exiſtence of a ſtage amongſt the early Iriſh.

We will then proceed to that period in which Iriſh hiſtory firſt introduces the dramatic muſe, mingling the waters of Jordan and Helicon ‡.

That

Sopin, the Knight of Straw. The deſign of the laſt is evidently to hold up to ridicule the Engliſh character, and cannot therefore be a production of high antiquity. I will here give a ſhort analyſis of this piece. The principal characters, are an Iriſh chieftain, who always takes his title from the Iriſh family of moſt conſequence in the neighbourhood of the place where the play is exhibited; and an Engliſh chieftain, denominated Sir Sop or Sir Sopin. Sir Sop is dreſſed in ſtraw, with a clogad or helmet of the ſame materials on his head; but the Iriſh chieftain, who is the favourite hero, is clad in the beſt clothes that the wardrobes of his ruſtic audience can afford. When thoſe characters appear on the ſtage, they are ſeparately attended by inferior officers and ſervants, who, like the ancient Greek chorus, ſtand at a reſpectful diſtance, while the chieftains converſe. Sometimes the chief officers are allowed to take a part in the dialogue. With the drift of the plot I am not perfectly acquainted, but know that the cataſtrophe is brought about by an altercation which ariſes between our two heroes, and terminates in ſingle combat. In this combat Sir Sopin wounds his adverſary, who falls, and a ſurgeon appears to examine the wound. Regaining his ſtrength the Iriſh chieftain retires, followed by Sir Sopin. Soon after they enter again, and renewing the combat, Sir Sopin receives a mortal wound, and is borne off the ſtage. The Iriſh chieftain having thus gained the field, brandiſhes his ſword and ſtrides exultingly acroſs the ſtage. Then pauſing a while, he addreſſes himſelf to heaven, offering thanks for his victory. This done, the curtain falls.—The dialogue is extremely humorous, and interſperſed with ſoliloquies, ſongs, and dances.

* Mr. Macpherſon has indeed given, as a tranſlation from our Oſin, a little dramatic poem called *Comala*, of which the Abbate CESSAROTTI, his elegant Italian tranſlator, thus ſpeaks: "La ſua picciolezza non pregiudica alla regolarità. Si "ravviſano in eſſa tutti i lineamenti a le proporzioni della tragedia. C' è il ſuo "picciolo viluppo, i ſuoi colpi di teatro, e la ſua cataſtrofe inaſpettata: gran varietà "d' affetti, ſtile ſemplice e paſſionato: in ſomma queſta poeſia ha quelle virtù che ſi "ammirano tanto nei Greci." *Poeſie di. Oſſian*, tom. I. page 181. But as the original of this poem has never been produced to the public, we cannot ſafely number it with the productions of our immortal bard.

† *Collect de Reb. Hib.* vol. iii. page 531.

‡ Perhaps I ſhould have commenced the hiſtory of the Iriſh ſtage with the riſe of the mummers in Ireland. "The mummers (ſays DODSLEY) as bad as they were, "ſeem to be the true original comedians of England." *Collect. of Old Plays*, vol. i. pref. But the ſtage rather ſprang from, than commenced with the mummers. Here I will take leave to obſerve, that, at this day, the dialogue of the Iriſh mummers in general (for I have collected it in different parts of the kingdom) bears a ſtrict reſemblance,

That the Iriſh clergy, as well as their brethren in England, occaſionally exhibited myſteries and moralities previous to the reign of Henry VIII *, may be ſafely inferred from the following record preſerved amongſt the MSS. of Robert Ware.

" Thomas Fitz-Gerald, earl of " Kildare, and lord lieutenant of " Ireland in the year 1528, was in- " vited to a new play every day in " Chriſtmas, Arland Uſher being " then mayor, and Francis Herbert " and John Squire, bailiffs, wherein " the taylors acted the part of " Adam and Eve; the ſhoemakers " repreſented the ſtory of Criſpin " and Criſpianus; the vintners act- " ed Bacchus and his ſtory; the " carpenters that of Joſeph and " Mary; Vulcan, and what related " to him, was acted by the ſmiths; " and the comedy of Ceres, the " goddeſs of corn, by the bakers. " Their ſtage was erected on Hog- " gin-green (now called College- " green) and on it the priors of St. " John of Jeruſalem, of the bleſſed " Trinity, and of All-hallows, cauſ- " ed two plays to be acted, the " one repreſenting the paſſion of " our Saviour, and the other the " ſeveral deaths which the apoſ- " tles ſuffered." From this record (which is the firſt expreſs mention that has occurred to me of the repreſentation of myſteries and moralities in Ireland) it ſhould ſeem, that it was cuſtomary with the chief magiſtrates of Dublin to invite the lord lieutenant to a new play every day in Chriſtmas †; and therefore, as I have already obſerved, it may be inferred, that dramatic entertainments were exhibited in Ireland before this period. But it was not only to amuſe the chief governor that myſteries and moralities were performed in Dublin: they were got up (to ſpeak in the language of the modern theatre) on every joyful occaſion. In a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, it is related, " that in an expedition made " againſt James Mac-Connell, by " the lord deputy Suſſex in 1557, " he was attended by John Uſher, " captain, and Patrick Bulkeley, " petty-captain, with ſixty of the " city trained-bands; and upon " their return THE SIX WOR-

ſemblance, in point of matter, with a ſpecimen of the dialogue of the Engliſh mummers in the reign of Edward III. which Mr. RITSON has happily reſcued from oblivion. See *Rem. on the text, and laſt edit. of Shakeſpear.* It is alſo deſerving of obſervation, that our mummers are always accompanied by a buffoon, whoſe dreſs and antic manners anſwer the deſcription of the Vice of the old Engliſh comedies, the precurſor of the modern Punch. This character likewiſe appears in the pageant with which the Iriſh ruſtics celebrate the firſt of May.

* Although the claſſical names of Comedy and Tragedy did not obtain in England till the reign of Henry VIII. (ſee PERCY's *Relig. of Anc. Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 137.) yet Sir James Ware, ſpeaking of the rejoicings that followed the proclaiming Henry king of Ireland, enumerates comedies with the amuſements on that occaſion.—" Epulas, *Comœdias*, et certami a ludicra, quæ ſequebantur, quid attinet dicere?" But Sir James, little killed in polite literature, has probably dignified the rude Moralities of our anceſtors with the appellation of Comedies.

† I have been informed, that it was alſo formerly cuſtomary with the ſeveral corporations of Dublin to invite the chief governor to a play at St. George's Chapel, on the anniverſaries of their patron ſaints.

" THIES was played by the city, " and the mayor gave the public a " goodly entertainment upon the " occaſion, found four trumpeters " horſes for the ſolemnity, and gave " them twenty ſhillings in money."

Although it may be preſumed, that theſe exhibitions, as well as thoſe in England at the ſame period, were conducted by the church, yet we find, not only from the paſſages above quoted, but from the following entries in the CHAIN-BOOK of Dublin, that the corporations uſually ſupplied performers: it alſo appears from thoſe entries, that the dreſſes, ſcenery, and machinery, were likewiſe ſupplied by the city.

" It was ordered, in maintenance " of the pageant of St. George, that " the mayor of the foregoing year " ſhould find the emperor and em- " preſs with their train and follow- " ers, well apparelled and accou- " tered; that is to ſay, the emperor " attended with two doctors, and " the empreſs with two knights, " and two maidens richly apparel- " led to bear up the train of her " gown."

" Item, 2dly. The mayor for the " time being was to find St. George " a horſe, and the wardens to pay " 3s. 4d. for his wages that day: " the bailiffs for the time being " were to find four horſes, with men " mounted on them well apparelled, " to bear the pole-axe, the ſtandard, " and the ſeveral ſwords of the em- " peror and St. George."

" Item, 3dly. The elder maſter " of the guild was to find a maiden " well attired to lead the dragon, " and the clerk of the market was " to find a golden line for the dra- " gon."

" Item, 4thly. The elder warden " was to find for St. George four " trumpets; but St. George himſelf " was to pay their wages."

" Item, 5thly. The younger ward- " en was obliged to find the king of " Dele and the queen of Dele, as " alſo two knights to lead the queen " of Dele, and two maidens to bear " the train of her gown, all being " entirely clad in black apparel. " Moreover, he was to cauſe St. " George's chapel to be well hung " in black, and completely appa- " relled to every purpoſe, and was " to provide it with cuſhions, ruſhes, " and other neceſſaries for the feſti- " vity of that day."

My record proceeds:—" No leſs " was the preparation of pageants " for the proceſſion of Corpus " Chriſti day; on which,

" The glovers were to repreſent " Adam and Eve, with an angel " bearing a ſword before them."

" The corriſees (perhaps curri- " ers) were to repreſent Cain and " Abel, with an altar, and their of- " fering."

" Mariners and vinters, Noah, " and the perſons in his ark, appa- " relled in the habits of carpenters " and ſalmon-takers."

" The weavers perſonated Abra- " ham and Iſaac, with their offering " and altar."

" The ſmiths repreſented Pharaoh, " with his hoſt."

" The ſkinners, the camel with " the children of Iſrael."

" The goldſmiths were to find the " king of Cullen."

" The hoopers were to find the " ſhepherds with an angel ſinging, " *Gloria in excelſis Deo.*"

" Corpus Chriſti guild was to find " Chriſt in his paſſion, with the " Marys and Angels."

" The

" The taylors were to find Pilate " with his fellowſhip, and his wife " cloathed accordingly."

" The barbers, Anna and Caia- " phas."

" The fiſhers, the apoſtles."

" The merchants, the prophets."

" And the butchers, the tormen- " tors *."

All theſe pageants moved in ſolemn proceſſion to St. George's chapel, the ſcene of their dramatic exhibitions †.

Grave as the ſubjects, in general, of thoſe exhibitions appear to have been, it is probable that the blandiſhments of the comic muſe ſometimes lured their authors into the walks of wit and humour. Here indeed they might have ranged without offence: but not content to excite innocent mirth, they introduced profaneneſs and immorality on the ſtage. The piety of John Bale ‡ (then biſhop of Oſſory) taking the alarm, he aroſe, like another Collier, to preſerve the mirror of nature from being ſullied. To effect this, inſtead of employing his favourite inſtrument of invective, he wrote ſome dramatic pieces, inculcating morality, and breathing the ſpirit of the goſpel. Two of thoſe pieces—namely GOD'S PROMISES, and JOHN BAPTIST—were acted by young men at the market-croſs in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552 §.

In order to convey an idea of the tendency of thoſe pieces, and of the rude ſtate of the drama at this time, I ſhall here tranſcribe the argument of GOD'S PROMISES ||, as ſuppoſed to be delivered by the author in perſon.

* The memory of thoſe pageants continued to be preſerved in the franchiſes that were rode triennally in Dublin till the year 1772, when they were aboliſhed by the lord mayor's proclamation.

† This chapel ſtood in St. George's-lane (now St. George's-ſtreet, South) whence it derived its name. Not a trace of the building remains. STANNIHURST ſuppoſes it had been founded by ſome worthy knight of the garter, and thus laments its fate: " This chappell hath beene of late razed, and the ſtones thereof, by con- " ſent of the aſſemblie, turned to a common oven, converting the ancient monument " of a doutie, adventurous and holie knight, to the colerake ſweeping of a puſloafe " baker." *Deſc. of Irel.* in HOLINSHED'*s Chron.* page 23.

‡ Bale was a verſatile genius. Beſides *God's Promiſes*, and *John Baptiſt*, he wrote ſeveral other dramatic pieces, ſome of which ſtill remain inedited. He alſo engaged in controverſy, but with ſo much acrimony, that he has been called *bilious* Bale. But literary hiſtory was his favourite purſuit. When Bale's dramatic and controverſial writings ſhall be forgotten, poſterity will continue to admire the author of *Scriptorum illuſtrium majoris Britanniæ quam Angliam et Scotam vocat Catalogus.* See DODSLEY'*s Collect. of Old Plays*, 2d edit. vol. i. and WHARTON'*s Hiſt. of Eng. Poet.* vol. iii.

§ See *Collect. de Rebus Hib.* vol. ii. p. 388.

|| In this piece, which was written chiefly to vindicate the doctrine of grace, againſt ſuch as held the doctrine of free-will and the merit of works, Adam, Abraham, Noah, Moſes, Iſaiah, David, and John the Baptiſt, are all introduced on the ſtage with the ALMIGHTY!

BALEUS prolocutor.

" If profyght maye growe, moſt Chriſten audyence,
" By knowlege of thynges which are but tranſytorye,
" And here for a tyme: Of moch more congruence,
" Advantage myght ſprynge, by the ſerche of cauſes heavenlye,
" As thoſe matters are, that the goſpell ſpecyfye.
" Without whoſe knowledge no man to the truthe can come,
" Nor ever atteyne to the lyfe perpetuall."

" For he that knoweth not the lyvynge God eternall,
" The Father, the Sonne, and alſo the Holye Ghoſt,
" And what Chriſt ſuffered for redempcyon of us all,
" What he commaunded, and taught in every cooſt,
" And what he forbode, That man muſt nedes be loſt,
" And cleane ſecluded, from the faythfull choſen ſorte,
" In the heavens above, to hys moſt hygh dyſconforte."

" You therfor (good fryndes) I lovyngely exhort,
" To waye ſoche matters, as wyll be uttered here,
" Of whom ye maye loke to have no tryfeling ſporte
" In fantaſyes fayned, not ſoche lyke gaudyſh gere,
" But the thyngs that ſhall your inwarde ſtomake chear,
" To rejoyce in God for your juſtyfycacyon,
" And alone in Chriſt to hope for your ſalvacyon.

" Yea, firſt ye ſhall have the eternal generacyon
" Of Chriſt, like as Johan in hys firſt chaptre wryght,
" And conſequently of man the firſt creacyon,
" The abuſe and fall, through hys firſt overſyght,
" And the rayſe agayne, through God's hygh grace and myght:
" By promyſes firſt, whych ſhall be declared all,
" Then by hys owne Sonne, the worker pryncypall."

" After that Adam bywayleth here hys fall,
" God wyll ſhewe mercye to every generacyon,
" And to hys kyngedom, of hys great goodneſſe call
" Hys elected ſpouſe, or faythfull congregacyon,
" As here ſhall apere by open proteſtacyon,
" Which from Chriſte's birthe ſhall to hys death conclude,
" They come that therof wyll ſhewe the certytude."

Regardleſs, however, of the biſhop's ſtrenuous oppoſition to the ſufferance of profaneneſs on the ſtage, it ſhould ſeem from an act paſſed in the ſecond year of the reign of Elizabeth, that the comic muſe ſtill preſumed to ſport with the holy word, directing her wit againſt the liturgy of the newly-eſtabliſhed church. By this act (which is intituled,

tuled, AN ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITIE OF COMMON PRAYER AND SERVICE IN THE CHURCH, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS) "it is ordeyned and "enacted, that if any perſon or "perſons * whatſoever, after the "feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, ſhall in "any *enterludes, playes,* ſongs, rimes, "or by other open words, declare "or ſpeake any thing in derogation, "depraving or deſpiſing of the "ſame booke, or of any thing there-"in conteyned, or any part thereof, "ſhall forfeit to the queene our ſo-"veraigne lady, her heyres and "ſucceſſors, for the firſt offence an "hundred markes; and if any per-"ſon or perſons being once convict "of any ſuch offence, eftſoones "offend againſt any of the ſaid re-"cited offences, and ſhall in forme "aforeſaid be thereof lawfully con-"vict, that then the ſame perſon ſo "offending and convict, ſhall for the "ſecond offence forfeit to the queene "our ſoveraigne lady, her heyres "and ſucceſſors, foure hundred "marks; and if any perſon after "he in forme aforeſaid, ſhall have "been twiſe convict of any offence, "concerning any of the laſt recited "offences, ſhall offend the third "time, and be thereof in forme "aforeſaid lawfully convict, that "then every perſon ſo offending "and convict, ſhall for his third "offence forfeit to our ſoveraigne "lady the queene, all his goods "and cattels, and ſhall ſuffer im-"priſonment during his life."

From the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles I. a dark cloud obſcures the hiſtory of the Iriſh ſtage. Yet dramatic exhibitions had not ceaſed; for in the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Charles I. an act was paſſed for the ERECTING OF HOUSES OF CORRECTION, AND FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF ROGUES, VAGABONDS, STURDY BEGGARS, AND OTHER LEWD AND IDLE PERSONS, in which all juſtices of the peace of the different counties wherein they might be found, are directed to ſend to the houſes of correction all fencers, bear-wardes, *common players of enterludes,* and minſtrels wandering abroad. So that we may hence conclude, the ſtage had not only continued its amuſements, but, unawed by the puritanical ſpirit of the times, had become licentious. However, though coercive meaſures were thus taken by parliament to ſilence the ſtage, it was countenanced by the court. About this time, a maſter of the revels † was placed on the eſtabliſhment, and under his direction a theatre was erected (1635) in Werburgh-ſtreet, Dublin, whither were invited all the itinerant players of diſtinguiſhed merit, who had formerly been neceſſitated to ſtrole from booth to booth in the principal towns

* The perſons alluded to in this act were probably *thoſe certain perſons* noticed by SPENSER, *whoſe proper function it was,* to ſing at all feaſts and meetings, in his time, the productions of the Iriſh bards. See *View of the State of Ireland,* and *Hiſt. Mem. of the Iriſh Bards,* p. 143.

† John Ogilby, well known by his tranſlations of Homer and Virgil, was the firſt perſon appointed to the office of maſter of the revels in Ireland. Under his direction, and at his expence, the theatre in Werburgh-ſtreet was erected. According to HARRIS, this theatre coſt two thouſand pounds. See WARE's works, vol. ii. p. 352, where all the extraordinary viciſſitudes of Ogilby's life are circumſtantially related.

and cities, and to wander from hall to hall amongſt the rural manſions of the gentry and nobility.

It is very probable that previous to the period now under conſideration, dramatic entertainments were not numbered with the elegant amuſements of the court; though Mr. Chetwood aſſerts, on the authority of a wax-chandler's bill, that GORBUDUC, and ſeveral other plays, had been performed in the caſtle of Dublin, during the adminiſtration of Blount, lord Mountjoy, in the reign of Elizabeth *. Now, had there really been ſuch exhibitions, the expenſes would certainly have been defrayed by an order of the lord deputy or privy council, on the deputy vice treaſurer; yet no ſuch order appears either in the treaſury office, or in the archives of the office of the auditor general—at leaſt, if ſuch an order does exiſt, it has eſcaped my reſearches.

The theatre in Werburgh-ſtreet continued to be opened, occaſionally, under the ſanction of government, till the year 1641, when it cloſed for ever †.

From Werburgh-ſtreet the ſcene of the drama was ſhifted to Orange-ſtreet (now Smock-alley) in 1661. But during the civil wars that ſoon after broke out, the whole company were diſperſed; ſo that when the people of Dublin, on the defeat of king James's army, at the battle of the Boyne, amongſt other expreſſions of joy, ſays Cibber, had a mind to have a play, they could find no actor to aſſiſt, and ſome private perſons agreed to give one, at their own expenſe, to the public at the theatre ‡.

From this time every event of the Iriſh ſtage has been ſo faithfully and ſo minutely recorded, that nothing is left for me to add to its hiſtory §. Here, therefore, I ſhall diſmiſs the ſubject.

JOSEPH C. WALKER."

* *Gen. Hiſt. of the Stage*, page 51.

† The laſt play performed at this theatre was *Landgartha*, a tragi-comedy, written by HENRY BURNEL, Eſq; of whom I have only been able to learn, that he was born in Ireland, and flouriſhed about the cloſe of the reign of Charles I.

‡ *Apology*, page 136.

§ See CIBBER's *Apology*; CHETWOOD's *Gen. Hiſt. of the Stage*; VICTOR's *Hiſt. of the Stage*; DAVIS' *Life of Garrick*; and HITCHCOCK's *View of the Iriſh Stage*.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Art *of* Pleaſing.—*From the* Eſſays *of the Marquis* D'Argenſon.

"MONCRIF, who is * attached to my brother, came to communicate to me his project of printing a book, intituled: *De la neceſſité et des moyens de plaire.* "My dear Moncrif," ſaid I to him, "nothing is ſo eaſy as to treat "upon the firſt head of thy diſcourſe; all the world feels it; "all the world has a deſire to pleaſe, "but the means are extremely difficult to be found: it is a difficult, and very delicate matter "to indicate the true ones; they "depend upon a great number of "circumſtances, which make them "vary *ad infinitum.*" From this I entered with him into particulars, of which I have ſince committed a part to paper. After hearkening to me attentively, "Sir," anſwered he, humbly, "I will make uſe of the "ſage reflections you have juſt "communicated to me; but the "plan of my work is not laid exactly in the manner you propoſe." —"Thy work! is it already finiſhed?" replied I. "Yes, Sir, "it is in the preſs." In fact, in a very little time afterwards, he brought it to me, printed and well bound: I have read it, and this reading has recalled to my mind what a man of wit, a friend of mine, once ſaid to me, as we were walking in a great library, where there were a multitude of books upon ſpeculative philoſophy, metaphyſics, and morality: "*Here are,*" ſaid he, "*thouſands of volumes, of which the "greateſt number ought to be ſup-"preſſed, and the reſt new modelled:*" —that of Moncrif is ſo much more of the latter deſcription, on account of its being very unanimatedly written; it is, therefore, tireſome, although a ſmall volume: he finiſhes with fairy tales, above the capacity of children, and not intereſting enough to men.

Moncrif ſaid himſelf that the marvellous could not be agreeable, but by the manner of repreſenting it; that otherwiſe improbability diſguſted and fatigued. His tales are the beſt proofs of this truth.

Moncrif's mother was the widow of a *procureur*, called Paradis. She was a woman of wit, and knew how to uſe it to advantage, and to bring up two children, which her huſband had left her. By the protection of my brother one of them became a ſubaltern officer, and, at length, commander of a ſmall place; the eldeſt had the greater ſhare of his mother's affection, who, to introduce him into the world, made the laſt efforts to cloath him well: ſhe ſent him to the theatres, to the

* Theſe eſſays were written in 1736, but not publiſhed until lately.

places set apart for the most distinguished people, where he might make useful acquaintances. Moncrif, following his mother's counsels, became acquainted with me and my brother, amongst others. This has been beneficial to him; our relations were in place; my brother made him his private friend and secretary, upon the most genteel footing: some years afterwards he attached himself to the Compte de Clermont, prince of the blood, and he had the flattering title of secretary to his commanderies; he had even a list of vacant benefices depending upon this prince-abby; but he proposed none to fill them but with the approbation of certain women of the opera. He quarrelled with this little court; but my brother repaired all by making him reader to the queen, and secretary general of the posts. It is said he had learned to fence, and that he was even received as a fencing master; what makes this probable is, that when Moncrif became reader to the queen, and consequently at court, his age was enquired after: his friends wished to prove him older than he appeared to be, and quoted the epocha of his reception in the corps of fencing-masters. M. de Maurepas would assure himself of it; and, having had occasion to read the list of the members of this community, who prayed a renewal of their privileges, he found, in fact, the name of Paradis at the head. He asked the Syndics what was become of this master: the answer was, that he had disappeared for some time, and consequently renounced the profession. The minister, who, as every body knows, loves a little waggery, related this anecdote to the king. According to this account, Moncrif was eighty years of age. Lewis XV. having laughed at it a good deal, finding Moncrif one day with the queen, said to him, *Do you know, Moncrif, that there are people who give you eighty years of age? Yes, Sire,* answered he, *but I do not take them.* For my part, I do not believe that Moncrif has been a fencing-master; it must rather have been his brother, in whom his mother could not find other talents for society than fencing, which is not a very social one.

I return to Madame Paradis. With wit, reading, an agreeable manner, and address, she procured herself a good income. Towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV, there was more pretension to wit in intrigues than at present: it was the custom to write gallant notes, which required answers of the same kind, and the ardour of the cavalier was judged of by the energy of the letters which he got secretly delivered: the lover, in the same manner, calculated his hopes according to the answer. Madame Paradis devoted herself to the epistolary style; being known to several ladies of the gallant court of Lewis XIV. she assisted them with her pen to make agreeable advances, or give tender answers; and this was no real injury to her fortune, nor to the advancement of her son. Moncrif appeared to inherit the talent of his mother. My brother having made a journey into Touraine, became intimately and particularly acquainted with a lady of this province. After his return to Paris, he received from her some letters of gallantry, to which, in politeness, he could not but return answers. He charged Moncrif to write them, who acquitted himself like a worthy son of

of Madame Paradis, and ſpared my brother the trouble of even copying them. But the moſt whimſical conſequence of this correſpondence was, my brother having become miniſter, and the young lady a wife, ſhe had occaſion to write about ſome affair to her old lover, and was much ſurprized at not finding, in his anſwers, either the ſtyle of the letters ſhe had preſerved, or even the ſame handwriting: we may learn by this, that miniſters, and thoſe who are deſtined to become ſo, do not always do that of themſelves, from which they gain the moſt honour.

As I ſaid to Moncrif, there is nobody but is convinced of the neceſſity of pleaſing, and who has not, more or leſs, the deſire of doing it; but this is not all; talents are moreover neceſſary. Every actor upon a theatre carries with him the deſire of being applauded; yet there are many who come off with being hiſſed and hooted. To ſucceed, two kinds of talents are neceſſary; thoſe which nature gives, and cannot otherwiſe be acquired, ſtature, figure, and an agreeable voice; natural, eaſy, gay, and amiable wit; thoſe who poſſeſs not theſe advantages, ſhould procure to themſelves a fictitious amiability; though it is never worth that which is real, and what may properly be called innate: but ſtill it is of ſome value; it is ſtudied, but it muſt appear natural; is inſenſibly gained by habitude; and the occupation of improving acquired advantages becomes agreeable.

The deſire of excelling cannot be too much concealed; on the contrary, what ought to be moſt remarked, or ſuppoſed in you, is the deſire of making others appear to advantage. Affection, or at leaſt the appearance of it; admiration, real or pretended; flattery, delicately managed, never fail to ſucceed. When you perceive that any particular vice is diſpleaſing, affect the oppoſite virtue. This contraſt is the art of pleaſing in ſociety, what the *claro obſcuro* is in painting: the colouring muſt be heightened by contraſts; the colours muſt be laid on thick, and the pencils managed with delicacy. Good-nature, ſincerity, and complaiſance, muſt be affected, yet tinctured with a little criticiſm.

A ſatirical character is frightful and diſpleaſing in itſelf; but, as able phyſicians transform poiſons into remedies, men of great wit manage criticiſm and irony ſo as to amuſe ſome perſons, and correct others, without ſaying any thing offenſive; and what elſe is fable and good comedy?

Let us acknowledge that we ſtrive not to pleaſe others but from a motive of ſelf-love: but it is neceſſary to veil it ſo as to prevent its being even ſuſpected. Let us go ſtill further, and add, that we muſt not be too anxious about people whom we wiſh to pleaſe: they are embarraſſed by being ſpoken well of in their preſence; they would often prefer being criticiſed, provided it did not exceed what they could defend with advantage.

Compliance is the laſt ſpring to put in motion, and which acts well in ſecret only; ſuch as are known to be of an accommodating character are ſuſpected; we are inclined to look upon them as deceitful, and even treacherous.

We eaſily perſuade thoſe who are in affliction, that we ourſelves are affected by it, becauſe whoever partakes of trouble cannot be ſuſpected of intereſted views; but nothing is more

more difficult than to perſuade thoſe who are happy, and arrive at great employs, that we rejoice ſincerely at their good fortune: they think, and with reaſon, that we ſhould trouble ourſelves but little about it, if our perſonal intereſt were not concerned therein. Men, in a ſubordinate ſituation, are not thanked for their complaiſance; it is looked upon as one of their obligations; it is even, ſometimes, by this they get their bread; but it is very valuable in ſuperiors, provided it be not ſuſpected to take its ſource from weakneſs or ſimplicity.

Indulgence for faults, which is founded upon indifference only, humiliates him who experiences it, and renders odious the perſon by whom it is exerciſed.

A diſdainful air, a contemptible tone, make great men hated; but a low and cringing manner, make them deſpiſed, which is ſtill worſe. A noble politeneſs is what they ought to be ambitious of, and which they often poſſeſs; but that which is equally rare and precious in all ranks is equability. Unhappily its oppoſite is not diſcovered till after a certain time of probation; we are frequently ſeduced into ſtrong connexions, before we diſcover that thoſe with whom we have formed them are unworthy of our eſteem, becauſe they have for ſome time impoſed upon themſelves the neceſſity of pleaſing; on the firſt neglect, their defects, and inſupportable humour appear; the beginning of the acquaintance was ſerene and agreeable; the end of it becomes clouded, and ſometimes tempeſtuous; but when an engagement is formed, life paſſes in regretting the firſt moments; they return but ſeldom, and it is neceſſary to conſole ourſelves for an attachment to a perſon of a capricious and unequal character, by recollecting the agreeable moments we have paſſed together, and by enjoying the hope of finding others like them.

The reflection with which Moncrif finiſhes his book, appears to me to be the moſt ſenſible thing in it, and is as follows: "A man, on "entering the world, ſhould expect "to find two judges of all his ac"tions—reaſon, and ſelf-love, or "the intereſt of others. The firſt "of theſe judges is always equit"able and impartial; the ſecond "ſevere, and frequently unjuſt; it "is the child of jealouſy; let us "ſtrive not to allure it: this is "the means of pleaſing and ſuc"ceeding."

I have related in a few pages, all the maxims worth quoting from Moncrif's book, *de la neceſſité et des moyens, de plaire*, in which there are three hundred."

The Effects of Love *on different* Characters.—*From the ſame.*

AFTER treating in this volume of ſo many different matters and objects, I am now going to ſpeak of love and women: but I will not dwell long upon either of them; for I think, like Madame Cornuel, who ſaid, We cannot be long in love, without doing fooliſh things, nor ſpeak much of it, without ſaying ſilly ones.

It is difficult, in every period of life, to inſpire a real paſſion: but it is eaſy to make moſt women conceive a momentary one: many things contribute to this: a fine figure; the appearance of ſtrength and vigour; the graces, wit, or the reputation

reputation of it; complaiſance; and, often, a decided tone, and light manners; ambitious ideas; and, finally, intereſted views. With ſo many reſources, it is almoſt impoſſible that every one ſhould not find means to gratify his inclinations during his youth; but, in a riper age, it is neceſſary to fix the affections. If we will not renounce every ſpecies of gallantry, it is neceſſary to accuſtom ourſelves early to the ſweet habitude of living with one whom we love and eſteem; without which, we fall into the moſt gloomy apathy, or inſupportable agitation. The habitude of which I ſpeak, is more agreeable and ſolid, when founded upon the permanent affections of the mind; but this is not ſo abſolutely neceſſary as not to be diſpenſed with. It is certain that the cares of a woman are always more agreeable to an old man than thoſe of a relation or friend of his own ſex; it ſeems to be the wiſh and intention of nature that the two ſexes ſhould live and die together.

We become inſenſible of a ſettled habitude; and, as we do not perceive that a miſtreſs grows old, and becomes leſs handſome, we do not obſerve that her way of thinking becomes our own, and our reaſon ſubjected to hers, though ſometimes leſs enlightened. We inſenſibly ſacrifice our fortune to her; and this is a neceſſary conſequence of the reſignation we have made of our reaſon.

Men ſometimes paſs over the infidelities of women, becauſe they are not perfectly convinced of them, and that a blind confidence is a neceſſary conſequence of their ſeduction: but if, unfortunately, they come to the knowledge of them, it is impoſſible for a man, ſincerely attached to a woman, not to be ſuſceptible of jealouſy. This jealouſy takes a tinge of the character of the perſon who is affected with it. The mild man becomes afflicted, falls ill, and dies; if a repentance, which he is always diſpoſed to believe ſincere, does not conſole him: the choleric man breaks out into rage; and, in the firſt moments, it is not known how far this may carry him; but men of this diſpoſition are ſooneſt appeaſed, and moſt frequently to be deceived.

Pecuniary intereſt ſhould never be the baſis of an amorous connection; it renders it ſhameful, or at leaſt ſuſpicious: money, ſays Montaigne, being the ſource of concubinage. But when a tender union is well formed, intereſt, like ſentiment, becomes common; every thing is mutual; and there is but one fortune for two ſincere lovers. If they be equally honeſt, and incapable of making a bad uſe of it, this is juſt and natural; but frequently the complaiſance of one, makes him or her partake too much of the misfortunes and errors of the other.

Love ſhould never have any thing to do with affairs: it ought to live on pleaſures only: but how is it poſſible to reſiſt the ſolicitations of a beloved object, who, though ſhe ought not to participate in affairs which ſhe has not prudence or courage enough to manage, yet having always, for a pretext, her intereſt in your reputation, welfare, and happineſs, how is it poſſible to reſiſt an amiable woman, who attacks with ſuch weapons?

Some ladies have a real, others a borrowed reputation; that of the firſt is pure and unſpotted, founded on the principles of religion, conſequently

ſequently the only genuine one; it belongs to women really attached to their duty, and who have never failed in the leaſt point of it, whether they have had the good fortune to love their huſbands, who have returned their affection; or whether, by an effort of virtue, they have been faithful to a man whom they have not loved nor were beloved by. There is another reputation, unknown to religion, which delicate morality, although purely human, does not admit, but which the world, more indulgent, will ſometimes accept as good; that founded upon the good choice of lovers, or rather, of a lover, for multiplicity is always indecent. We are ſo diſpoſed to think that each loves his likeneſs, that we judge of the character of men and women by thoſe of their own ſex with whom they have formed an intimacy; but infinitely more by the perſons for whom they conceive a ſerious attachment. Many a man of wit has eſtabliſhed the reputation of his miſtreſs, without compoſing madrigals for her, but by making known the paſſion with which ſhe had inſpired him; many a woman of merit has created or eſtabliſhed the reputation of him whom ſhe has adopted her chevalier. After all, it is more dangerous to ſolicit than to decline this kind of reputation: it happens more frequently that a man loſes himſelf by making a bad choice, than he adds to his fame by making a good one.

If the public are indulgent to the attachments of ſimple individuals, they are much more ſo to thoſe of kings, and people in place, when they think them real, and do not ſuſpect in them either ambition, intrigue, or motives of intereſt. All France approved of the love of Charles VII. for Agnes Sorel, becauſe ſhe had the courage to ſay to this prince, that, unleſs he recovered his kingdom, he was not worthy of her affection. The Pariſians applauded the love of Henry IV. for *La Belle Gabrielle*, and ſung with pleaſure the ſongs this monarch made for her; becauſe, knowing her to be handſome, and of a good diſpoſition, they imagined ſhe would inſpire the king with ſentiments of benevolence.

Never did a woman love a man more ſincerely than Madame de la Valliere loved Lewis XIV. She never quitted him but for God alone; and, ſwelled with vanity as that monarch was, he could not complain of this rivality; ſo much the leſs, as the Supreme Being had but the remains of the heart of his miſtreſs, and perhaps never poſſeſſed it entirely.

I have heard an anecdote of Madame de Valliere, which I do not remember to have ſeen in print. This lady was ſo modeſt, and had ſo little ambition, that ſhe had never told the king ſhe had a brother, much leſs had ſhe ever aſked any favour for him. He was ſtill young, and had made his firſt campaign among the cadets of the king's houſehold. Lewis XIV. reviewing his troops, ſaw his miſtreſs ſmile in a friendly manner at a young man, who, on his part, bowed to her, with an air of familiarity. In the evening, the King aſked, in a ſevere and irritated tone of voice, who this young man was. Madame de la Valliere was at firſt confuſed, but afterwards told his Majeſty it was her brother. The King, having aſſured himſelf of it, conferred diſtinguiſhed favours upon the young gentleman,

gentleman, who was father of the first Duke de la Valliere, whose widow and children are still alive.

The King's intrigue with Madame de Montespan, was not of a nature to be approved of so much as that he had with Madame de la Valliere; yet the nation did not complain, because it was thought the love of this lady procured the public magnificent feasts and elegant amusements. The following verses were a good deal sung at that time:

Ah! quelle est charmante
Notre aimable cour;
Sous le même tente
On voit tour a tour.

La gloire et l'amour,
Conquête brillante
Et fête gallante
Marquent chaque jour.

On the contrary, the public were a good deal disgusted with the amours of the King and Madame de Maintenon, although more decent, and that a secret marriage had rendered them legitimate. It was observed, that a love, conceived when both parties were in years, afforded a ridiculous spectacle: moreover, Madame de Maintenon meddled with the affairs of government; and it was when she most interfered with them, that things fell into decline, and that Lewis XIV. began to experience misfortunes, which were all laid to her charge.

When the late Duke of Orleans, who was regent, fell in love with Mademoiselle de Sery, he was not censured on account of it. The Duchess of Orleans, natural daughter to the King, was rather beautiful, but she was not amiable; Mademoiselle de Sery, on the contrary, was very much so. She had a son, and it was predicted of him that he would one day become Duke of Dunois. We see him at present, in Paris, under the title of Chevalier d'Orleans, Grand Prior of France. He has not fulfilled what was expected of him; yet he has wit, and is, in many respects, amiable.

In process of time the regent fell into such an irregularity of conduct, that the public were shocked at it. It was necessary for him to have many other brilliant and estimable qualities to be pardoned so great a defect; but people were so much disposed to indulgence for him, that his affection for Madame de Parabere was approved of, because it was supposed she really loved him, and that he loved her, although he was frequently unfaithful to her.

Exterior decency is generally admired, and princes and men of distinction ought to do nothing to disgust the public; but, right or wrong, it is but too true, that in the end, this public assumes the authority of censuring, without delicacy, every fault: woe to them who are the first objects of gross scandal; they become the victims to its rage; the public judges and punishes them for it; or at least hoots at, hisses, and despises them; but, when the number of the guilty increase to a certain degree, it is found, that although hisses are sufficient to condemn bad pieces, they are not rods enough for those men who deserve to be lashed: they then become tolerated, nothing more is said, and, what is worse than all, a resolution is sometimes taken to imitate them. It must be acknowledged that the temptation to sin is very great, when we are sure to do it with impunity; and that people are made easy upon this head, when they

they are ſheltered from reproach and ridicule.

The Death of Mahommed, *a Tranſlation from the* Déh Mujlis *.— *From the* Aſiatic Miſcellany.

"TRADITIONISTS of grievous tidings, and narrators of heart-breaking events, have handed down to us, that in the tenth year of the Hegiry, after the prophet had performed his laſt pilgrimage, on the day named Urfa, and in the plain ſurnamed Urfaat, the following ſentence was communicated to him from above: "Now "have I compleated the work of "your religion, and beſtowed per-"fect happineſs upon you." After which, whenever he preached to the people, he mixed with his diſcourſe the tidings of his expected and welcome diſſolution.

At length, upon the 28th of the moon Suffer, of the 11th Hegiry, the prophet repaired to the burial ground of Bukea, and paſſed a conſiderable time in prayer for the ſouls of thoſe whoſe remains were depoſited in the tombs around him: the following day he was ſeized with an head-ach, in which condition he came forth, and gave directions for the people to be aſſembled, as he was about to preach to them for the laſt time. When they were arrived, he aſcended the pulpit; and, having concluded a long diſcourſe, he addreſſed them in theſe words: "Know, O ye people, my "diſſolution is at hand; my deſire "of being united to God over-"powers me, and I ſhall quickly "depart from among you: ſay, then, "in what manner have I not per-"formed my prophetic miſſion for "your ſalvation? For your ſakes, "and for religion, I have fought, "whilſt you, in return, have ſmote "my teeth, and defiled my face "with blood." They acknowledged what he ſaid was true; that he had ſhewn them the right, and taught them to ſhun the crooked path; beſeeching the Almighty to reward him accordingly. The prophet then, in the name of God, ſolemnly enjoined any whom he might have ſtruck, to ariſe and take reparation; or any he might have injured in his property, forthwith to receive back whatever was his due: on which, a man named Akauſha aroſe, and ſaid, "O prophet, ſince "you ſo earneſtly urge this matter, "I ſhould be a ſinner, if I conti-"nued ſilent: know then, that in "the expedition to Tebouck, in-"tending to ſmite your female ca-"mel, Kuſwah, the whip deſcended "on my ſhoulders, and was attend-"ed with excruciating pain; for "which I now expect retaliation." "May God reward you in both "worlds," replied the prophet, "O Akauſha, for giving me an

* The *Déh Mujlis*, from which the two following narratives are taken, is itſelf an extract from a work entitled, *Rôdhut ûs Shôda*, or *The Garden of Martyrs*; written by Mûlla Hûſſain Wâiz. The *Déh Mujlis* conſiſts, as the name implies, of ten ſuch narratives as the two which are here preſented to our readers; each containing an account of the death of one of the Mahommedan patriarchs, or ſome other diſtinguiſhed perſonage. A portion of the *Déh Mujlis* is read daily, during the *Aſhoorah*, or ſolemn mourning, celebrated by the Muſſulmans on the firſt ten days of the month of Mohurrum.

"opportunity

" opportunity of compounding this " affair now, and for not having " deferred it to the day of judg- " ment: Can you inform me with " what whip the offence was com- " mitted?" Akauſha anſwered, that it was with the rod Mamſhuke, having a thong ſuſpended from the end of it; which the prophet ordered immediately to be brought *.

In obedience to the commands of his maſter, Soliman repaired to the prophet's houſe, and knocked at the door of Fatima's apartment, repeating the uſual ſalutation obſerved toward the prophet's family. Fatima knew the voice, and on being adviſed of his errand, obſerved that as her father was afflicted with a fever, and had not ſtrength to ſit his horſe, he could have no occaſion for ſuch an inſtrument. On being informed of farther particulars, ſhe gave a loud ſhriek, and ſolemnly adjured Soliman to impreſs on Akauſha's mind, that out of regard to the weak and ſickly condition of her father, he ought to be merciful, and ſpare him.

When Soliman had departed, Fatima ſent for her ſons, Huſſen and Hoſſain, and acquainted them with what had happened, bidding them repair to the place where their grandfather was, and inſtead of one ſtroke, which Akauſha was about to inflict on him, receive each an hundred in his room. But on their informing the prophet of the buſineſs on which they were come, he pronounced that they could not grant retaliation for that which he had committed; at the ſame time deſiring Akauſha to riſe, and ſtrike.

Akauſha remonſtrated, that as his ſhoulders were bare when he received the blow, the prophet's ought to be ſubmitted to him in the ſame condition; which the holy man prepared to do, a murmur of mingled pity and indignation ariſing from the angels of heaven, who beheld the ſcene. But when Akauſha ſaw the naked ſhoulders of the prophet, and beheld thereon the ſeal of his apoſtolic miſſion, he ſprang forward, and applied his lips to the holy ſign, ſaying, " O prophet! to kiſs this " mark, and not to obtain retalia- " tion, was the object I ſought after; " yourſelf having often pronoun- " ced, ' Whoever touches the ſkin " of my body, him the fire of hell " ſhall ſpare."

The prophet now deſcended from the pulpit; his indiſpoſition viſibly increaſing upon him. He, however, deſired Ali to leave him, and repoſe himſelf; which having done, he returned, and informed his father-in-law that in a dream he had beheld himſelf clad in complete armour, which on a ſudden was torn from his body. The prophet replied, " that armour am I, of whom " you are about to be deprived." Fatima came next, and related, that being in a deep ſleep, ſhe thought ſhe held in her hand a ſheet of the holy Koran, which was ſuddenly raviſhed from her ſight. The prophet replied, " That ſheet of the " Koran am I, who ſhall quickly " be loſt to you." Huſſen and Hoſſain alſo related, that in their dreams they had juſt beheld a throne moving on the boſom of the wind, under which they walked, with

* Great ſtreſs is laid by devout Mahommedans, on the humility and meekneſs teſtified by their prophet, in this inſtance, in ſubmitting to retaliation for an involuntary offence; which, in ſtrictneſs of law, he was not obliged to do.

their

their heads uncovered. The prophet replied, "That throne signifies my coffin; under which you will soon walk, in the manner represented to you."

Ibnabbas informs us, that the Almighty commanded the angel of death, saying, "Repair to my beloved, Mahommed; but touch not his immaculate soul, without his own acquiescence." Israiel, attended by a host of kindred spirits, in the disguise of an Arabian villager, transported himself in an instant to the prophet's habitation, with the commission of God in his hand. He repeated the customary salutation, and begged admittance, as having come off a long journey. Fatima was sitting by her father's pillow, when she heard the voice, and desired the stranger to call another time, as the prophet was not at leisure. A repetition of the request, by Israiel, was followed by an answer, couched in the same terms. The third time, it was demanded in a peremptory tone, which struck the family with terror. The prophet opened his eyes, and demanded the cause of their consternation. Fatima answered, "that an extraordinary kind of stranger, who stood at the door, had thrice demanded admission, and would take no denial." The prophet asked her if she knew not who it was; she answered, "God is wise, I know not."—"He is," pursued the prophet, "the destroyer of lusts, the annihilator of passions, the maker of widows, and of orphans; an intruder, who opens doors without the assistance of a key; and lays prostrate without the aid of arms. He is, my daughter, the angel of death, and attends for the soul of your father; whose threshold he respects, or he had entered without hesitation, it not being his practice to wait for admission: open the door, that he may come in." Alas!" exclaimed Fatima, "then the ruin of Medina approaches, for its protector is about to depart."

The prophet desired her to be comforted, as even angels would behold her grief with concern. With his holy hands, he wiped off the tears which ran down her cheeks; and beseeched the Almighty to endue her with patience and resignation to support his loss; enjoining her, as soon as death should have closed his eyes, to repeat the following sentence; "From God we are, and to God we must return." Fatima continued to dwell on her approaching loss, in the most moving terms, and was interrupted by her father, who again desired that Israiel might be admitted.

The angel of death now appeared, saying, "Peace to the prophet! The Almighty has sent you his blessing, and restricted me from touching your soul, till I have your own permission." The prophet replied, "It is my request that you refrain from it till Gabriel arrives *." That angel, the messenger of the word of God, mean time had received his commission to repair to Mahommed, and carry to the beloved of the Almighty a turban,

* When this angel is spoken of by Mahommed, he is distinguished by the epithet of brother; a more than ordinary friendship being supposed to have subsisted between them.

made

made from the texture of the cloth of Paradiſe. Weeping and lamenting he ſtood before him, and was gently taxed by Mahommed, with having forſaken him in his preſent awful ſituation; which the angel excuſed, by alledging that he had been employed about his affairs, and now brought the joyful tidings which he himſelf would wiſh for; namely, that the violence of the flames of hell had been abated for his paſſage, the gardens of Paradiſe adorned, and hoſts of angels drawn up for the reception of his ſoul. The prophet acknowledged the goodneſs of God; but added, that his mind was oppreſſed with cares for the future fate of his diſciples. Gabriel deſired him to be under no concern on that account, as the Almighty would work out the ſalvation of as many of them as he ſhould deſire. The prophet then beckoned Iſrâiel to come forward and execute his commiſſion; which, while he was doing, the Lord of the world fixed his eyes on the cieling, and repeated the name of the Moſt High; when his hands, which were claſped together, and extended, ſuddenly dropping on his breaſt, his ſoul took its flight to the preſence of its Creator. "From God we are, and to God "we muſt return."

The Death of Fatima.—*From the ſame.*

"THOUGH traditions differ in regard to the time during which Fatima was abſorbed in grief for the loſs of her father, yet they agree in this, that it continued long inceſſant. At the end of about ſix months, her huſband Ali going one day into her apartment, beheld her employed in kneading dough, for bread, mixing up a compoſition for her children's hair, and making preparation for waſhing their garments. Ali, aſtoniſhed at the novelty of the ſcene, addreſſed her, "O! worthy "to be ſerved by men and angels! "O! ſole daughter of the prophet, "and laſt of apoſtolic women! O! "mother of the two martyrs! ne"ver yet have I beheld your atten"tion engaged by two employ"ments at a time, and now I ſee "it taken up with three.—What "myſtery does this conceal?"—The holy Fatima, (her eyes bathed in tears) replied, "O! prince, diſ"tinguiſhed in the plain of La "Futtah *, and ſurnamed of the "Almighty, the Lion of God! O! "bud of the garden, and line of "Abu Taleb! the happineſs of "our union draws to a cloſe; the "hour of ſeparation is arrived, and "the period of abſence is about to "commence.—Laſt night I dreamt "I beheld my father, ſtanding on "an eminence, and looking round "as if in expectation of ſome one's "approach. I called out, 'Whence "are you, O my parent! my heart "is afflicted, and my body waſted "with anguiſh, on your account.' "He replied, 'I am now come for "you; the time is arrived, in which "you muſt wean your affections "from the fleſh, and break the "bonds of your earthly habitation;

* Alluding to the ſentence of "La Futtah illa Ali, la Seyf illa Zulfecar." "There is no heroism but Ali's; there is no ſword but Zulfecar:" which the ſect of Sheias alledge to have been pronounced by God. Zulfecar was the name of Ali's ſword.

" in which you muſt remove your " tents from the ſtraits of earth, to " the world of heaven; make haſte, " for I cannot depart without you :' " I replied, ' O my father, this " event is my wiſh, the conſumma- " tion of which I have conſtantly " ſighed for.' ' Uſe no delay, " then,' he repeated again, ' for " to-morrow night you muſt ac- " company your parent.'—I here " awoke, with my heart entirely " abſorbed by the deſire of the " world to come, and am certain, " that the cloſe of this day, or to- " morrow evening, will be the pe- " riod of my diſſolution; I am there- " fore making bread to-day, as " grief on my account may render " you incapable of doing it to- " morrow, and my children in con- " ſequence may hunger in vain; I " waſh their garments now, know- " ing not who will attend to the " wants of my orphans hereafter; " and I am preparing to clean their " hair at this time, ignorant whom " they will have to clean it when " I am gone."—Thus, Fatima was anxious to keep their hair from being polluted by common dirt; had ſhe beheld what afterwards happened, their graceful ringlets defiled with duſt, and their enchanting countenances ſtained with blood; how would ſhe have ſupported the heart-rending ſight!

When Ali had heard her to a concluſion, the tears running down his cheeks, he replied, " O! my be- " loved, hardly yet have I recover- " ed from one wound, when lo! " another is inflicted on me; and " to the death of your father, is the " loſs of you now to be added." Fatima deſired him to be comforted under both, and not to leave her, as the moments of her life were numbered, and their next meeting would be in the world of eternity. She put the garments of her children in water, and bedewed their heads with the fondeſt tears of maternal love; " Would to heaven!" ſhe exclaimed, " I were ignorant of the cruel " fate which awaits them; and of " the extent to which it will be " carried! Go," ſhe continued, " my children, to the burial ground " of Buckea; and employ your " prayers to heaven, in behalf of " your mother."

When they were gone, ſhe extended herſelf on the bed, and deſired Ali to ſit down by her: ſhe called for Aſmah, the daughter of Awmiſe; and deſired dinner might be ready by the time her ſons would return, and ſerved up to them in another apartment; that they might eſcape the miſery of ſeeing her in her laſt agonies. Aſmah did as ſhe had been directed, and on their return brought up dinner. The princes, in aſtoniſhment, demanded, if ever ſhe had ſeen them ſit down without their mother, and wherefore ſhe ſuppoſed they would do it now; Aſmah ſaid, her miſtreſs being indiſpoſed, they had better not wait for her; but they replied, that without their mother's company, no refreſhment could be palatable to them, and went ſtrait towards her apartment.

On ſeeing them approach, Fatima deſired Ali to ſend them away again, to the tomb of her father, that they might humble themſelves before God; while ſhe endeavoured to repoſe herſelf. When they were gone, ſhe deſired Ali to take her head to his boſom, for her life now ebbed faſt. Ali replied, he had neither heart nor reſolution to behold her in ſuch a ſituation; or to attend to language ſo affecting,

" O! Ali!" ſhe anſwered, " the " road which I am going, is a road " which all muſt travel; and the " fullneſs of my grief is ſuch, as " muſt, of neceſſity, be allowed ut- " terance. Be patient, then, and " imbibe the bitter draught of " my diſſolution." Ali took her to his boſom; when, in the affliction with which he was overwhelmed, a tear dropped on her cheek: ſhe opened her eyes, and ſeeing the violence of his grief, obſerved, that the preſent was rather a ſeaſon for teſtamentary duties, than unavailing ſorrow. " O! firſt of women!" he quickly replied, " reveal your " will." " I have four requeſts," continued Fatima: " Firſt, If I " have miſbehaved myſelf towards " you, or ever given you uneaſineſs, " that you forgive me." He anſwered, " God forbid! during the " time we have lived together, nei- " ther in word nor in act, have you " done aught to give my heart a " pang: you have been my perpe- " tual ſolace; not my ſorrow; my " comforter in affliction; not the " diſturber of my repoſe. In you, " I have found the faithful miſ- " treſs; not the imperious tyrant; " poſſeſſed of the ſweetneſs and " ſoftneſs of the roſe; not the " ſharpneſs and annoyance of the " thorn." " Secondly, Let my " children," ſhe continued, " be " dear to you; forſake not thoſe " who poſſeſs ſo tender a place in " my heart; withdraw not from " their heads your foſtering hand; " and, ſhould the forwardneſs of " youth ever break out in them, " let it obtain your forgiveneſs. " Thirdly, Let me be conveyed to " my grave by night; that as in " life, my perſon has been ſecluded " from the eyes of men, ſo, in death, " my bier may be ſacred from their " view. Fourthly, Neglect not to " frequent the tomb of her, to " whom you have been ſo dear; " and whoſe faithful and affection- " ate companion you have been. " Now, alas! the connexion muſt, " of neceſſity, be diſſolved." Ali promiſed a faithful obſervance of her requeſts; and propoſed others on his part: Firſt, That if he had been ever wanting in his attention to her, ſhe would forgive him. Secondly, When ſhe beheld her father, that ſhe would preſent the ſalutation of one who continued to feel and deplore his loſs. Thirdly, that ſhe would not, for any part of his conduct towards her, complain of him to the prophet. Fatima anſwered, " God is my witneſs, that during " the time we have lived together, " I have not experienced from you " a word or a deed, that can be " complained of: on the contrary, " your conduct towards me has been " full of manlineſs, liberality and " kindneſs; engaging words, and " laudable actions."

While they were engaged in this affecting diſcourſe, a noiſe of lamentation and complaint ſuddenly aſſailed them, from without; and in a voice interrupted by ſobs, admittance was ſoon after ſolicited by Hoſſen and Hoſſain, that they might take a laſt farewell of their parent. Ali opened the door, and taking them affectionately in his arms, aſked by what means they had diſcovered their mother's approaching end. They replied, " On arriving " at the mauſoleum of our grand- " father, we heard a voice ſaying, " ' Behold! the orphans of Fatima " are arrived!' which was followed " by another, ſaying, ' Behold! " the interceſſors of the day of

" judgment are arrived!' and then " a third, which reſembled the " voice of the prophet; ſaying, " 'Lo! the darlings of my heart " are here!' When we entered the " mauſoleum, and had performed " our devotions, we heard a voice " proceed from the tomb, ſaying, " 'Return, my children, that you " may behold your mother, to meet " whom I am come here, for the " laſt time.'" With this they ruſhed on, and beheld Fatima, with her head reclined on the pillow; they fell at her feet, beſeeching her to open her eyes, and bleſs her orphans with a laſt look. Fatima, arouſed, took them to her boſom, ſaying, " O! my beloved ſons! God knows " what is to happen to you, after I " am gone; and to what extent " the tyranny of your enemies will " be exerciſed againſt you!" She then called for her daughters, and delivered them to Hoſſen and Hoſſain; earneſtly and repeatedly recommending them all to the protection of Ali.

When her huſband and children had left her, Fatima deſired Aſmah to prepare water for her ablutions; which ſhe went through with a minute attention to the precepts and ceremonies of her religion, in a manner that is ſeldom done; after which, ſhe directed her couch to be ſpread, and threw herſelf on it: ſhe then ſpoke to her ſervant of a certain unction made from the camphire of Paradiſe, and given to her father by the angel Gabriel, for the purpoſe of his body being anointed with it after his deceaſe, which he had divided into three parts; one part for himſelf, one for Ali, and one for her: the latter ſhe deſired might be brought: when it was produced, ſhe bade Aſmah apply it, after her death, to the uſe for which it was deſigned. She now deſired to be left alone; as ſhe wiſhed to commune with her God. Aſmah has related, that about half an hour after ſhe had quitted her miſtreſs, ſhe heard her weeping aloud, which induced her to go in, when ſhe obſerved Fatima engaged in the moſt pious and fervent devotion; invoking the Almighty, by the honour of her father, and his deſire again to behold her; by the miſery which preyed on the heart of Ali, at the proſpect of her diſſolution; by the grief of her ſons, and diſtraction of her daughters; to have mercy on her father's diſciples, and to pardon the ſins of the ungodly. At this Aſmah could not ſuppreſs her ſobs, which attracting the notice of Fatima, ſhe demanded if ſhe had not deſired to be left alone, and be called to in a ſhort time; that if no anſwer was returned, it might be known ſhe had departed to the boſom of her father. On this, Aſmah again retired, and ſoon after calling, no anſwer was returned; when, entering, the apartment, and drawing the veil from her miſtreſs's face, ſhe ſaw that ſhe was no more. " From God we are, " and to God we muſt return."

Eſſay on Ridicule, Wit, *and* Humour. *By* William Preſton, *Eſq. M.R.I.A. In Two Parts.—From* Tranſactions *of the* Royal Iriſh Academy.

Part the Firſt.

" RIDICULE is that branch of the *fine* or *mimetic* arts which profeſſes to excite the emotion of *mirth*. It is ſeen more ſtriking

ing and forcible in poetry and painting, where the imitations of nature are more general, as well as more apt and pointed; but even muſic is capable of it in a certain degree, as for example, by a burleſque or ſort of parody on ſome grave compoſition, by an imitation of odd and unſeemly noiſes, or by ſtrains expreſſive of whimſical and groteſque emotions and ſituations. *Ridicule* excites *mirth* by the RIDICULOUS; that is to ſay, by an exhibition of defects and blemiſhes of the lighter kind, which neither imply a ſenſe of pain and miſery in the object or ſubſtratum to which they belong, nor contain any thing noxious or alarming to external beings. Should the blemiſh or defect be in any vital attribute or quality, either eſſential to the health and well-being of the ſubject, or requiſite to the due performance of its duty and functions for the common good, mirth will not be the conſequence; the gay contempt will be checked either by a ſenſe of the pain or inconvenience which the defect or blemiſh in queſtion muſt cauſe to the ſubject before us, or the alarming conſequences which may redound from it to ſociety; and our feelings, inſtead of mirth, will be ſomething far different; ſorrow and pity in the one caſe; terror, diſguſt, indignation or hatred in the other.

The foregoing definitions of RIDICULE and the RIDICULOUS take in mental as well as corporeal objects, and are literally borrowed from the great philoſophical critic of Greece —"Το γαρ γελοιον (ſays *Ariſtotle*) "ἐστιν Ἁμαρτημα τι και αἰσχος ἀνω-"δυνον και ἀ φθαρτικον οἱον ευθυς το "γελοιον προσωπον αἰσχρον τι και δι-"εστραμμενον ανευ Ὀδυνης." And *ridicule*, according to him, conſiſts in the repreſenting (το φαυλοτερον αλλ' ὁ μενοι καλα πασαν κακιαν) the foibles and lighter vices of the mind, and ſlight corporeal blemiſhes and defects. Theſe are what Mr. Hobbes diſtinguiſhes by the name of infirmities.

The peculiar emotion excited by ridicule, independent of the pleaſure reſulting from the truth of the imitation, is called MIRTH; a ſenſation which has been improperly confounded with *laughter* by ſome writers who have profeſſed to treat this ſubject, particularly by Mr. *Hutcheſon*, the moral philoſopher, and a Dr. *Campbell*, in a book which bears the impoſing title of *Philoſophy of Rhetoric*. *Laughter* is a mere corporeal involuntary affection, like crying, coughing or ſneezing; it is defined by ſome writer that I have ſeen to be a ſucceſſion of naſcent or imperfect ſhrieks *; it ſometimes indicates an emotion of the mind, but often proceeds from cauſes purely mechanical and external, like any other convulſion; tickling, for inſtance, or the ſight of violent laughter in others, will produce it; in hyſterical patients it is a mere diſeaſe, equally ſo with the *cynic ſpaſm* or the *dance of St. Vitus*.

To define the nature of *mirth*, in other words, to explain the cauſe of that pleaſure which we derive from *ridicule*, we muſt recur to the theory of Hobbes, which is conformable to the definition of Ariſtotle, and will on examination appear to be founded in nature. Mirth (ſays the philoſopher of *Malmſbury*) ariſes

* As well as I can recollect, by Dr. *Hayley*, a profound writer on metaphyſics, from whom the ingenious Dr. *Prieſtley* has taken many valuable hints.

from a ſudden conception of ſome eminency in ourſelves, by compariſon with our own infirmity formerly, or that of others. Here we muſt obſerve the force of the expreſſion *ſudden conception*, which implies that the whole pleaſure of the mirthful ſenſation does not proceed from conſcious triumph, any more than it does from the truth of the repreſentation: part is to be attributed to the odd and unforeſeen ſituation or conduct of the ridiculous thing or agent; thus we find, by experience, that our mirth is anticipated and deſtroyed by any thing which checks or prevents the ſurpriſe of this ſudden conception; for example, when the perſon, who means to be facetious, prefaces his obſervation or his tale with the promiſe of a good jeſt or a laughable ſtory, whereby we are prepared for ſomething ludicrous, and loſe the pleaſure of the ſurprize.

As to that part of Hobbes's theory, which makes the triumph ariſing from compariſon a principal efficient cauſe of the pleaſure attending on ridicule, I think we need only recur to our own experience for a confirmation of its truth. Why do not men chuſe to be laughed at? Certainly becauſe it indicates that they are objects of contempt. How happens it that a ſportive word is more ſeverely felt, and excites more laſting reſentment, than the keeneſt reproaches? Why do we hold it indecorous and profligate to laugh at our parents, benefactors and ſeniors? Why is it held impious and profane to laugh at things divine and holy? Why do public ſpeakers and controverſial writers endeavour to turn the laugh againſt their opponents? Why is ridicule ſo powerful an engine of debate, even while it diſclaims an appeal to ſober argument? Surely becauſe the very eſſence of mirth is a latent contempt, and there is a ſort of general intuitive perception that ridicule degrades and vilifies its object. Hence it is, that a perſon who laughs at his own foibles and defects is thought to ſhow an extraordinary effort of good ſenſe and good humour, inaſmuch as, by ſo doing, he makes a painful ſacrifice of ſelfiſh feelings. We ſee too, that many people can jeſt freely on their own infirmities, who will not bear the leaſt degree of raillery on that head from others; undoubtedly this proceeds from a feeling that ridicule implies contempt. When people laugh at themſelves, the ſelf-humiliation is more than counterbalanced by the ſelf-applauſe; and, inſtead of ſinking, they riſe in the opinion of the world, by a frank confeſſion, which at once ſhows fortitude and good ſenſe, and diſarms envy by a confeſſion of weakneſs. The fact is, that people never do laugh at themſelves except from ſome political motive; either to acquire the character of good-humour, to ingratiate themſelves with thoſe whom it is their intereſt to pleaſe, or to diſarm the ridicule of others by anticipation. But ſtill (which is all that is neceſſary to my argument) whether a man laughs at himſelf or his neighbour, whether the ſubject of his ridicule are his own paſt infirmities or the preſent infirmities of others, contempt is the baſis of his mirth.

To illuſtrate what has been ſaid by a few examples:—Impotence and decrepitude, conſidered merely as ſuch, do not excite mirth, but compaſſion; yet ſhould we find the impotent cripple boaſting of his agility, and attempting to mix in the dance; or ſee age and deformity plaiſtered over with lace, and affecting

ing the gallant; this attempt at ſome character or atchievement, to which the perſonage is ſo notoriouſly inadequate, impreſſes us with a ſtrong ſenſe of his inferiority, the emotion of contempt is excited, and mirth is produced, unqualified by compaſſion for infirmities, of which the ſufferer himſelf ſeems ſo little conſcious. An odd and groteſque countenance, a whimſical and outré configuration of body, uncommon grimaces and diſtortions of the features and limbs, provided they are unattended with pain, may excite laughter; while the convulſions of pain, the deformity of ſickneſs or of ſorrow, affect us only with terror and pity. The abſurdity and incoherence of a drunken man excite laughter, for they move contempt; the ravings of a maniac fill us with melancholy and horror. Want and beggary do not of themſelves excite mirth; but ſhould we ſee a beggar with velvet, or lace, or embroidery mixed among his rags, that incongruous union of finery and wretchedneſs would provoke our laughter. And theſe inſtances may ſerve to ſhow, that they are only the lighter defects or blemiſhes, unaccompanied by pain or miſery on the one hand, or virulence and danger on the other, that are the proper ſubjects of mirth. And to convince us that contempt, a certain ſelf-triumph of the mind, is a principal ſource of the pleaſure which we derive from mirth, let us recollect that there muſt, to conſtitute ridicule, be ſome competition, as well as inferiority; a reſemblance and a contraſt in the objects compared. The oyſter, or the earthworm, the poor beetle which we tread upon, are vaſtly inferior to man; yet that inferiority does not produce contempt, becauſe theſe creatures never imitate us, and are as perfect in their kind as imperial man in his. Some approximation, ſome reſemblance there muſt be; ſo that not every animal is a ſubject of mirth, but thoſe only which imitate human nature, whether that imitation be near or remote; ſuch are dogs, monkies, kittens, parrots, magpies, jays, and ſome others. Song birds and exotic animals may be kept for the purpoſes of luxury in our cages and menageries, and afford pleaſure by the melody of their notes, the beauty of their forms, or their rarity; ſome animals, inſtead of pleaſure or mirth, produce, by their appearance, only terror, diſguſt or pity; every one of thoſe creatures, which are capable or exciting mirth, are capable alſo, in a certain degree, of imitating ſome action of man. The monkey confeſſedly reſembles the human ſpecies at all points; the cat uſes her fore paws like hands, and for that purpoſe nature hath provided her with *clavicles*; the dog and the bear may be taught to walk upright on two legs like man; the jay, the parrot and the magpie have the power of forming articulate ſounds. Nor is our mirth excited indiſcriminately by thoſe creatures; it is in thoſe moments only, when they attempt to imitate human actions, that they become objects of laughter.

If it ſhould be enquired why mirth is often excited by the repreſentation of things, which in their actual exiſtence would, perhaps, move compaſſion, perhaps conciliate approbation and eſteem; ſuch are many of thoſe paintings called converſation pieces; ſuch are poems like Shenſtone's School-miſtreſs, and many ſcenes in comedies and novels which profeſs to exhibit pictures of

real life; nor is it difficult to explain this matter. In the first place, though the representation follows nature, it is nature distorted, and her distorted features are more condensed and accumulated together than they commonly exist in real life; but supposing those features to be exactly copied, without the adding of any thing, still there is a riant and grotesque colouring diffused through the picture, by the skill of the artist; while, in real life, the rude and vulgar manners, the odd and grotesque incidents, may be combined with such collateral circumstances, as may excite emotions widely differing from contempt and triumph, and which predominate over them; for instance, the ideas of rural innocence and honest industry, that arise from seeing the family of a peasant at their labours, will conciliate our esteem, and the appearance of poverty and wretchedness will move our compassion; besides, the recollection that the picture before us is but a fiction, prevents our having such strong feelings of esteem or compassion as if we contemplate the reality.

To proceed to the infirmities and defects of the mind, they are mild infirmities, and moderated defects only, that are fit subjects of ridicule. Infirmity and vice, not flagitious guilt, are the proper food of mirth; Aristotle expresses it το φαυλον αλλ' ὐ καλα πασαν κακιαν. The representation of cowardice, affectation, avarice or vanity may be ridiculous; it may afford a triumph by comparison, unallayed by any feeling or apprehension of serious evil to any body; but cruelty, ingratitude, perfidy, and the whole black catalogue of gigantic crimes and flagrant passions, that rend asunder the social ties, and heap the measure of human calamity, these, far from exciting laughter, raise in us emotions of abhorrence, indignation or fear. In the occurrences of real life a slight mischance or blunder, even of our best friend, will raise a smile; but a more signal misfortune or fatal error, even of an enemy, will move our compassion. The fact is, that mirth, though a very prompt and lively emotion, yet not being so very necessary to our existence and the preservation of society as many others, gives no very deep tincture to the mind, but mildly disperses itself, and vanishes before such as are of more general and important use, and of course armed with stronger powers of embracing and possessing the human spirit.

Part the Second.

Having considered the nature of ridicule, and traced out the sources of the pleasure which attends it, let me, for a moment, advert to the corporeal external expression of that pleasure, I mean *laughter*, and endeavour to investigate its physical cause, so far as it is an expression of *mirth*, or a *corporeal movement* indicating *pleasure*. I speak with this reservation, because, as I have already in some measure hinted, *laughter* is not always expressive of *mirth*, no, nor even of a pleasurable sensation; *laughter*, when produced by tickling, is expressive of *pain*; in choleric persons it is expressive of *anger*.

Mr. Burke, in his Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, takes occasion to consider the mechanical or physical cause of *pleasure* in general. He

He is of opinion that it is produced by a certain relaxation of the frame, and reasons very ingeniously in support of this theory from the nature and constitution of those objects that communicate pleasure. "Beauty (says this ingenious writer) acts, by relaxing the solids "of the whole system. There are "all the appearances of such a re-"laxation; a relaxation somewhat "below the natural tone seems to "me to be the cause of all positive "pleasure*."

Now, to apply this principle to the *physical cause*, or *animal mechanism* of *laughter*. The slight blemishes, imperfections or mischances, the small deviations from order, symmetry and decorum, that are the subjects of *ridicule*, and excite *pleasure* through the medium of *contempt*, resting in qualities, actions or things in themselves *light* and *trivial* (they could not else be the objects of *contempt*) have small *momentum*, either with respect to *individual preservation* or *social happiness*, and of course excite no very violent *emotion* of the *mind*: While the stronger passions, love, fear and anger, wake, and range abroad, to guard the existence of man, to continue his species, or connect him in leagues of civil union; the lighter feelings, like mirth for instance, enliven and embellish familiar intercourse with sportive charms and fugitive graces; or polish and correct it with minute decencies and mutual observances. Where the mind is but slightly affected, no great degree of *relaxation* is induced. The due secretion of the humours is but little disturbed, and no very violent access of *animal spirits* is thrown on the breast, far less than is requisite to produce the sense of weight, that feeling bordering on pain, which accompanies our enjoyments of a more exquisite degree. The pleasure attending *mirth* being, comparatively speaking, faint, the relaxation of the nerves must consequently be inconsiderable. The due secretion of the humours is but little interrupted; the access of animal spirits to the breast is trifling; barely sufficient, not to overwhelm, but stimulate the nerves; and, by a certain mild irritation, to produce that agreeable convulsion called *laughter*. That *irritation* is the immediate cause of *laughter* is evident, from involuntary laughter being produced by *tickling*, which can only operate by irritating the nerves. That the *irritation*, in the case of *mirth*, proceeds from an extraordinary afflux of humours may be inferred from this, that violent and long continued *laughter* is always attended by an evacuation of humours in the form of *tears*. That the emotion of the mind, of which *laughter* is an expression, does actually produce some *relaxation* of the frame, and that the nerves are indeed *irritated*, may fairly be collected from our experience, that involuntary *laughter* is incident to hysterical patients, in whom the nerves being weak and irritable, an uneven and interrupted secretion is produced by their weakness, and perpetually assails their irritability. That *laughter*, when expressive of *pleasure*, expresses but a *pleasure* of a faint and subordinate kind, is manifest from its taking place so early in young children. It is observable

* Essay on Sublime, p. 163, § on the physical cause of love.

that

that infants not many days born laugh; they even laugh in their ſleep long before they are ſuſceptible of mirth or ſorrow, even before they begin to ſhed tears. In that early ſtage, before the nerves have gained their tone, or the organs learned their uſe; before the creature pays any attention to external things, laughter ſeems to be its uniform, indeed its only expreſſion of pleaſure or delight, from whatever cauſe. That pleaſure muſt be merely animal, and if we conſider the dulneſs and imperfection of the child's perceptions, we may well ſuppoſe it to be of a very faint and ſubordinate kind, perhaps produced by ſome external cauſe, that mildly irritates, and ſtimulates his nerves.

I proceed now to trace out the ſources of the ridiculous; and I think all its objects, various as they ſeem to be at firſt glance, may be found in one or other of the following claſſes:

Firſt. Thoſe actions and geſtures of the brute creation, which imitate the actions and geſtures of man. Here the reſemblance leads to a compariſon with ourſelves, the compariſon produces a ſenſe of comparative ſuperiority, that ſenſe of ſuperiority a triumph, and that triumph is expreſſed by laughter. Theſe imperfect and groteſque imitations, by the brute creation, are a ſort of practical *caricatures* of human actions; or, as Mr. Addiſon very juſtly expreſſes it, the actions of beaſts, which move our laughter, bear a reſemblance to a human blunder. This ſource of the *ridiculous* is but ſcanty, and the pleaſure derived from it of a ſubordinate degree. The inferior creatures that imitate man are not numerous; and the human actions, which they are competent to mimic, are but few. The reſemblance is generally remote, often rather fanciful than real; and, as the diſtance is ſo wide, and the inferiority ſo palpable, the comparative triumph, and the pleaſure reſulting from it, will be proportionably ſmall.

Secondly. Slight corporeal blemiſhes and defects are the next ſource of the *ridiculous*, to which we are led by an eaſy tranſition from the former; Cicero himſelf tells us—*eſt etiam deformitatis & corporis vitiorum ſatis bella materies ad jocandum*; but this muſt be taken with the reſtriction I have already mentioned, that the defects and blemiſhes muſt not prevent the perſon from enjoying the pleaſures, or performing the functions of life. They muſt not include the ſuppoſition of cauſing pain; they muſt not be ghaſtly or offenſive to the ſight; for in ſuch caſes they would cauſe in us not mirth, but pity, diſguſt, or averſion*. To this claſs we may refer *caricatures*, and other burleſque paintings, and many dramatic characters where much of the pleaſantry is drawn from the corporeal peculiarities of the perſonage introduced; as, for inſtance, the Falſtaff and Bardolph of Shakeſpear, the Corbacchio of Ben Jonſon.

Thirdly. Unforeſeen diſaſters or miſchances, which are no way tragical, nor of a ſerious nature; as,

* I know not whether I ſhould refer to this or the foregoing head, that mirth which ariſes from tracing out ſome reſemblance to the brute creation in the form and lineaments of man; and from ſeeing or hearing human creatures imitate the motions, noiſes, and other actions of brutes.

for

for inſtance, ſhould a beau dreſt out for an aſſembly fall in the dirt, or a blaſt of wind hurry away a fine lady's cap and artificial treſſes: here the accident excites our triumph, by a miſchance from which we are exempt; and there is no collateral affecting circumſtance to call in the graver emotions of humanity, and check the riſing contempt. Under this head we may include practical jokes, a never-failing ſource of merriment among the vulgar; ludicrous paintings, like the *Enraged Muſician*, *Hints for bad Horſemen*, and other productions of *Hogarth**, and his ſchool; and moſt of the laughable ſituations and comic incidents in dramatic and other humorous writings.

Fourthly. The laſt and principal ſource of the ridiculous, is an incongruity or inconſiſtency in the words and actions, and as far as they can be traced or are notified to us, in the thoughts of men. This fund of ridicule is by far the moſt copious, from the infinite diverſity of objects which it comprehends; and it excites a ſpecies of mirth more refined and pointed, becauſe the triumph being over man himſelf, in ſomething peculiar to him as ſuch, is more full and complete than that over the brute creation, or man with reſpect to external accidents; and in this we recognize the admirable contrivance of Providence. For this is the branch of ridicule which has the moſt important influence on the conduct of life and manners, and therefore it is deſtined to affect us the moſt forcibly. This laſt ſource of the ridiculous may be ſubdivided into ſeveral members. I do not propoſe the following diſtribution as ſtrictly logical and ſcientific, but it may ſerve well enough to explain the ſubject.

Firſt. Incongruity between the words, actions, or ſentiments of a perſon, and his phyſical ſituation; that is to ſay, his corporeal accidents of youth, age, beauty, deformity, ſtrength, weakneſs, ſickneſs, health. When a very young man, for inſtance, talks in a ſtyle of dogmatical gravity; when an old decrepid wretch conceals his years, and boaſts of his youth and vigour; when a ſtrong Herculean fellow aſſumes the dreſs of a petit-maitre, and affects to liſp and amble; or ſome diminutive and feminine form would, with the military garb, put on the menacing brow and martial ſtride; all theſe abortive attempts to aſſume a quality which the perſon does not poſſeſs, are as fair ſubjects of laughter as a monkey when he imperfectly mimics the actions of man. The incongruity ſtriking us excites the idea of relative imperfection; the ſenſe of our own ſuperiority, in this inſtance, produces an inward triumph, and this triumph is expreſſed by laughter.

But here it may be objected, and I ſhall once for all anſwer the objection, that laughter is ſometimes produced where no idea of relative inferiority is impreſſed, no triumph excited. In ſupport of this objection we are referred to the inſtances of witty drolls, and facetious perſons, who, though capable of acting with the utmoſt decorum and accuracy, fall into voluntary blunders and ſtudied ſoleciſms, merely to entertain their companions; and of

* I cannot mention the name of that excellent ſatiriſt and moral painter without expreſſing my admiration of his ſkill in depicting life and manners.

performers

performers on the ſtage, who repreſent clowns, and other low and abſurd characters. To this I reply, that both the jeſter and the player exhibit to us a fictitious character; we laugh rather with them than at them; not at what they really are, but at what they would ſeem to be; the firſt emotion excited by blunders and improprieties is contempt: this is the impreſſion of the moment; it is not until afterwards, and on reflection, that we perceive the imperfection or abſurdity to be merely affected, and that the jeſter plays the fool or the blunderer for his own and our amuſement. We are moved to laughter in preciſely the ſame manner by the real blunders and *groſſiérté* of a country bumpkin, and by the repreſentation of a ſkilful actor, who exhibits ſuch a character on the ſtage; in the firſt feelings there is no difference whatſoever, but this is the illuſion of the drama; in the ſequel, and on reflection, we deſpiſe the abſurdity and ignorance of the clown, and admire the ſkill and addreſs of the player. So that the whole argument turns on the overlooking a circumſtance very obvious to be ſeen, namely, that affected imperfection or incongruity excites only a tranſient and momentary contempt, whereas a ſimilar emotion of a permanent duration is excited by that which is real. In ſhort, whether we laugh or weep at the drama, our emotion is excited, not by the real, but aſſumed perſon and character of the actor before us; and the affected blunderer in company is, in that inſtance, an actor; and on the ſame principles we may explain the effects of *irony*. Where a perſon ſeems to poſſeſs an opinion, or aſſert a fact the very contrary of what he means to eſtabliſh; this is a ſort of intellectual acting, or playing a feigned character. We diſtinguiſh in a moment between the real and effectual aſſertion or opinion of the perſon.

Secondly. *Incongruity* between the manner of ſpeaking, acting, and thinking, and the civil or political ſituation of the perſon; a departure from the decorums of character and propriety of acting conformable to rank and ſtation; as if a grave perſonage, a ſtateſman, or philoſopher, ſhould be diſcovered riding on a hobby-horſe; or a great monarch be ſurprized at the unkingly paſtime of playing taw, or catching flies. Yet even ſuch mean and ridiculous actions as theſe (which confirms the preceding theory) may be qualified and ennobled by collateral circumſtances. Socrates was not aſhamed to be caught in ſome ſuch ſituation; nor would it degrade even a monarch, in the eye of wiſdom, ſhould he be found, in a moment of paternal tenderneſs, playing at taw among his children.

Under the foregoing head we may include ſuch characters as the Parſon Trulliber of Fielding, the ambitious cobler mentioned in the Spectator, who contrived to gratify his pride by framing the figure of a beau in wood, who kneeled before him in a ſuppliant poſture; female pedants, and ſmall politicians. From this fund of the ridiculous are derived the *mock heroic* or *parody*, and the low burleſque. The *mock heroic* repreſents mean agents, and low characters ſpeaking the language which common uſe has appropriated to the auguſt and exalted; *parody* applies the very identical expreſſions which had been employed on ſome great and ſolemn occaſion, and by an exalted and dignified perſonage,

to

to ſome vulgar and little incident. The low burleſque, on the contrary, repreſents exalted perſonages engaged in mean purſuits (as, for inſtance, Dido building an *houſe of caſe*) and uſing the dialect of the rabble. It is remarkable that theſe two ſpecies of compoſition, although they ſeem to differ ſo widely in their genius, produce their effect, *laughter*, by the very ſame ſort of incongruity.

Thirdly. A departure from the manners, language, and cuſtoms of the age and country, or even of our own peculiar claſs in life, profeſſion, or province. The rude and vulgar every where are diſpoſed to laugh at the peculiar habits and cuſtoms of foreigners; and even the polite and liberal, who have learned from an extenſive commerce with the world the precept of Horace, *nil admirari*, could ſcarce reſtrain their mirth were they to ſee a modern Engliſhman dreſt in the ruff of Queen Elizabeth's day, and hear him talk in the dialect of Spenſer, with his antiquated words, *eftſoons*, *yclept* and *whilome*. Every nation has that degree of predilection for its own cuſtoms and manners, that it ſuppoſes a departure or variance from them to be an inſtance of inferiority, and to ſhow a want of refinement or of underſtanding. The difference of garb is found to have a ſtriking effect on the human mind; even in the ſame country and nation, the reſpect which individuals pay to each other is, in ſome degree, regulated by an attention to dreſs; the mutual contempt and antipathy which ſometimes ſubſiſt between nation and nation, are very much ſupported and kept alive by the difference of habiliment. Under this head we may claſs the travelled coxcomb and fop who affects to renounce the garb, language, and manners of his own country; and ſcenes of low humour, that turn on national peculiarities and prejudices; or profeſſional modes of thinking or ſpeaking, as the characters of Frenchmen, Teagues, ſailors, lawyers, ſo frequent in comedy; and on this principle it is that the ſimple repreſentation of humble life ſometimes excites mirth.

Fourthly. A diſparity between paſſions and their objects, between means and their ends, which ſtand forth in human life, and excite contempt under the denomination and form of foibles and abſurd opinions. It were endleſs to adduce examples of theſe, they are multiform and various as the purſuits and actions of man; ſuffice it to ſay, that every paſſion, when carried to exceſs, impreſſes us with the idea of incongruity, and conſequently of relative imperfection; and ſo does every palpable diſproportion between the end and the means, on which ſide ſoever the deficiency or inferiority falls, and will excite laughter by contempt; provided, however, that there is nothing of ſerious affliction to the agent himſelf, or ſerious damage or danger to other perſons, which may call forth emotions of a more vigorous character and a deeper hue.

Were I to ſearch for a portrait which at once combines in itſelf, and illuſtrates all the different forms of the ridiculous abovementioned, I ſhould inſtance that of Don Quixote; his words and actions do not accord with his phyſical ſituation, for with his ſingle arm he would rout armies and overthrow giants; nor with his civil and political exiſtence, for he pretends to overthrow empires, diſtribute kingdoms, and confer

confer titles and honours. His dress, his arms, his notions, his phraseology, are not of the country or age in which he lives; his passions, love and honour, for instance, are in excess, and their objects mean and contemptible; the ends he proposes are extravagant, and the means he employs are insufficient; all these form such a tissue of incongruity, unqualified by any tragical circumstance or incident, as is truly comic; and they are heightened by slight corporeal defects, and called out and illustrated in a variety of cross adventures and petty misfortunes.

For the sake of perspicuity I shall rank BLUNDERS IN SPEAKING AND ACTING in a distinct class of the ridiculous, being the fifth, of what I should call the intrinsically ridiculous, or incongruity in the words, actions, or thoughts of men. Yet this is but a bastard class; for it will appear, on examination of every individual circumstance belonging to it, that they may be referred to one or other of those preceding.

Though I have hitherto considered and treated the sources of the *ridiculous*, as if ridicule were something stable and certain, nothing in fact can be more variable and fluctuating in its nature. Things appear ridiculous or not according to the education, course of life, constitution, and temper of the observer, which vary his notions of propriety, perfection, and order, on the one hand, and of indecorum, defect, and incongruity, on the other. Virtue, religion, truth, honour, every thing serious and venerable, have and daily do become subjects of ridicule among certain unhappy classes of men. The vulgar will laugh at many coarse jests and indelicate allusions, while persons of a more happy education and refined taste will be shocked at such mirth, as inhuman and indecent. One man may receive as facetious observations, what would offend his neighbour as daring impieties; but wherever a laugh is produced, it invariably proceeds from the conscious triumph of self-superiority, either real or imaginary.

The variable nature of ridicule may serve to convince us that *ridicule* cannot be the *test* of *truth*; a *test* should be independent and substantive; *ridicule* depends in a great measure on the temper and disposition, the education, endowments, acquisitions, habits, and pursuits of the observer; *truth* is universal and invariable; but were *ridicule* the *test* of *truth*, the same identical propositions would be *true* to one man and *false* to another.

Mr. *Brown*, in his essays on *Shaftsbury*, has laboured, and at some length, to show that *ridicule* cannot be the *test* of *truth*, because it is a mode of *eloquence* tending to affect and agitate the mind; as much a mode of eloquence as the ἐλεεινον, the pitiable or pathetic; and his reasoning is conclusive; but this point may be demonstrated in a few words, and I think with a mathematical strictness. *Ridicule* cannot be the *test* of *truth*, for being a branch or mode of the imitative arts, it presents, as that name imports, a picture of some object, and cannot be the *criterion* of that of which it is only the *representation*. 2dly, The *ridiculous* not only consists in the representation of a picture, but it is a single positive picture; there is no relative view, no collation of two objects; but to the existence of *truth* or *falsehood*, the collation of two objects

objects is neceſſary. 3dly, The perception of *ridicule* is inſtantaneous, the perception of *truth* or *falſehood* is a progreſſive operation of the mind. A propoſition muſt be formed; the ſubject and predicate of this propoſition muſt be compared, and from this compariſon the underſtanding collects their agreement or diſagreement. This progreſſion takes place even in propoſitions called *intuitive*, that is to ſay, where the truth or falſehood is perceived without the intervention of proofs or means. Now, if *ridicule* were the teſt of truth, the perception of the *ridiculous*, and the perception of *falſehood*, would be one and the ſame, and would in every caſe be not *progreſſive* but *inſtantaneous*."

Account of a Viſit paid by Monſ. Savary *to* Iſmael Aga, *a* Turk of *Conſequence in the Iſland of* Candia, *antiently* Crete.—*From* M. Savary's *Letters on* Greece.

To M. L. M.

I AM now going to introduce you, Madam, to one of the moſt amiable Turks in the iſland, nor can I ſuppoſe you will be diſpleaſed with your new acquaintance. Iſmael Aga, one of the wealthieſt land proprietors in Canea*, is a man of about ſeventy years of age, of a majeſtic ſtature, a fine face, and ſtill exhibits in his features the marks of ſtrength and vigour. He has had the command of ſeveral of the Grand Signior's caravelles, and paſſed ſome time at Venice; he has travelled through Egypt, and viſited, according to the religious cuſtom of the Mahometans, the tomb of his Prophet. His travels have entirely diveſted him of that pride, with which ignorance, and the prejudices of their religion, inſpire the Turks, nor does he, like them, deſpiſe ſtrangers; but, on the contrary, takes pleaſure in, and courts their ſociety. Having invited us to ſpend ſome time at his country-houſe, he ſent horſes for us, and ordered his ſons to ſhew us the way. We accordingly ſet out from Canea at eight in the morning, croſſed that beautiful part of the country covered with olive-trees, which extends to the foot of the White Mountains, and having rode through the whole length of the delightful plain of myrtles, arrived about noon at his houſe, ſituated a league beyond it, on the declivity of a hill. Iſmael received us with friendſhip, but without any of thoſe demonſtrations of joy and pleaſure which ceremony laviſhes in other countries. You are welcome, ſaid he, with an air of cool ſatisfaction; and immediately conducted us to the place of entertainment.

The heavens were clear and ſerene, but the atmoſphere was heated by a burning ſun, to which we had been four hours expoſed: nothing could now be ſo deſirable to us as coolneſs; and our wiſhes were amply gratified. The table was ſpread in the garden, under the ſhade of orange trees. Six of theſe beautiful trees, planted in a circle, united their branches, which had never been mutilated by the ſheers, and formed over our heads a roof impenetrable to the rays of the ſun. In the middle of a very hot day,

* The antient Cydon.

we

we enjoyed, in this arbour, which nature had ſo profuſely embelliſhed, a delicious coolneſs. On every ſide, flowers hung in garlands over the gueſts, and formed a crown for each. The brightneſs of their colours, their exquiſite odours, the beauty of the foliage, gently agitated by the zephyr, every thing conſpired to make us imagine ourſelves ſuddenly tranſported to ſome enchanted grove. To complete the whole, a beautiful ſtream, which deſcended from the adjoining hills, paſſed under the table, and contributed to preſerve the pleaſantneſs and coolneſs of our arbour; on each ſide of us we beheld it gliding over a golden ſand, and winding its cryſtal ſtream through the garden, in which a great number of ſmall canals had been dug to convey its waters to the orange, the pomegranate, and almond trees, which repaid the moiſture they received with intereſt, in flowers and fruits.

The table was now ſerved; the Aga had endeavoured to provide for us ſuitable to our taſtes; we were preſented with all the utenſils common in France; and our hoſt himſelf conformed to all our cuſtoms. Knowing that we were uſed to take ſoup, he ſupplied us with a great diſh of roaſt-meats covered with a delicious jelly. Round this were bartavelles almoſt as large as our hens, and with a *fumet* which excited the appetite: there were beſide excellent quails, a tender and delicate lamb, and haſhed-meat dreſſed with rice, and perfectly well ſeaſoned. The wine correſponded with the excellence of the reſt of our entertainment; we were ſerved with *vin de loi* *, malmſey of mount Ida, and a ſort of perfumed red wine, equally agreeable to the ſmell and the taſte. Our good patriarch, wiſhing to imitate his gueſts, and take his glaſs in defiance of the prophet, had ſent away his ſervants, and his children. Laying aſide the Turkiſh gravity, which never condeſcends to ſmile, he chatted with much vivacity, and frequently aſtoniſhed us by the penetration of his underſtanding, the aptneſs of his replies, and the juſtneſs of his ideas. When the diſhes were removed, we were preſented with Moka coffee, and pipes. Do not be too much ſhocked, Madam, the pipes made uſe of here are of jaſmine, and the part applied to the mouth, of amber; their enormous length entirely takes away the pungency of the tobacco, which, in Turkey, however, is mild; and, being mixed with the wood of aloes, produces a vapour neither diſagreeable nor incommodious, as in other countries.

We repoſed ourſelves agreeably under the ſhade, and enjoyed the delicious fragrance of the orange flowers; our hoſt was extremely ſocial, and took the lead in the converſation. No offer was here made to ſhine, by thoſe flaſhes we call wit, to ornament ſplendid nothings in gaudy colours, or to diſſeminate agreeable ſcandal. To attempt this would only have been to loſe time. Iſmael would have underſtood no-

* The wine made by the Jews is called *vin de loi*, or wine of the law, and is little known in France; it is rather bitter, but leaves an agreeable flavour in the mouth, and excites a gentle warmth in the ſtomach.

The malmſey of mount Ida is more unctuous, more agreeable to the palate, and not leſs fragrant.

thing of our jargon. We were obliged to content ourſelves with liſtening to ſolid obſervations, and returning anſwers according to the dictates of reaſon, and found ſenſe. As ſoon as the great heat was over, he called his ſons, and ordered them to attend us on a ſhooting party; we deſcended into a plain where we found plenty of quails, and had the pleaſure of killing many without fatigue. The darkneſs, which now advanced over the hills, brought us back to the houſe; and, as the nights at this ſeaſon are as clear and fine as the days are beautiful, we ſupped in the arbour of orange-trees. Rarely do we enjoy this luxury in France; the night air has always a degree of chilneſs that makes us ſhudder, or a copious dew falls injurious to health. In Crete, during the ſummer, you are not expoſed to theſe inconveniencies, which, though trifling, interrupt the enjoyment of the company. The ſky was without a cloud, the coolneſs agreeable, and the air ſo calm, as ſcarely to diſturb the light of four large wax-tapers, which illumined the foliage in a thouſand different ways, and the varied reflections of which produced lights and ſhades of an admirable effect. Here the leaves ſhone upon, aſſumed a brilliant yellow, and there a deep verdure, while in ſome places the whiteneſs of the flowers ſuſpended in feſtoons, was heightened by a golden ground; further on, the opening of two leaves left a paſſage for the reſpendence of a ſtar, which ſparkled like the diamond. The condenſation of the air had collected the fragrant perfumes of the flowers and ſhrubs, and every ſenſe was delighted. The luminous coruſcations which played upon the foliage, and the contraſt of light and ſhade, which continually varied its form and colours, produced a ſcenery ſo delightful, that this flowery canopy extended over our heads appeared to me more beautiful by night, than amid the ſplendor of day. Perhaps, too, the delicacy of our good cheer, the excellence of the wine, and the novelty of the decorations, might give new vigour to imagination, and that enchantreſs might take a delight in ſtill further embelliſhing ſo voluptuous an abode.

The Turks do not reſerve in their houſes ſeparate apartments for every perſon of the family; the women only have diſtinct chambers; the men ſleep together in ſpacious halls, on matraſſes ſpread on the carpetting, and provided with ſheets and a blanket. Agreeable to this ancient cuſtom, ſtill obſerved by the orientals, we were ſhewn into a large room, round which our beds were placed upon the ground. Only two centuries ago, it was uſual, even in France, for the whole family to paſs the night in the ſame apartment; ſince that time, our manners have undergone a great change; they have infinitely more delicacy and convenience, nay, perhaps decency; but are they more ſocial?

The day had ſcarcely begun to break, when the ſervants came to awaken us; for the Mahometans riſe with the dawn, to repeat the morning prayer, and to enjoy the firſt rays of the ſun, and the delicious coolneſs diffuſed throughout the air. When we came down from our chamber, breakfaſt was waiting for us; we drank moka, ſmoaked the odoriferous tobacco of Latakia, and, accompanied by the ſons of the

Aga, and two game-keepers, made an excurſion to ſhoot partridges. I have only ſeen one ſpecies of that bird in this iſland; the bartavelle, which inhabits the mountains, where it multiplies prodigiouſly; its colours are more lively, and it is much larger than our red partridge, and excellently well taſted: we found innumerable coveys of theſe birds on all the hills. Our morning was fatiguing, but very ſucceſsful. Frequently, after ſtraying over eminences covered with briars, we deſcended into a valley overſpread with myrtles and laurel-roſes. The game retires into ſuch places during the violent heat of the ſun, and we ſprung partridges, quails, and hares, from the midſt of theſe flowery thickets.

On our return to the Aga's, an excellent dinner, the malmſey of mount Ida, and our delightful arbour, made us forget all our fatigues. His women paid us a gallant attention, by the preſent of a large cake made with their own hands; it was compoſed of flour, perfumed honey, freſh almonds, and pounded piſtachio-nuts, mixed with a little roſe-water: this paſtry was very light, and we all allowed it to be excellent.

During the whole time we paſſed at the ſeat of Iſmael Aga, we experienced from him nothing but the utmoſt politeneſs; he made us no great compliments, but he ſtudied our taſtes; and we were ſure of finding on our table the diſhes to which we ſeemed to give a preference. One morning, riſing before my companions, and walking among the neighbouring orchards, I perceived this venerable muſſulman ſtanding near a fountain contiguous to the houſe: he was waſhing his face and hands, and chaunting the firſt chapter of the Koran, that is to ſay, one of the fineſt hymns ever addreſſed by man to the Supreme Being *. He ſeemed entirely abſorbed in the adoration he was paying to his Creator; and I conceived a favourable opinion of a man, who fulfilled, with ſo much dignity, the firſt of all duties.

This Turkiſh nobleman poſſeſſed ſeveral other country-houſes. That to which we were invited he only occupies in the ſpring, for he paſſes the violent heat of the ſummer in a charming retreat, ſituated among the mountains. There, while the ſun ſcorches up the plain, and the whole atmoſphere ſeems on fire, he enjoys a delicious temperature; and beholds the country round him clad in verdure, and covered with flowers and fruits.

Such, Madam, is the life led by the rich Mahometans in Candia: they paſs three-fourths of the year on their eſtates, and repair in winter to the towns, to ſell the ſuperfluity of their produce; the oil, which they make in great quantities, the wax, the wine, and the wool of their flocks, procure them very conſiderable wealth. Content with their poſſeſſions, they aſpire after none of thoſe public employments which might endanger their ſafety, but ſee them, without envy, in the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers. Uncontrolled monarchs on their own eſtates, they command and receive implicit obedience.

* The chapter called *the Introduction*, which ſerves in fact as a preface to the Koran: it breathes that ſublimity, that ancient ſimplicity, which ſeems to be the proper language of man to the Almighty.

Poſſeſſing

Poſſeſſing the handſomeſt women of the iſland *, they bring up their numerous offspring in the reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to the chief of the family. Theſe Mahometans, enjoying without pain, anxiety, or ambition, all the bounties offered them by nature, paſs their days in tranquillity and happineſs, and retain, even in a very advanced age, almoſt unimpaired good health.

I ſhall long remember, Madam, the agreeable hours I ſpent at the country-ſeat of Iſmael Aga; yet I muſt confeſs to you, that, amid the pleaſures I was enjoying, I could not ſuppreſs a feeling of regret for the abſence of the fine arts. To this, however, the Mahometans are inſenſible; but a Frenchman cannot but deplore a want ſo eſſential, in one of the fineſt countries in the world. Were this iſland the country of a poliſhed people, how would it change its appearance! How much more delightful would its gardens become! What delicious ſhades would the hand of an able artiſt there form! How would he diſplay, in brilliant caſcades, thoſe rivulets which ruſh naturally from the hill-tops! How conjoin the ſcarlet of the pomegranate-tree with the white of the orange flower! How would the myrtle and the laurel-roſe then interweave their branches, and their bloſſoms, and the charming lilac vary the beauteous mixture! How would thoſe elegant ſhrubs, diſtributed in clumps, compoſe groves unequalled for the fragrance of their flowers, the variety of their colours, and the diverſified tints of their foliage. Under theſe ſmiling arbours, the poet would feel himſelf inſpired by the Muſes, breathe rapturous ſtrains dictated by the Graces, and chaunt hymns to Love. Amid ſuch wondrous natural beauties, letters would flouriſh as in the days of Anacreon, whoſe brow was perpetually crowned with roſes. Pardon me, Madam, if I thus yield to the pleaſing dreams of my imagination: alas! I fear I ſhall not be able to produce the like in the foggy atmoſphere of the Seine.

I have the honour to be, &c."

* The Turks are not ſcrupulous in their means of obtaining women: when a Greek has a pretty daughter, and has the misfortune to let her go out of the houſe alone, that moment they carry her off, and marry her. They do not force her to renounce her religion, if ſhe appears much attached to it; but all the children are Mahometans. I ſaw at Canea a handſome Greek girl, who had been carried off in this manner from her family. At her huſband's death, ſhe returned to her relations; but her children were muſſulmen, and ſhe was obliged to ſeparate from them.

POETRY.

ODE *on His* MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, *June 4th*, 1789.

By T. WARTON, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

AS when the demon of the ſummer-ſtorm
Walks forth, the noontide landſcape to deform,
Dark grows the vale, and dark the diſtant grove,
And thick the bolts of angry Jove
Athwart the watery welkin glide,
And ſtreams th' aërial torrent far and wide:
If by ſhort fits the ſtruggling ray
Should dart a momentary day,
Th' illumin'd mountain glows awhile,
By faint degrees the radiant glance
Purples th' horizon's pale expanſe,
And gilds the gloom with haſty ſmile:
Ah, fickle ſmile, too ſwiftly paſt!
Again reſounds the ſweeping blaſt;
With hoarſer din the demon howls,
Again the blackening concave ſcowls!
Sudden, the ſhades of the meridian night
Yield to the triumph of rekindling light:
The reddening ſun regains his golden ſway,
And Nature ſtands reveal'd in all her bright array.

II.

Such was the changeful conflict that poſſeſt
With trembling tumult every Britiſh breaſt;
When Albion, towering in the van ſublime
Of Glory's march, from clime to clime
Envied, belov'd, rever'd, renown'd,
Her brows with every bliſsful chaplet bound;
When, in her mid career of ſtate,
She felt her Monarch's aweful fate!—
Till Mercy from th' Almighty throne
Look'd down on man, and, waving wide
Her wreath, that, in the rainbow dyed,
With hues of ſoften'd luſtre ſhone,

And

And bending from her ſapphire cloud,
O'er regal grief benignant bow'd;
To tranſport turn'd a people's fears,
And ſtay'd a people's tide of tears:
Bade this bleſt dawn with beams auſpicious ſpring,
With hope ſerene, with healing in its wing;
And gave a Sovereign o'er a grateful land
Again with vigorous graſp to ſtretch the ſcepter'd hand.

III.

O favour'd King, what rapture more refin'd,
What mightier joy, can fill the human mind,
Than that the Monarch's conſcious boſom feels,
At whoſe dread throne a Nation kneels,
And hails its Father, Friend, and Lord,
To life's career, to patriot ſway, reſtor'd;
And bids the loud reſponſive voice
Of union all around rejoice?
For thus to thee when Britons bow,
Warm and ſpontaneous from the heart,
As late their tears, their tranſports ſtart,
And Nature dictates Duty's vow.
To thee, recall'd to ſacred health,
Did the proud City's laviſh wealth,
Did crowded ſtreets alone diſplay
The long-drawn blaſt, the feſtal ray?
Meek Poverty her ſcanty cottage grac'd,
And flung her gleam acroſs the lonely waſte!
Th' exulting iſle in one wide triumph ſtrove,
One ſocial ſacrifice of reverential love.

IV.

Such pure unprompted praiſe do kingdoms pay,
Such willing zeal, to thrones of lawleſs ſway?
Ah! how unlike the vain, the venal lore
To Latian rulers dealt of yore,
O'er guilty pomp, and hated power,
When ſtream'd the ſparkling panegyrick ſhower;
And ſlaves, to ſovereigns unindear'd,
Their pageant-trophies coldly rear'd!
For are the charities, that blend
Monarch with man, to tyrants known?
The tender ties, that to the throne
A mild domeſtic glory lend?
Of wedded love the league ſincere,
The virtuous conſort's faithful tear!—
Nor this the verſe that Flattery brings,
Nor here I ſtrike a Syren's ſtrings:

Here, kindling with her country's warmth, the Muſe
Her country's proud triumphant theme purſues:
Ev'n needleſs here the tribute of her lay:—
Albion the garland gives—on this diſtinguiſh'd day.

PROLOGUE, *by the* AUTHOR, *to* FALSE APPEARANCES, *a Comedy, altered from the French.*

Spoken by Mr. WROUGHTON.

LAUNCH'D on the boſom of the gentle tide,
With friendly hands its eaſy courſe to guide;
With gilded tackling, and with ſilken ſail,
To catch of kind applauſe the flatt'ring gale;
Say, what ſtrange frenzy in the Poet's brain,
Urg'd his frail bark to tempt the ſtormy main,
(Far from the kindly ſafe protecting ſhore)
Where the winds whiſtle and the tempeſts roar?
With ſuch a cargo too, ſuch motley ſtuff!
For 'tis a ſtrange aſſortment, ſure enough.
Some proſe, ſome verſe, ſome merry, and ſome ſad;
Some good, we hope; and, much I doubt, ſome bad;
Some old, ſome new; ſome Engliſh, ſome from France,
Tho' not their weeping comedy, nor dance.
An Abbé, too! a ſight you've ſeldom ſeen;
A parrot cloath'd in black, inſtead of green;
Half church, half lay, half clerk, half militant!
Tho' in a band, the creature will not cant.
He's light too, not o'ercharg'd with cleric lore;
One good fat parſon would outweigh a ſcore:
He will not therefore ſink us by his weight,
And if he makes you laugh, he pays his freight.
We're all aboveboard—did not mean to ſteal,
But to declare our goods, and fairly deal;
All in the legal way of importation,
Tho' there may be ſome ſmall *adulteration.*
Some merit yet 's our merchant author's plea,
From Gallic chains he ſet his drama free;
Where the ear 's wearied with perpetual rhimes,
Like the dull jingle of their clatt'ring chimes;
Where male and female verſe, with conſtant ſtrife,
Drag one ſad endleſs yoke, like man and wife.
But let our blame be bounded as it ought,
No general cenſure ſuits a ſingle fault.
How often mix'd in the ſame garden grows
The baneful hemlock with the fragrant roſe!
And 'tis here common ſenſe each man relies on,
To chuſe the perfume, and reject the poiſon.

In

In fame and honour long their ſtage has ſhin'd,
Correct in manners, as in taſte refin'd;
We'd not detract an atom from their praiſe,
But add the civic to the Muſe's bays:
And ſhould the Genius of this happy iſle
On Gallia's ſons at length propitious ſmile,
While in each breaſt the patriot ſpirit glows,
We'd hail as brothers whom we've met as foes:
To the ſame point their generous ardour tends,
The friends to freedom muſt be Britain's friends.
And may the Sov'reign Power that rules above,
Unbounded in its wiſdom as its love,
To no one nation, no one ſpot confin'd,
Extend that beſt of bleſſings to mankind!

EPILOGUE, *by Lieutenant General* BURGOYNE,

Spoken by Miſs FARREN,

(A Looking Glaſs hanging from her Wriſt.)

SOLDIERS turn'd Poets!—that's no mighty wonder;
But, 'ſtead of tragic battle, death, and thunder,
Our Bard takes *Falſe Appearances* in hand,
A ſubject he could never underſtand.
Peace, then, to efforts in theſe ſcenes diſplay'd,
I come to try the world in maſquerade;
From every borrow'd dreſs to ſtrip the mind,
And, 'midſt diſtortions, Nature's image find.
This wondrous mirror—look at it with awe—
Is that which Addiſon in viſion ſaw,
When, beaming o'er each ſex in age and youth,
The hand of Juſtice held the glaſs of Truth.
Where it has lain, none knows—by intereſt hid,
In cities dreaded, and in courts forbid;
But, with this wreath of fadeleſs laurel round it,
Dropt in the Muſe's walk, our Poet found it.
Ye party tribes bleſt with ſo many faces,
Ye know not which to chuſe in certain caſes;
Or ye with *one*, one ever-pregnant ſmile,
Proof to all changes of this changeful iſle;
Maids, wives, and widows, all are in my power,—
This is no dreaming, viſionary hour;
For by this light of conſcious lamps I ſwear,
This dear, ſweet gift, ſhall ſhew me what you are.
Hats off,—down fans,—no hoodwinks while you're try'd;
And, Sir, your head not quite ſo much aſide.
[*Offering to lift up the glaſs.*

Come, don't be frighten'd, harſhneſs I diſclaim:
Soft as the modified electric flame,
This ſubtle influence, tho' 'twould pierce a rock,
Shall play, not injure,—I'll keep back the ſhock.
Now for it. [*Waving the glaſs over all the Houſe.*
Culprits, you are all detected!
[*A long pauſe.*
Upon my word, better than I expected!
Save one fond pair, caught in a tender oath,
Sigh'd, look'd, return'd, and felt—a fib in both;
Save wedded ſweetlings, mutually ſincere,
Who mean, "My devil!" when they lisp, "My dear;"
Save certain ſmirks to cover peccadillos,
And keep all quiet on domeſtic pillows,
From high to low, from perriwig to feather,
More honeſt folks were never met together.
Yet, hold—methought I ſaw,—I vow I've got 'em—
O Lord! how near my eye the glaſs has brought 'em—
Two critics, with whole pocket-books of hints
For *Falſe Appearance* in to-morrow's prints;
For bard, and actors, comments falſe and true,
To mix with miniſters, and buff and blue.
Well, for the ſtage there's candour, though there's jeſt;
But will your private ſatire ſtand the teſt?
Look to *that* hint, ere with concentred rays
This burning-glaſs ſets columns in a blaze.
Wit, whoſe clear eſſence never ſtains the paper,
Shall ſeparate and mount in pleaſing vapour:
But the black line drawn againſt real merit,
The coarſe thick virulence of party ſpirit;
The pen envenom'd, and the hand unknown:
Oh, what a ſmoke from ſulphur, all their own!
This touches few; the general point I yield;
For Falſe Appearance Britain is no field:
Witneſs this audience, ſo well off to-night;
Witneſs new audiences whom I invite.
Come for the proof of being what we ſeem,
And take my *fiat* for the world's eſteem.
Come crowds, and after-crowds, nor dare denial,
On pain of being deem'd afraid of trial:
Come with true pride, with open boldneſs come,
You'll find me almoſt every night at home.

SONG.

SONG.

By Dr. GLYNN, *M. D. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.*

TEAZE me no more, nor think I care,
Tho' monarchs bow at Kitty's ſhrine,
Or powder'd coxcombs woo the fair,
Since Kitty is no longer mine.

Indiff'rent 'tis alike to me,
If my favourite dove be ſtole,
Whether its dainty feathers be
Pluck'd by the eagle or the owl.

If not for me its bluſhing lips
The roſe-bud opens, what care I
Who the od'rous liquid ſips,
The king of bees or butterfly?

Like me, the Indians of Peru,
Rich in mines of golden ore,
Dejected ſee the merchant's crew
Tranſport it to a foreign ſhore.

Seeks the ſlave deſpoil'd to know,
Whether his gold, in ſhape of lace,
Shine on the coat of birth-day beau,
Or wear the ſtamp of George's face?

SONG.

By RICHARD LOVELACE.—*From Specimens of the* Early Engliſh Poets.

WHY doſt thou ſay I am forſworn,
Since thine I vow'd to be?
Lady, it is already morn;
It was laſt night I ſwore to thee
That fond impoſſibility.

Yet have I lov'd thee well, and long;
A tedious twelve-hours ſpace!
I ſhould all other beauties wrong,
And rob thee of a new embrace,
Did I ſtill doat upon that face.

SONG.

ANONYMOUS.—*From the ſame.*

I Do confeſs thou'rt ſmooth and fair,
And I might have been brought to love thee;

But

But that I found the ſlighteſt pray'r
That breath could move, had power to move thee;
But I can leave thee now alone
As worthy to be lov'd by none.

I do confeſs thou'rt ſweet, but find
Thee ſuch an unthrift of thy ſweets,
Thy favours are but like the wind
That kiſſeth every thing it meets.
Then, ſince thou canſt with more than one;
Thou'rt worthy to be kiſs'd by none.

The virgin roſe, that untouch'd ſtands,
Arm'd with its briers, how ſweet it ſmells!
But pluck'd and ſtrain'd through ruder hands,
Its ſweet no longer with it dwells.
But ſcent and beauty both are gone,
And leaves drop from it one by one.

Such fate, ere long, will thee betide,
When thou haſt handled been awhile;
With fear-flow'rs to be thrown aſide,
And I ſhall ſigh, while ſome will ſmile,
To ſee thy love for every one
Hath brought thee to be lov'd by none!

THE IVY.

This little Piece is modern, and its being a beautiful Imitation of the old Poets is but the leaſt of its Merits.

HOW yonder ivy courts the oak,
And clips it with a falſe embrace!
So I abide a wanton's yoke,
And yield me to a ſmiling face.
And both our deaths will prove, I gueſs,
The triumph of unthankfulneſs.

How fain the tree would ſwell its rind!
But, vainly trying, it decays;
So fares it with my ſhackled mind,
So waſtes the vigour of my days.
And ſoon our deeds will prove, I gueſs,
The triumph of unthankfulneſs.

A laſs, forlorn for lack of grace,
My kindly pity firſt did move;
And, in a little moment's ſpace,
This pity did engender love.
And now my death muſt prove, I gueſs,
The triumph of unthankfulneſs.

For

For now ſhe rules me with her look,
And round me winds her harlot chain;
Whilſt, by a ſtrange enchantment ſtruck,
My nobler will recoils in vain.
And ſoon my death will prove, I gueſs,
The triumph of unthankfulneſs.

But, had the oak denied its ſhade,
The weed had trail'd in duſt below;
And ſhe, had I her ſuit gainſay'd,
Might ſtill have pin'd in want and woe:
Now, both our deaths will prove, I gueſs,
The triumph of unthankfulneſs.

SONG,

Tranſlated from the Greek, by* JOHN BAYNES, *Eſq.*

QUAFF with me the purple wine,
And in youthful pleaſures join;
With me love the blooming fair,
Crown with me thy flowing hair;
When ſweet madneſs fires my ſoul,
Thou ſhalt rave without controul;
When I'm ſober, ſink with me
Into dull ſobriety.

SONG,

Tranſlated from PHOENIX *of* COLOPHON, *by the ſame.*

†YE who to Sorrow's tender tale
With pity lend an ear,
A tribute to Corone ‡ bring,
Apollo's favourite care.
Or barley-ſheaf, or ſalt, or bread,
Corone ſhall receive,
Or clothes, or wheat—what every one
May beſt afford to give.
Who now bring ſalt, ſome future time
Will honey-combs prepare;
For moſt Corone's taſte delights
Such humble homely fare.

* See Athenæus.

† There were among the Greeks, as there are with us, blind men, who begged from door to door ſinging. This is one of their ſongs, preſerved by Athenæus.

‡ The ſinger uſed to carry a raven on his hand, which he called *Corone*, (the Greek name for that bird) and for which he affected to beg.

Ye

Ye ſervants, open wide the door—
But hark,—the wealthy lord
Has heard,—his daughter brings the fruit
To grace Corone's board.
Ye gods! let ſuitors come from far,
To win the lovely maid;
And may ſhe gain a wealthy youth
With every grace array'd!
Soon may ſhe give an infant ſon
To bleſs her father's arms,
And place upon her mother's knee
A daughter full of charms!
O may ſhe live to ſee her ſon
With every honour crown'd;
Her daughter, beauty's faireſt flower,
Belov'd by all around!
While I, where'er my footſteps guide
My darken'd eyes along,
Cheer thoſe who give, and who refuſe,
With—all I have—a ſong.

PROLOGUE, *ſpoken by Mr.* W. FECTOR, *at his Private Theatre at* DOVER, *Dec.* 18, 1787.

Written, on the Occaſion of the Performance of the Tragedy of Matilda, *by Mr.* PRATT.

TO fight, or not to fight?—that is the queſtion?
The grand debate, and general ſuggeſtion:
The martial note of warlike preparation,
Rings an alarum bell throughout the nation;
There 's ammunition in each face you meet,
And ſmells of gunpowder in every ſtreet:
The regimental'd and the trowſer'd trains
Already count their conqueſts and their gains.
The hardy veteran, now reſtor'd to pay,
Again anticipates the glorious fray,
Graſps his good ſword, which peace condemn'd to ruſt,
And ſees in viſion ſquadrons bite the duſt—
While the brave youth feels all his boſom glow,
Dreams every night he ruſhes on the foe:
Ev'n beardleſs boys aſſume the proud cockade,
Brandiſh their bamboos, and cry, "*who's afraid?*"
In ſhort, ſo broad has ſpread the martial paſſion,
That blue and ſcarlet will be all the faſhion.
O! had there been a war, Sirs, ere we play'd,
We would ourſelves have join'd the glorious trade:

In

In caſe of proclamation, I beſpoke——
An *Epic Prologue*, full of *fire* and *ſmoke*:
I had contracted with the Muſe, to ſound
The clarion till it echo'd ten miles round.
You ſhould have ſeen, although no blood they ſpill,
A more than blunderbuſs in every quill:
Here would we pitch our tents, and prove an hoſt,
And FECTOR's buſkin'd heroes guard the coaſt.
To arms! to arms!—blank verſe and rhyme ſhould rattle,
And every ſcene ſhould animate the battle.
The foe ſhould hear us more than half ſeas over,
And *dread* our cannonading here at Dover.
As erſt in Rome, the dazzling eagle ſtood
On the chief's beaver in the Granic flood;
Upon our helmets ſhould it proudly light,
And our ſport emulate the real fight:
Our little ſtage a war-office ſhould be,
Fraught with *Dramatical Artillery!*
And *Maſter of our Ordnance*—Nat. Lee.
While *even you*, ye fair, in *Glory's cauſe*,
Would aid our thunder with your kind applauſe;
For oh! in peace or war, in beauty's frown
More terror lies than ſacking of a town;
And from your ſmiles dart forth ſuch conquering powers,—
I feel them *now*,—the victory is ours.

EPILOGUE *to* Matilda; *Written by Mr.* COBB, *Author of the* Firſt Floor, *&c. &c.*

Spoken by Mr. FECTOR.

WHILE, like the clock, the ſatiriſt ſo ſour
Still points his finger to the paſſing hour;
In follies preſent loſes follies paſt,
And ſwears this age much worſe is than the laſt:
Why will not ſome good-natur'd ſouls among ye
Proclaim aloud how much ſuch blockheads wrong ye?
Improvement now old hobbling Time derides,
And hurries after with gigantic ſtrides;
Learn what you will, an advertiſing tutor,
Who teaches by the hour, becomes your ſuitor.
Why ſend a boy for years to ſchool and college,
When he may travel poſt the roads of knowledge,
Where the blind tutor gallops, tho' a ſtranger,
Faſter than him whoſe eyes deſcry his danger?
Should your ſon wiſh in minuet ſtep t' advance,
Twenty-four leſſons teach the boy to dance.
Or, ſoaring to "*Comment vous portez vous?*"
French he may jabber in a day or two.

Then

Then as for muſic, half an hour each night,
And he 'll ſoon play an eaſy tune at ſight.
Improvement thus improv'd by *diſtillation*,
A week at moſt compleats an education.
Would our young hero farther yet proceed,
And think it neceſſary he ſhould read;
Kind criticiſm, with candour long unknown,
(On pocket volumes rais'd her new-made throne)
ESSENCE *of Authors* daily advertiſes,
And ſells their beauties at the loweſt prices.
Nay, ſhould the taſk of reading be too great,
There are "Societies for Free Debate"—
Where, for a ſingle ſixpence, once a week,
You 're taught to read,—at leaſt you 're taught to ſpeak;
Where the wide range of ſubjects muſt admit
A ſomething which ſhall every ſpeaker hit.
The *Financier*, who, warm with rhet'ric grown,
Pays Britain's debts, but thinks not of his own,
Mourns o'er her treaſury, tells how to ſtock it,
Speaks but of what he feels—an empty pocket.
Or, ſhould debate round to taxation wheel,
There all muſt ſpeak of what they all muſt feel.
The *City Blood*, who rails at the police,
Beſt knows its weakneſs, for he breaks the peace;
Knocks watchmen down, to prove our laws not right,
And in the watch-houſe roars reform all night.
—But hold, our Prompter beckons!—could I ſtay,
I meant to give the moral of our play;
To talk of *Edwin's* virtues—*Morcar's* rage—
And ſermonize the follies of the age;
Then quick as thought digreſs to ſilks and gauze,
To Rival Theatres, and Monſtrous Craws;
Mix politics with ſatire on a gown,
And put in rhyme the news of all the town.
All this, aye, and much more, I had to ſay,
But for this Prompter, whom I muſt obey;
Who ſwears he will not prompt another time:
So go I muſt,—adieu! the fault's not mine.

LINES

Written by MARY *Queen of* SCOTS, *on the Loſs of her Huſband*, FRANCIS II. *of* France, *with an Engliſh Tranſlation.*

From Anecdotes, by M. P. ANDREWS, *Eſq.*

EN mon triſte & doux chant,
D'un ton fort lamentable,

IN melting ſtrains that ſweetly flow,
Tun'd to the plaintive notes of woe,

Je

Je jette un œil tranchant,
De perte incomparable,
Et en soupirs cuisans
Passe mes meilleurs ans.

Fut-il un tel malheur,
De dure destinée,
Ny si triste douleur
De dame fortunée,
Qui mon cœur & mon œil
Voix en bierre & cercueil?

Qui, en mon dou pritemns,
Et fleur de ma jeunesse,
Toutes les peines sens
D'une extrême tristesse,
Et en rien n'ay plaisir,
Qu'en regret et desir.

Ce qui m'estoit plaisant
Ores m'est peine dure,
Le jour le plus luisant,
M'est nuit noire & obscure,
Et n'est rien si exquis,
Qui de moy soit requis.

J'y au cœur, & à l'œil,
Un portrait & image,
Qui figure mon deuil;
Et mon paste visage,
De violettes teint,
Qui est l'amoureux teint.

Pour mon mal estranger,
Je ne m'arreste en place;
Mair, j'en ay beau changer,
Si ma douleur j'efface;
Car mon pis & mon mieux,
Sont mes plus deserts lieux.

Si en quelque sejour,
Soit en bois ou en prée,
Soit pour l'aube de jour;
Ou soit pour la vesprée,
Sans cesse mon cœur sent,
Le regret d'un absent.

Si par foi vers ces lieux,
Viens a dresser ma veüe,

My eyes survey, with anguish fraught,
A loss beyond the reach of thought:
While pass away life's fairest years
In heaving sighs and mournful tears.

Did cruel Destiny e'er shed
Such horror on a wretched head?
Did e'er once happy woman know
So sad a scene of heart-felt woe?
For ah! behold on yonder bier
All that my heart and eyes held dear.

Alas! even in my blooming hours,
Mid op'ning youth's resplendent flow'rs,
I'm doom'd each cruel pang to share,
Th' extremest sorrows of despair,
Nor other joy nor bliss can prove
Than grief and disappointed love.

The sweet delights of happier days,
New anguish in my bosom raise;
Of shining day, the purest light
To me is drear and gloomy night;
Nor is there aught so good and fair,
As now to claim my slighteſt care.

In my full heart and streaming eyes,
Portray'd by woe, an image lies,
Which sable robes but faintly speak,
Or the pale languor of my cheek,
Pale as the vi'let's faded leaf,
The tint of love's despairing grief.

Perplex'd by this unwonted pain,
No place my steps can long detain,
Yet change of scene no comfort gives,
Where sorrow's form for ever lives.
My worst, my happiest, state of mind,
In solitude alone, I find.

If chance my listless footsteps leads
Thro' shady groves, or flowery meads,
Whether at dawn of rising day,
Or silent evening's setting ray,
Each grief that absence can impart,
Incessant rends my tortur'd heart.

If to the heavens, in rapturous trance,
I haply throw a wistful glance,

Je

Je doux trait de ces yeux,
Je vois en une nüe ;
Soudain je vois en l'eau,
Comme dans un tombeau.

Si je ſuis en repos,
Sommeillant ſur ma couche,
J'oye qu'il me tient propos,
Je le ſens qu'il me touche :
Et labeur, en recoy,
Tousjours eſt preſt de moy.

Je ne vois autre objet,
Pour beau qu'il le préſente
Aqui que ſoit ſubjet
Oncques mon cœur conſente,
Exempt de perfection,
A cette affliction.

Mets, chanſon, icy fin,
A ſi triſte complainte,
Dont ſera le refrein.
Amour vraye & non feinte
Pour la ſéparation,
N'aura diminution.

His viſionary form I ſee,
Pictur'd in orient clouds ; to me,
Sudden it flies, and he appears,
Drown'd in a wat'ry tomb of tears.

Awhile if balmy ſlumbers ſpread
Their downy pinions o'er my head,
I touch his hand in ſhadowy dreams,
His voice to ſoothe my fancy ſeems.
When wak'd by toil, or lull'd by reſt,
His image ever fills my breaſt.

No other object meets my ſight,
Howe'er in robes of beauty dight,
Which to my ſad deſpairing heart,
One tranſient wiſh will e'er impart ;
Exempt from that unalter'd woe,
Which this ſad breaſt muſt ever know.

But ceaſe my ſong—Ceaſe to complain !
And cloſe the ſadly plaintive ſtrain,
To which, no artificial tears,
But love unfeign'd the burthen bears.
Nor can my ſorrows e'er decreaſe ;
For ah ! his abſence ne'er can ceaſe.

On the late AMERICAN WAR.

UPON a treſtle, pig was laid,
And a ſad ſquealing ſure it made.
Kill-pig ſtood by with knife and ſteel :
" Lie quiet, can't you ?—Why d' ye ſqueal ?
" Have I not fed you with my peaſe,
" And now, for trifles ſuch as theſe,
" Will you rebel ?—Brimful of victual,
" Won't you be kill'd and cur'd a little ?"
To whom thus piggy, in reply :
" Think'ſt thou that I ſhall quiet lie,
" And that for peaſe my life I'll barter ?"—
" Then, piggy, you muſt ſhew your charter ;
" Shew you're exempted more than others,
" Elſe go to pot like all your brothers.—
" Help, neighbours ! help !—this pig's ſo ſtrong,
" I think I cannot hold him long.
" Help, neighbours ! I can't keep him under !
" Where are you all ?—See, by your blunder,
" He's burſt his cords !—A brute uncivil,
" He's gone !—I'll after—to the devil !"

EPIGRAM.

EPIGRAM.

DO you, ſaid Fanny, t'other day,
In earneſt love me as you ſay?
Or are thoſe tender words applied
Alike to fifty girls beſide?
—Dear, cruel girl, cried I, forbear;
For by thoſe eyes—thoſe lips—I ſwear—
—She ſtopp'd me as the oath I took,
And cried, you 've ſworn—now kiſs the book.

EPIGRAM.

Ignotum omne pro magnifico.

AVERSE to pamper'd and high-mettled ſteeds,
His own upon chopt ſtraw Avaro feeds:
Bred in his ſtable, in his paddock born,
What vaſt ideas they muſt have of corn!

Verſes on Miſs FARREN's *acting in* DUBLIN *for the Benefit of Perſons confined for ſmall Debts.*

By Sir HERCULES LANGRISH, *Bart.*

THE lovely Farren's tender breaſt,
Glowing with generous ſympathy,
Aſpires to comfort the oppreſt
And bid captivity be free.—

Yet ſtill her kind exertions fail,
Her charms retract the boon ſhe gave,
And whilſt her magic breaks the jail,
Her eyes make every man a ſlave.

Tranſlation of three Hymns, ſuppoſed to have been written by the Greek Poet DIONYSIUS, *and ſet to ancient Greek Muſic.—From* Dr. BURNEY's Hiſtory of Muſic.

HYMN *to the Muſe* CALLIOPE.

O MUSE beloved, Calliope divine,
The firſt in rank among the tuneful nine,
Guide thou my hand, and voice, and let my lyre
Re-echo back the notes thy ſtrains inſpire.

And thou, great leader of the ſacred band,
Latona's ſon, at whoſe ſublime command
The ſpheres are tun'd, whom god and men declare
Sov'reign of ſong, propitious hear my pray'r.

HYMN *to* APOLLO.

THROUGH nature's wide domain
Let ſolemn ſilence reign;
Let all the mountains, hills and floods,
The earth, the ſea, the winds and woods,
The echoes, and the feather'd throng,
Forbear to move, or tune their ſong.

Behold the lord of light
Begins to bleſs our ſight;
Phœbus, whoſe voice divinely clear
E'en Jove himſelf delights to hear;
Great father of the bright-eyed morn,
Whoſe ſhoulders golden locks adorn!

Swift through the azure ſky
O let thy courſers fly;
And with them draw that radiant car,
Which ſpreads thy ſplendid rays afar,
Filling all ſpace at thy deſire
With torrents of immortal fire.

For thee, ſerene advance
The ſpheres in ſolemn dance,
For ever ſinging as they move
Around the ſacred throne of Jove,
Songs accordant to thy lyre,
While all the heav'nly hoſt admire.

And when the god of day
Withdraws his golden ray,
Do thou, ſweet Cynthia, bleſs our ſight
With thy mild beams and ſilver light;
Oh ſpread thy ſnowy mantle round,
And wrap the world in peace profound.

HYMN *to* NEMESIS.

AVENGING Nemeſis, of rapid wing,
Goddeſs of eye ſevere, thy praiſe we ſing:
Againſt thy influence, ruler of our lives,
Daughter of Juſtice, man but vainly ſtrives.
'Tis thine to check, with adamantine rein,
The pride of mortals, and their wiſhes vain,

Of

Of inſolence to blunt the lifted dart,
And drive black envy from the canker'd heart.

Still at the pleaſure of thy reſtleſs wheel,
Whoſe track the fates from human eyes conceal,
Our fortune turns; and in life's toilſome race
'Tis thine, inviſible, our ſteps to trace;
To ſtrew with flow'rs, or thorns, the doubtful maze,
And by thy rule to circumſcribe our days.

Inſulting tyrants, at thy dire decree,
Bow the proud head and bend the ſtubborn knee:
Inflexible to each unjuſt demand
Frowning thou hold'ſt thy ſcales with ſteady hand,
Incorruptible judge, whom nought can move,
Nor leſs infallible than mighty Jove;
Great guardian! ever watchful, ever near,
O ſacred miniſter of juſtice, hear!

Avenging Nemeſis, of rapid wing,
Goddeſs of eye ſevere, thy praiſe we ſing;
And let Aſtrea, thy companion, ſhare
Our pious praiſes, and our fervent pray'r.
She mounts the ſkies, or plunges into hell
With rapid flight, the deeds of man to tell;
Dread juſtice! whoſe report has power t' aſſuage
The wrath of gods, and calm infernal rage.

Tranſlation of Greek Scolia *or feſtive Songs.—From the ſame Author.*

VILE riches ſhould no favour find,
By land or ſea, among mankind;
But ſhould be ſent with fiends to dwell,
Down in the deepeſt, blackeſt hell:
For 'tis from them, e'er ſince the world began,
The greateſt ills have ſprung, which torture man.

Another.

AT the genial board I ſing
Pleaſures which from plenty ſpring:
Whilſt the wreath adorns our brows,
Ceres well deſerves our vows.
Plutus too, thy name I'll join,
And thy ſiſter Proſerpine.

Ye our ſocial joys augment,
From your bounty flows content.

Bleſs our city with encreaſe,
And our ſong ſhall never ceaſe.

Another.—*On* PAN.

O PAN, delight of nymphs and ſwains,
Protector of Arcadian plains,
Who lead'ſt the frolic dance;
The laughing fair, who play the prude,
But fly from thee to be purſued,
Their favours to enhance.

They love thy ruſtic oaten reed,
They know thy vigour, force and ſpeed,
And feign a modeſt fear.
Our jocund ſtrains ſhall ſwell for thee,
And render, by their mirth and glee,
Thy name for ever dear.

ARISTOTLE'S *Hymn to* HERMIAS.

VIRTUE, thou ſource of pure delight,
Whoſe rugged mien can ne'er affright
The man with courage fir'd;
For thee the ſons of Greece have run
To certain ills, which others ſhun,
And glorioufly expir'd.

Whene'er thy ſacred ſeeds take root,
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,
Unfading are the leaves;
Dearer than ſmiles of parent kind,
Or balmy ſleep, or gold refin'd
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the twins of mighty Jove,
For thee divine Alcides ſtrove
From vice the world to free;
For thee Achilles quits the light,
And Ajax plunges into night,
Eternal night, for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,
Shall leave a deathleſs name behind,
For thee untimely ſlain;
As long as Jove's bright altars blaze,
His worth ſhall furniſh grateful praiſe
To all the muſe's train.

VERSES

VERSES *by the late Sir* JOHN HENRY MOORE, *Bart. written to a Lady a few months before his death.*

IF in that breaſt, ſo good, ſo pure,
Compaſſion ever loved to dwell,
Pity the ſorrows I endure,
The cauſe I muſt not—dare not tell.

The grief that on my quiet preys,
That rends my heart and checks my tongue,
I fear will laſt me all my days,
But feel it will not laſt me long.

The following IMITATIONS are ſelected from "Poems, by the late Thomas Ruſſell, fellow of New College."

SONETTO
DI FAUSTINA MARATTI.

DONNA, che tanto al mio bel Sol piaceſti,
Che ancor de' pregi tuoi parla ſovente,
Lodando ora il bel crine, ora il ridente
Tuo labbro, ed ora i ſaggi detti oneſti;
Dimmi, quando le voci a lui volgeſti,
Tacque egli mai, qual' uom che nulla ſente?
O le turbate luci alteramente,
Come a me volge, a te volger vedeſti?
De' tuoi bei lumi alle due chiare faci
Io ſo ch' egli arſe un tempo, e ſo che allora—
Ma tu declini al ſuol gli occhi vivaci?
Veggo il roſſor, che le tue guance infiora:
Parla, riſpondi; ah! non riſponder, taci,
Taci, ſe mi vuoi dir, ch' ei t' ama ancora.

SONNET,
Imitated from the preceding.

TOO beauteous rival, whoſe enticing charms
Once to my heart's ſole darling ſeem'd ſo fair,
That oft he praiſes ſtill thy ivory arms,
Thy ruby lips, blue eyes, and auburn hair;
Say, when he heard thy tongue's ſeducing ſtrain,
Stood he e'er ſilent, or with ſcorn replied,
Or turn'd with alter'd brow of cold diſdain
From thy ſoft ſmiles, as now from mine, aſide?
Once, once, too well I know, he held thee dear,
And then, when captive to thy ſovereign will—

But why that look abaſh'd, that ſtarting tear,
Thoſe conſcious bluſhes which my fears fulfil?
Speak, anſwer, ſpeak; nay anſwer not, forbear,
If thou muſt anſwer, that he loves thee ſtill.

BELINDE.

EIN SONNET VON HERR GLEIM.

DAS letztere leichtflatternde gewand
Sank! welch ein blick! die artige Belinde
Ward um und um ein ſpiel der ſanften winde,
Wo ſie, wie Venus einſt, auf Ida ſtand.
Durch ihren reiz, durch ihre zarte hand,
Von der ich noch den ſanften ſcherz empfinde,
Durch alles was an ihr mein auge fand,
Floſs in mein herz das ſüſſe gift der ſünde.
Erſtaunt, entzückt, mir ſelber unbewuſst,
Bemächtigte ſich die gewalt der ſinnen,
Ach! allzubald der tugend meiner bruſt.
Du, der du ſagſt; Ich will den ſieg gewinnen;
Ach! laſs doch nie das ſüſſe gift der luſt,
Laſs es doch nie nach deinem herzen rinnen.

SONNET,

Imitated from the preceding.

FROM her fair limbs the laſt thin veil ſhe drew,
And naked ſtood in all her charms conſeſt,
The wanton gales her ringlets backward blew,
To ſport themſelves more freely on her breaſt;
From each warm beauty of th' uncover'd maid,
Before ſcarce gueſs'd at, or but ſeen in part,
From all, for all was to my eyes diſplay'd,
Delicious poiſon trickled to my heart:
Since thus I gaz'd (was mine to gaze the blame?)
Nor bliſs my ſoul has taſted, nor repoſe;
The ſubtle venom glides thro' all my frame,
And in my brain a fiery deluge glows:
Thou, who my pangs wouldſt ſhun, with wiſer care
The ſpot, where Cynthia bathes at noon, beware.

SONETO

DE LUIZ DE CAMOENS.

AFermoſura deſta freſca ſerra,
E a ſombra dos verdes caſtanheiros,
O manſo caminhar deſtes ribeiros,
Donde toda a triſteza ſe deſterra;

O rouco

O rouco ſom do mar, a eſtranha terra,
O eſconder do Sol pelos outeiros,
O recolher dos gados derradeiros,
Das nuvens pelo ar a branda guerra;
Em fim tudo o que a rara natureza
Com tanta variedade nos ofrece,
Me eſta, ſe naõ te vejo, magoando:
Sem ti tudo me enoja, e me aborrece,
Sem ti perpetuamente eſtou paſſando
Nas móres alegrias mór triſteza.

SONNET,

Imitated from the preceding.

THESE hills that lift their verdant heads ſo high,
Theſe towering palms that form a cooling ſhade,
Theſe moſs-grown banks for peaceful ſlumbers made,
This lingering ſtream that flows in ſilence by,
The diſtant-murmuring main, the zephyr's ſigh,
The ſun that ſinks behind yon duſky glade,
The nibbling flocks that crop their evening blade,
Thoſe glittering clouds that fringe the weſtern ſky;
Each various beauty, which the vernal year
Pours out profuſe on woodland, vale, or plain,
Each paſtoral charm, ſince thou no more art near,
Smiles not to theſe ſad eyes, or ſmiles in vain;
Even ſcenes like theſe a cheerleſs aſpect wear,
And pleaſure ſickens, till it turns to pain.

AN EIN VEILCHEN.

Von C. F. Weisse.

MEIN Veilchen, laſs die ſchmeicheleyen
Des jungen Zephyrs dich nicht reuen,
Du unſrer gärten erſte Zier!
Dich ſoll ein ſchöner loos beglücken;
Den ſchönſten buſen ſollſt du ſchmücken,
Und alle Grazien mit dir.

Ja, an dem buſen von Selinden
Sollſt du den ſtolzen wohnplatz finden!—
Vor freuden, ſeh ich, zitterſt du:
Hier laſs dich ſtolzre blumen neiden,
Und duft ihr dankbar alle freuden
Der ſüſſeſten gerüche zu!

Geh hin zu ihren ſchönen händen !
Durch dich, mein glücke zu vollenden,
Sey ihr mein treues herz erklärt !—
Umſonſt ! wie könnte dieſs geſchehen ?
Wie bald, wie bald wirſt du vergehen,
Da ewig meine liebe währt !

TO A VIOLET.

Imitated from the two firſt ſtanzas of the preceding POEM.

THO' from thy bank of velvet torn,
Hang not, fair flower, thy drooping creſt ;
On Delia's boſom ſhalt thou find
A ſofter ſweeter bed of reſt.

Tho' from mild Zephyr's kiſs no more
Ambroſial balms thou ſhalt inhale,
Her gentle breath, whene'er ſhe ſighs,
Shall fan thee with a purer gale.

But thou be grateful for that bliſs
For which in vain a thouſand burn,
And, as thou ſtealeſt ſweets from her,
Give back thy choiceſt in return.

From ODE XVII. *of "Expoſtulatory Odes to a great Duke and a little Lord, by* PETER PINDAR, *Eſq.*"

JUST one word more, my Lords, before we part—
Do not vow vengeance on the tuneful art ;
'Tis very dang'rous to attack a poet—
Alſo ridiculous—the end would ſhow it.
Though not to *write*—to *read* I hear you're able :—
Read, then, and learn inſtruction from a fable.

The PIG *and* MAGPIE. *A Fable.*

Cocking his tail, a ſaucy prig,
A Magpie hopp'd upon a Pig,
To pull ſome hair, forſooth, to line his neſt ;
And with ſuch eaſe began the hair attack,
As thinking the fee ſimple of the back
Was by himſelf, and not the Pig, poſſeſt.

The Boar look'd up as thunder black to Mag,
Who, ſquinting down on him like an arch wag,
Inform'd Mynheer ſome briſtles muſt be torn ;
Then buſy went to work, not nicely culling ;
Got a good handſome beakfull by good pulling,
And flew without a "Thank ye" to his thorn.

The

The Pig ſet up a diſmal yelling;
Follow'd the robber to his dwelling,
Who, like a fool, had built it midſt a bramble:
In manfully he ſallied, full of might,
Determin'd to obtain his right.
And midſt the buſhes now began to ſcramble.

He drove the Magpie, tore his neſt to rags,
And, happy on the downfall, pour'd his brags:
But ere he from the brambles came, alack!
His ears and eyes were miſerably torn,
His bleeding hide in ſuch a plight forlorn,
He could not count ten hairs upon his back.

This is a pretty tale, my Lords, and pat;
To folks like you, ſo clever, *verbum ſat.*

ACCOUNT

Account of Books for 1789.

Three Eſſays on Pictureſque Beauty, on Pictureſque Travel, and on ſketching Landſcape—to which is added a Poem on Landſcape Painting. By William Gilpin, M. A. *Prebendary of* Sarum, *and Vicar of* Boldre *in* New Foreſt *near* Lymington.

THE author of the pictureſque tours through Great Britain, hath been many years moſt ſucceſsfully engaged in delineating the infinitely varied ſcenery of his native country, as it preſented itſelf to him in its moſt ſublime and beautiful forms, of mountain, wood, lake, river, ſea views, a continually diverſified level, and what gives the moſt enchanting effect to the whole, that exquiſite verdure, conveying the united ideas of beauty and fertility, in which reſpect it ſhines unrivalled by any other climate.—The powers of his pen and *pencil* have been combined in illuſtrating a ſubject ſo worthy of them, and it is hard to determine, whether the ſkill of the *artiſt* has been more happily diſplayed in *ſketching* objects, than the taſte of the *writer* in the energy and perſpicuity of his *verbal delineation*. There ſubſiſts undoubtedly a ſtrict analogy between the arts of *painting* and fine *writing*—he who admires one, has invariably an exquiſite reliſh of the other. Of the mutual light and reciprocal aſſiſtance they may afford each other, our author has given us a ſtriking inſtance in his remarks at p. 18. "Language," he obſerves, "like light, is a medium; and the true philoſophic ſtyle, like light from a north window, exhibits objects clearly and diſtinctly, without ſoliciting attention to itſelf. In painting ſubjects of amuſement indeed, language may gild ſomewhat more, and colour with the dies of fancy: but where information is of more importance than entertainment, though you cannot throw too ſtrong a light, you ſhould carefully avoid a *coloured* one. The ſtyle of ſome writers reſembles a bright light placed between the eye and the thing to be looked at; the light ſhews itſelf, and hides the object; and it muſt be allowed, the execution of ſome painters is as impertinent as the ſtyle of ſuch writers.

Mr. G. by the extent and variety of his claſſical learning, hath been enabled to open the great ſtorehouſe of pictureſque deſcription, which the Greek and Roman poets have ſo amply ſupplied, more eminently Homer and Virgil, who were never ſo delightfully engaged as in *painting* the ſublimity and ſimplicity of nature.

But though the ſcientific painter, and all whoſe taſte has been cultivated on the true principles of the art, have long known how to appretiate the value of Mr. Gilpin's works, and have long acknowledged their conſummate merit: it muſt be confeſſed that the author appeals with

with great disadvantage to the ordinary opinion of the public, who are contented to admire without discrimination general objects of beauty, as affording equal sources of amusement—while the eye well practised in the art, is pleased only with things as they are properly disposed for the pencil, and examines the face of nature only by the rules of painting, the ordinary reader, accustomed to derive exquisite relish from a general survey of things, was offended to be told, that his views were misdirected and his sensations of nature's beauty false and ill founded, that he must not judge of beauty till he is grown scientific, and has formed his acquired taste by artificial rules dictated by his instructor.—In the order of things perhaps *these* essays, which chiefly contain a summary of scientific principles, might with more propriety have preceded the publication of *his tours*, which present a practical illustration of these principles by example—he might previously and gradually have unfolded his design, and prepared the eye to survey proper objects in their due positions and lights—he might thus have easily obviated much misconception and much prejudice resulting from it.

The purport of the first essay is to mark the distinguishing characteristic of such *beautiful* objects as are suited to the *pencil*. To avoid confusion, and correct misapprehension, he holds it necessary to separate what is simply *beautiful* from what is strictly picturesque—that which pleases the eye in its natural state, from that which has a quality capable of being illustrated in *painting*.—Ideas of beauty vary with the object and the eye of the spectator, and those artificial forms are the most beautiful to each eye respectively, which are most *habitual*. The *stone-mason* admires a well-jointed wall, which the *architect* overlooks. As there exists a *real* difference between the beautiful and the picturesque, it is worth while to enquire what is that quality in the constitution of objects which particularly marks them as picturesque—The real object affords one source of beauty in that species of elegance we call *smooth* or *neat*; we see it in the polish of the marble and glitter of the silver, and in the brightness of the mahogany, as if the eye delighted to glide smoothly over the object. But in *picturesque representation* he rejects *neat* and smooth from any pretensions to beauty; on the contrary, he makes *roughness* or ruggedness the essential difference of the beautiful picturesque, and contends that this *particular* quality makes the object pleasing in *painting*, whether it be in the outline and bark of a tree or in the rude summit and craggy sides of a mountain. Apply this theory to experience. Introduce the most elegant piece of Palladian architecture into a picture, and it becomes a *formal* object. To give it picturesque beauty, you break it into heaps of ruin; instead of smooth, you make it rough, and it becomes picturesque. The human form in a *quiescent* state admits of high *beauty*; yet when it is agitated with passion, and its muscles swollen with strong exertion, the frame is then shewn to great advantage, and becomes picturesque; we admire the Laocoon more than the Antigonus—we admire the horse as a real object, his elegant form and his glossy coat; but in the picture of Berghem, you still more admire the worn-out cart-horse, whose harder

lines and rougher coat better expreſs the graces of the pencil. The lion with his rough mane, the briſtly boar, the ruffled plumage of the eagle, are all objects of this ſort. It is not for the greater *eaſe of execution*, as ſome ſuppoſe, that the artiſt prefers the *rough* to the ſmooth object; his compoſition requires it. If the hiſtory painter threw all his draperies *ſmooth* over his figures, his groups would be very awkward. In landſcape painting ſmooth objects would produce no compoſition at all. *Variety* and *contraſt* too he finds in rough objects, and none at all in the ſmooth—the effect *of light* and ſhade, the richneſs of a *ſurface* and the catching light, all reſult from *rough* objects.—Theſe only give the advantage of colouring, while ſmooth bodies afford an uniform colour as well as ſurface. Not that we are to exclude every idea of ſmoothneſs from pictureſque beauty.—The ſmooth lake, the marmoreum æquor we acknowledge to be pictureſque, tho' it ſubſiſts more in *reality* than *appearance*. Were the lake ſpread on the canvas in one ſimple hue, it would be a dull object; to the eye it appears broken by various ſhades, by the undulations of water and the reflection of rough objects around it—it is in fact chiefly pictureſque by contraſt, as the beauty of an old head is improved by the ſmoothneſs of the bald pate.—If we aſk why the quality of roughneſs makes the eſſential difference between the *beautiful* and the *pictureſque*; after a variety of conjectures, the author ſhrinks from the inveſtigation. We are baffled in our ſearch after firſt principles: "in philoſophy, in phyſics, in metaphyſics, and even in the polite arts, the enquiry is equally vague, we are puzzled and bewildered but not informed."—It appears that Sir J. Reynolds, in his letter to Mr. G. underſtood the term *pictureſque* as ſynonymous with *taſte*, and ſo applicable to Rubens and the Venetian ſchool, not to Raphael or Michael Angelo; as it might be applied to Pope and Prior and not to Homer and Milton.—Mr. G. uſes it merely to denote ſuch objects as are proper ſubjects for painting, the cartoons or a flower piece being, according to his definition, equally pictureſque.

In treating of pictureſque travel, in the ſecond *eſſay*, he conſiders firſt its object and then its *ſources* of amuſement.—Its object is beauty of every kind, either in art or nature; but chiefly of the ſpecies laſt conſidered.—The pictureſque traveller purſues it through the ſcenery of nature, and tries it by the rules of painting; he ſeeks it among all the ingredients of *landſcape*, which in themſelves are infinitely varied; they are varied ſecondly by combinations, and again almoſt as much by lights and ſhades and other aerial effects.—Sometimes they exhibit a *whole*, but oftener only beautiful *parts*.—Sublimity alone does not make an object of pictureſque, it muſt neceſſarily be connected with ſome degree of beauty, as the ocean, unaccompanied by circumſtances, loſes its ſublime character.—The curious fantaſtic forms of nature, the ſpiry pinnacle and caſtle-like rock, do not pleaſe the pictureſque eye: it is fond of the ſimplicity *of nature*, and ſees moſt beauty in her moſt *uſual* forms: the Giants' Cauſeway ſtrikes as a novelty, the Lake of Killarney gives delight: it would repoſe in the ſweet vales of Switzerland, but glances only through the glacieres of Savoy. But it examines

not

not only the form and compoſition of objects, it connects them with the infinitely varied *effects of the* atmoſphere.—Beſides the inanimate face of nature, and its living forms of men and animals and every ſhape of being, it ranges alſo through the limits of the arts, and ſurveys the picture, the ſtatue, the garden: it is moſt eagerly inquiſitive after the elegant relics of antient architecture, the gothic arch, the ruined caſtle and abbey.—From the objects of picturesque travel we turn to its *ſources of* amuſement, or what is higher than amuſement, when in the ſearch of beauty we look up to the great *origin* of all beauty, the *firſt good, firſt perfect and firſt fair.* —The primary ſource of amuſement to the picturesque traveller is the purſuit of his object, when novelty meets him at every ſtep, and every diſtant horizon promiſes a freſh gratification.—After the *purſuit* we *attain* the object; we now examine the ſcenes we have diſcovered, we examine them as a *whole*, the compoſition, colouring and light under one comprehenſive view. But we are more commonly employed in analyſing the *parts* of ſcenes, we try to amend the compoſition, to find how little is wanting to reduce it to the rules of our art, and how ſlight the limit between beauty and deformity.—But our *ſupreme delight ariſes*, where a grand ſcene opens to the eye and arreſts every faculty of the ſoul, when we rather feel than ſurvey it.—Our next amuſement is to enlarge and correct our general ſtock of ideas; by acquiſition and compariſon we grow learned in nature's works, and become more familiarly and accurately acquainted with her.—We may amuſe ourſelves too to ſketch out with a few ſtrokes thoſe ideas that have moſt pleaſed us, to recall and retain the ſcenery, and even the ſplendid colouring which exiſted in the real ſcene.—By a correct knowledge of objects we have the power of creating and repreſenting ſcenes of fancy, yet ſuitable to the reality of nature, when aided by the cultivation of taſte and chaſtened by the rules of art, and by the vigorous powers of imagination we can convert the barren waſte into a fruitful ſource of amuſement.

The third eſſay compriſes a great number of minute rules for the practice of ſketching and colouring, and the art of *perſpective*—which being very conciſe in themſelves are not ſuſceptible of abridgment. They appear to be directed by the niceſt ſkill and taſte, grounded on his own happy experience, and accompanied with a few prints well calculated to illuſtrate the rules by an immediate example.—There follows a didactive poem of conſiderable length, in which while he diſplays the ſcience of a *painter*, he gives very happy proofs that he poſſeſſes the kindred ſpirit of a *poet*. The poem receives much additional value from the commentary annexed.

But the beſt illuſtration of the author's ideas will be found in the elegant publications, to which we ſhall refer the reader—theſe conſiſt of the following works.

Obſervations on the river Wye *and ſeveral parts of* South Wales, &c. *relative chiefly to pictureſque beauty, made in the ſummer of the year* 1770.

Northern Tour, made in the year 1772.

Obſervations on ſeveral parts of Great Britain, *particularly the* Highlands *of* Scotland—*made in the year* 1776.

Remarks

Remarks on foreſt ſcenery, and other woodland views, in three books.

We ſhall ſelect a few paſſages from theſe different works, that the reader may be enabled to judge, with what degree of conſiſtency the author has applied the principles laid down in his eſſays to thoſe views of nature which he deſcribes.

"The beauty of theſe ſcenes (ſpeaking of the Wye between Roſs and Chepſtow) ariſes chiefly from two circumſtances—the lofty banks of the river, and it's mazy courſe, both which are accurately obſerved by the poet, when he deſcribes the Wye, as *echoing through its winding bounds*. It could not well echo unleſs its banks were lofty and winding.

From theſe two circumſtances the views it exhibits, are of the moſt beautiful kind of perſpective, free from the formality of lines.

Every view on a river, thus circumſtanced, is compoſed of four grand parts; the *area*, which is the river itſelf; the *two ſide ſcreens*, which are the oppoſite banks, and mark the perſpective; and the *front ſcreen*, which points out the winding of the river.

If the Wye ran, like a Dutch canal, between parallel banks, there could be no front ſcreen: the two ſide ſcreens, in that ſituation, would lengthen to a point.

If a road were under the circumſtance of a river winding like the Wye, the effect would be the ſame: but this is rarely the caſe. The road purſues the irregularity of the country. It climbs the hill, and ſinks into the valley; and this irregularity gives the view it exhibits, a different character.

The views on the Wye, though compoſed only of theſe *ſimple parts*, are yet *infinitely varied*.

They are varied, firſt, by the *contraſt of the ſcreens*. Sometimes one of the ſide ſcreens is elevated, ſometimes the other, and ſometimes the front. Or both the ſide ſcreens may be lofty; and the front either high, or low.

Again, they are varied by the *folding of the ſide ſcreens* over each other; and hiding more or leſs of the front. When none of the front is diſcovered, the folding ſide either winds round, like an amphitheatre; or it becomes a long reach of perſpective.

The *ſimple* variations, admit ſtill farther variety from becoming *complex*. One of the ſides may be compounded of various parts; while the other remains ſimple: or both may be compounded; and the front ſimple: or the front alone may be compounded.

Beſides theſe ſources of variety, there are other circumſtances, which, under the name of ornaments, ſtill farther increaſe them. *Plain* banks will admit all the variations we have yet mentioned; but when this *plainneſs* is *adorned*, a thouſand other varieties ariſe.

The *ornaments* of the Wye may be ranged under four heads—*ground*—*wood*—*rock*—and *buildings*.

The *ground*, of which the banks of the Wye conſiſt, (and which hath thus far been conſidered only in its *general effect*,) affords every variety which ground is capable of receiving; from the ſteepeſt precipice, to the flatteſt meadow. This variety appears in the line formed by the ſummits of the banks; in the ſwellings, and excavations of their declivities; and in the unequal ſurfaces of the lower grounds.

In many places alſo the *ground* is *broken*: which adds new ſources of variety. By *broken ground*, we mean only

only ſuch ground as hath loſt its turf, and diſcovers the naked ſoil. Often you ſee a gravelly earth ſhivering from the hills, in the form of water-falls: or perhaps you ſee dry, ſtony channels, guttering down precipices; the rough beds of temporary torrents; and ſometimes ſo trifling a cauſe as the rubbing of ſheep againſt the ſides of the little banks, or hillocks, will often occaſion very beautiful breaks.

The *colour* too of the broken ſoil is a great ſource of variety; the yellow, or the red oker; the aſhy grey; the black earth, or the marley blue! and the intermixtures of theſe with each other, and with patches of verdure, blooming heath, and other vegetable tints, ſtill increaſe that variety.

Nor let the faſtidious reader think theſe remarks deſcend too much into detail. Were an extenſive diſtance deſcribed, a foreſt ſcene, a ſea-coaſt view, a ſemicircular range of mountains, or ſome other diſplay of nature, it would be trifling to mark theſe minute circumſtances. But here the hills around exhibit little except *foregrounds*, and it is neceſſary, where we have no diſtances, to be more exact in finiſhing objects at hand.

The next great ornament on the banks of the Wye, are its *woods*. In this country there are many works carried on by fire; and the woods being maintained for their uſe, are periodically cut down. As the larger trees are generally left, a kind of alternacy takes place; what is, this year, a thicket, may, the next, be an open grove. The woods themſelves poſſeſs little beauty, and leſs grandeur; yet, when we conſider them as the *ornamental*, not as the *eſſential* parts, of a ſcene; the eye muſt not examine them with exactneſs, but compound for a *general effect*.

One circumſtance attending this alternacy is pleaſing. Many of the furnaces on the bank of the river, conſume charcoal, which is manufactured on the ſpot, and the ſmoke, which is frequently ſeen iſſuing from the ſides of the hill, and ſpreading its thin veil over a part of them, beautifully breaks their line, and unites them with the ſky.

The chief deficiency, in point of wood, is of large trees on the *edge of the water*; which, clumped here and there, would diverſify the hills, as the eye paſſes them, and remove that heavineſs, which always, in ſome degree, (though here as little as any where) ariſes from the continuity of ground. They would alſo give a degree of diſtance to the more removed parts; which, in a ſcene like this, would be attended with peculiar advantage: for as we have here ſo litle diſtance, we wiſh to make the moſt of what we have. —But trees *immediately on the foreground* cannot be ſuffered in theſe ſcenes, as they would obſtruct the navigation of the river.

The rocks, which are continually ſtarting through the woods, produce another *ornament* on the bank of the Wye. The rock, as all other objects, though more than all, receives its chief beauty from contraſt. Some objects are beautiful in themſelves. The eye is pleaſed with the tuftings of a tree; it is amuſed with purſuing the eddying ſtream; or it reſts with delight on the ſhattered arches of a gothic ruin. Such objects, independent of compoſition, are beautiful in themſelves. But the rock, bleak, naked, and unadorned, ſeems ſcarce to deſerve a place

place among them. Tint it with moſſes, and lychens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty. Adorn it with ſhrubs and hanging herbage, and you ſtill make it more pictureſque. Connect it with wood, and water, and broken ground, and you make it in the higheſt degree intereſting. Its *colour*, and its *form* are ſo accommodating, that it generally blends into one of the moſt beautiful appendages of landſcape.

Different kinds of rocks have different degrees of beauty. Thoſe on the Wye, which are of a greyiſh colour, are, in general, ſimple, and grand; rarely formal, or fantaſtic. Sometimes they project in thoſe beautiful ſquare maſſes, yet broken and ſhattered in every line, which is characteriſtic of the moſt majeſtic ſpecies of rock. Sometimes they ſlant obliquely from the eye in ſhelving diagonal ſtrata: and ſometimes they appear in large maſſes of ſmooth ſtone, detached from each other, and half buried in the ſoil. Rocks of this laſt kind are the moſt lumpiſh, and the leaſt pictureſque.

The various *buildings*, which ariſe every where on the banks of the Wye, form the laſt of its *ornaments*; abbeys, caſtles, villages, ſpires, forges, mills, and bridges; one or other of theſe venerable veſtiges of paſt, or chearful inhabitants of the preſent times, characteriſe almoſt every ſcene.

Theſe *works of art* are however of much greater uſe in *artificial*, than in *natural* landſcape. In purſuing the beauties of nature, we range at large among foreſts, lakes, rocks, and mountains. The various ſcenes we meet with, furniſh an inexhauſted ſource of pleaſure. And though the works of art may often give animation and contraſt to theſe ſcenes, yet ſtill they are not neceſſary. We can be amuſed without them. But when we introduce a ſcene on canvas—when the eye is to be confined within the frame of a picture, and can no longer range among the varieties of nature; the aids of art become more neceſſary; and we want the caſtle, or the abbey, to give conſequence to the ſcene. Indeed the landſcape-painter ſeldom thinks his view perfect, without characteriſing it by ſome object of this kind." *Obſervations on the Wye, ſect. 2. p. 17.*

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"From *clumps* we naturally proceed to *park ſcenery*, which is generally compoſed of *combinations of clumps*, interſperſed with lawns. It is ſeldom compoſed of any large diſtricts of wood; which is the characteriſtic of foreſt ſcenery.

The park, which is a ſpecies of landſcape little known, except in England, is one of the nobleſt appendages of a great houſe. Nothing gives a manſion ſo much dignity as theſe home demeiſns; nor contributes more to mark its conſequence. A great houſe, in a courſe of years, naturally acquires ſpace around it. A noble park therefore is the natural appendage of an ancient manſion.

To the ſize, and grandeur of the houſe the park ſhould be proportioned. *Blenheim-caſtle* with a paddock around it; or a ſmall villa in the middle of Woodſtock-park, would be equally out of place.

The houſe ſhould ſtand nearly in the centre of the park; that is, it ſhould have ample room about it on every ſide. Petworth-houſe, one of the grandeſt piles in England, loſes much of its grandeur from being placed at the extremity of the park, where it is elbowed by a church-yard.

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The *exact ſpot* depends intirely on ground. There are grand ſituations of various kinds—in general the houſes are built firſt, and parks added afterwards, by the occaſional removal of incloſures. A great houſe ſtands moſt nobly on an elevated knoll, from whence it may overlook the diſtant country, while the woods of the park ſcreen the regularity of the intervening cultivation. Or it ſtands well on the ſide of a valley, which winds along its front, and is adorned with wood, or a natural ſtream, hiding and diſcovering itſelf among the clumps at the bottom of the vale. Or it ſtands with dignity, as Longleat does, in the centre of demeiſns, which ſhelve gently down to it on every ſide:—even on a dead flat I have ſeen a houſe draw beauties around it. At the ſeat of the late Mr. Bilſon Legge, (now lord Stawel's) in the middle of Holt Foreſt, a lawn unvaried by a ſingle ſwell, is yet varied with clumps of different forms, receding behind each other, in ſo pleaſing a manner, as to make an agreeable ſcene.

By theſe obſervations I mean only to ſhew, that in whatever part of a park a houſe may have been originally placed, it can hardly have been placed ſo awkwardly, but that, in ſome way or another, the ſcenery may be happily adapted to it: there are ſome ſituations, indeed, ſo very untoward, that ſcarce any remedy can be applied: as when the front of a houſe immediately urges on a riſing ground. But ſuch awkward ſituations are rare; and in general, the variety of landſcape is ſuch, that it may almoſt always be brought, in one form or another, to ſerve the purpoſes of beauty. The many improvements of the ingenious Mr. Brown, in various parts of England, bear witneſs to the truth of theſe obſervations.—The beauty however of park ſcenery is undoubtedly *beſt* diſplayed on a *varied ſurface*—where the ground ſwells, and falls—where hanging lawns, ſcreened with wood, are connected with vallies—and where one part is continually playing in contraſt with another.

As the park is an appendage of the houſe, it follows that it ſhould participate of its neatneſs and elegance. Nature, in all her great walks of landſcape, obſerves this accommodating rule. She ſeldom paſſes abruptly from one mode of ſcenery to another; but generally connects different ſpecies of landſcape by ſome third ſpecies, which participates of both. A mountainous country rarely ſinks immediately into a level one: the ſwellings and heavings of the earth grow gradually leſs: thus as the houſe is connected with the country, through the medium of the park, the park ſhould partake of the neatneſs of the one, and *of the wildneſs of the* other."

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"Having thus conſidered various kinds of woody ſcenery, and traced the peculiar beauty of each, we proceed next to the *foreſt*, which in a manner comprehends them all. There are few extenſive foreſts, which do not contain, in ſome part or other, a ſpecimen of every ſpecies of woody landſcape. The wild foreſt view, indeed, differs eſſentially from the embelliſhed one; though ſometimes we find even the foreſt-lawn in a poliſhed ſtate, when browzed by deer into a fine turf, and ſurrounded by ſtately woods. *Beauty*, however, is not the characteriſtic of the foreſt; its peculiar

diſtinction is *grandeur* and *dignity*. The ſcenes we have hitherto conſidered, are all within the reach of art; and in fact have all been the objects of improvement. But the foreſt diſdains all human culture: on it the hand of nature is only impreſſed. The foreſt, like other beautiful ſcenes, *pleaſes the eye*; but its great effect is to *rouſe the imagination*.

The word *foreſt* immediately ſuggeſts the idea *of a continued uninterrupted track of woody country*. But foreſts in general are much more varied. They conſiſt indeed of tracks of woody country; but theſe tracks are, at the ſame time, intermixed with patches of paſturage, which commonly bear the ſame proportion to the woods of the foreſt, which lawns do to the clumps of a park.—Theſe intermingled ſcenes of wood and paſturage are again divided from other intermixtures of the ſame kind, by wide heaths, which are ſometimes bounded by a naked line of horizon; but more frequently ſkirted with wood. This intermixture of wood and paſturage, with large ſeparations of heath, give a variety to the foreſt, which a boundleſs continuance of woody ſcenery could not exhibit: though it muſt be acknowledged, that in many foreſts, and eſpecially in New Foreſt, theſe tracks of heathy country are often larger, than pictureſque beauty requires.

Having given this *general idea* of the ſpecies of country which I mean to treat of under the idea of a foreſt, I ſhall proceed to particulars. Let me juſt recall to the reader's memory, what was obſerved before, that all *great woods*, diverſified as foreſts are, though not properly denominated *foreſts*, as not ſubject to *foreſt laws*, will however naturally fall under the deſcription of foreſt ſcenery.

The foreſt, under the diviſion of *wood*, *paſturage*, and *heath*, preſents itſelf to us as a pictureſque object, in a double view,—as the ſcenery of a *fore ground*, and as the ſcenery of a *diſtance*; in both views it is equally an object of pictureſque beauty: but as its effects are different in each, I ſhall endeavour to delineate their reſpective beauties.

When we ſpeak of foreſt ſcenery, as a *fore ground*, we mean the appearance, which its woods preſent, when we approach their ſkirt, or invade their receſſes. Foreſts, in their nature, are woods *ab origine*, not *newly planted*; but *natural* woods, *ſet apart* for the purpoſes of ſheltering and ſecuring game. The trees, therefore, of which theſe natural woods are compoſed, conſiſt of all ages, and ſizes, from the ancient fathers of the foreſt to the ſcion and the ſeedling. They grow alſo in that wild, diſordered manner, which nature preſcribes; as the root caſually runs, which throws up the ſcion; or as the ſeed, or acorn, finds ſoil, and room to eſtabliſh itſelf and increaſe. But though the richneſs of the ſcenery depends greatly on this multifarious mixture, which maſſes and fills up all the various combinations, yet the moſt ancient trees of each ſpecies are the glory of ſylvan landſcape. Young trees, though even in diſtant views inferior to old, will however in that ſituation exhibit a better appearance, than on the ſpot; where no foreſt ſcenery can fill the eye, without a proper aſſemblage of ſuch trees, as have ſeen ages paſſed over them: theſe form thoſe bold and rough exhibitions, in which the pride and dignity

dignity of *foreſt views* conſiſt. We have already obſerved, that the wild and rough parts of nature produce the ſtrongeſt effects on the imagination; and we may add, they are the only objects in landſcapes, which pleaſe the picturesque eye. Every thing trim, and ſmooth, and neat, affects it coolly. Propriety brings us to acquieſce in the elegant and well-adapted embelliſhments of art; but the painter, who ſhould introduce them on canvaſs, would be characterized as a man void of taſte, and utterly unacquainted with the objects of picturesque ſelection. Such are the great materials, which we expect to find in the ſkirts, and internal parts of the foreſt—trees of every kind, but particularly the oldeſt and roughest of each. We examine next the *mode* of ſcenery which reſults from their combinations.

In ſpeaking of the *glen*, we obſerved that the principal beauty of it, aroſe from thoſe little openings, or glades, with which it commonly abounds. It is thus in the foreſt woods. The great beauty of theſe *cloſe ſcenes* ariſes from the openings and receſſes, which we find among them.

By this I do not mean the *lawns*, and *paſturage*, which I mentioned as one of the great diviſions of foreſt ſcenery; but merely thoſe little openings among the trees, which are produced by various circumſtances. A ſandy bank, or a piece of rocky ground, may prevent the contiguity of trees, and ſo make an opening; or a tree or two may have been blaſted, or have been cut down; or, what is the happieſt of all circumſtances, a winding road may run along the wood.—The ſimple idea which is varied through all theſe little receſſes, is the exhibition of a few trees, juſt ſeen behind others. The varieties of this mode of ſcenery, ſimple as it is, are infinite. Nature is wonderfully fertile; the invention of the painter may form a compoſition more agreeable to the rules of his art, than nature commonly produces; but no invention can reach the varieties of *particular objects*."

Remarks on Foreſt Scenery, vol. i. *p.* 184 *and p.* 209.

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"From Ambleſide we ſet out for Keſwick, which is about 18 miles farther north. We were now about to enter the middle, and moſt formidable part, of that vaſt chain of mountains, which I have before mentioned, as the barrier between Cumberland and Weſtmorland; and which promiſed, from a diſtant view, to preſent us with a great variety of very grand ſcenery. Our morning's voyage on the ſmooth expanſe of the lake aided our preſent expedition with all the powers of contraſt.

But before we enter theſe majeſtic ſcenes, it may be neceſſary to premiſe a diſtinction between a *ſcene of mountain*, and a *mountain ſcene*.

Mountainous countries moſt commonly preſent only the former. The objects are grand, but they are huddled together, confuſed, without connection; and the painter conſiders them only as *ſtudies*, and forms them into pictures by *imaginary combinations*.

We ſometimes, however, ſee a mountainous country in which nature itſelf hath made theſe beautiful combinations—where one part relates to another, and the effect of a whole is produced. This is what I call a *mountain ſcene*.

Of this latter kind is almoſt the whole road between Ambleſide and Keſwick. The mountains are naturally combined into ſcenes, which if not in all parts purely pictureſque, are in all parts marked with the great lines of compoſition; tho' often on too wide a ſcale for imitation.

The firſt object of our attention, on leaving Ambleſide, was Rydal hall, the ſeat of Sir Michael le Fleming. It ſtands on a riſing lawn; on the north and eaſt it is ſheltertered by lofty mountains. In front, towards the ſouth, it commands a noble diſtance, conſiſting of the extenſive vale of Windermere, bounded by the lake. The mountains, on the north, called Rydal-cragg, riſing cloſe behind the houſe, is high and rocky. That on the eaſt is of inferior ſize, but is covered with wood. Between theſe mountains runs a narrow, woody valley, through which a conſiderable ſtream, falling down a quick deſcent, along a rocky channel, forms a ſucceſſion of caſcades.

One of theſe, though but a miniature, is ſo beautiful both in itſelf and its accompaniments, as to deſerve particular notice—it is ſeen from a ſummer-houſe, before which its rocky cheeks, circling on each ſide, form a little area, appearing through a window like a picture in a frame. The water falls within a few yards of the eye, which being rather above its level has a long perſpective view of the ſtream, as it hurries from the higher grounds, tumbling, in various little breaks, through its rocky channel, darkened with thicket, till it arrive at the edge of the precipice before the window, from whence it ruſhes into the baſon, which is formed by nature in the native rock. The dark colour of the ſtone, taking ſtill a deeper tinge from the wood, which hangs over it, ſets off to wonderful advantage the ſparkling luſtre of the ſtream, and produces an uncommon effect of light: it is this effect, indeed, from which the chief beauty of the ſcene ariſes. In every repreſentation, truly pictureſque, the ſhade ſhould greatly overbalance the light. The face of nature, under the glow of noon, has rarely this beautiful appearance. The artiſt generally courts her charms in a morning or evening hour, when the ſhadows are deep and extended, and when the ſloping ſun-beam affords rather a catching, than a glaring light. In this little exhibition we had an admirable idea of the magical effect of light, pictureſquely diſtributed.

On leaving Rydal, we entered a vaſt chaſm between mountains, which may be properly called a portal to the ſcenes we approached.

On paſſing it, we were preſented with a grand *ſcene of mountains*, adorned by a lake called Rydal water, on the left; not indeed adequate to the greatneſs of the ſurrounding objects, but of ſuch beauty as immediately to fix the eye. In the midſt of it is a rocky iſland, covered with wood—the little river Rotha, winding round a promontory, enters it on the north.

Leaving theſe ſcenes, we aſcended a very ſteep hill; from the ſummit of which was diſplayed a proſpect of deſolation in a very dignified form: it was an amphitheatre of craggy mountains, which appeared to ſweep round a circumference of at leaſt thirty miles; tho' in fact, perhaps, it did not include half that ſpace; but great objects naturally form a wide ſcale of

of menſuration—the ſoul involuntarily ſhuddered at the firſt aſpect of ſuch a ſcene. At the diſtant part of it lay Graſmer-lake, which being ſo far removed from the eye ſeemed only a bright ſpot at the bottom of the mountains.

To this lake the road directly led. A nearer approach preſented us with ſome beautiful views on its banks; though on the whole its principal merit conſiſted in refreſhing the eye with a ſmooth expanſe of water, in the midſt of ſuch a variety of rough mountain ſcenery. As we ſkirted its limits, it ſeemed larger than that of Rydal; and though it appeared like a ſpot at a diſtance, became now the principal feature of this vaſt vale.

From hence the road led us into another amphitheatre, wild, and immenſe like the former; but varied greatly in the ſhapes of the mountains, which were here more broken and irregular; ſhooting in many places into craggy ſummits and broken points.

And yet even theſe wild ſcenes, covered as they are with crags, and ſcarce furniſhing the leaſt tint of vegetation, are ſubject to rights, for which none but the hard inhabitant would think it worth his while to contend. You ſee every where their bare and barren ſides marked with partition walls—ſtones without mortar, laid upon each other, croſſing at right angles, and running down ſteeps, and along precipices, where the eye can ſcarce conceive that they have any foundation. All theſe *partitions of deſolation*, as they may be called, have their inhabitants; each maintaining a few ſtunted ſheep, which picking the meagre tufts of graſs which grow under the ſheltered ſides of crags and ſtones, earn, like their owner, a hard ſubſiſtence.

At the concluſion of this immenſe amphitheatre, into which we laſt entered, we found an exit equal to the ſcene,—another grand mountain-gap, or portal, through which the road carried us up another ſteep mountain. At the top we pauſed, and looking back on the ſcenes we had left, were preſented with a view, which wholly filled the imagination. It was a *retroſpect* of the amphitheatre we had paſſed; but in a ſtile ſtill grander, than the proſpect of it. It was more ſtrongly marked with the great lines of compoſition; and was, of courſe, more a whole.

A wide vale, thrown by perſpective into a circular form, lay before the eye. Here alſo the diſtant part ſeemed occupied by the lake of Graſmer; but a greyiſh miſt left the idea ambiguous: beyond the lake aroſe various mountains, which bounded it; and ſtill beyond theſe appeared the blue heads of other mountains. Thoſe which formed the ſide ſcreens of the vale, advancing forward from the diſtant mountain beyond the lake, approached the eye in a grand ſweep, by the eaſy gradations of perſpective. The promontories and receſſes of the more removed parts were marked with a faint ſhadow, till, by degrees, both the ſide ſcreens, growing boldly on the eye, were loſt behind the two cheeks of the craggy portal, which, with the road between them, formed a fore-ground equal to the ſcene. The whole view is intirely of the horrid kind. Not a tree appeared to add the leaſt chearfulneſs to it.

With regard to the adorning of ſuch a ſcene with figures, nothing could ſuit it better than a groupe of banditti: of all the ſcenes I ever

ſaw, this was moſt adapted to the perpetration of ſome dreadful deed. The imagination can hardly avoid conceiving a band of robbers, lurking under the ſhelter of ſome projecting rock; and expecting the traveller as he approaches along the valley below."

Obſervations relative to picturesque, made in the year 1772, p. 159. vol. i.

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"From Loch Leven we continued our route northward, through a country of little curioſity. About eight miles before we reach Perth, we have a noble view, from the higher grounds, of an extenſive vale, the fertile country of Strathern; through which the river Erne appears, winding with many a meander, till it enters the Tay. This vale extends at leaſt thirty miles; and the eye commands it from end to end. Of the beautiful ſituations it affords, great advantage hath been taken by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. You ſee it in many parts marked with diſtant plantations; and can often diſtinguiſh the buildings, of which theſe plantations are the appendages. Far to the weſt ſtands Drummond-caſtle, once the reſidence of the earls of Perth—now an ill-fated, forſaken manſion.—In an oppoſite direction, beyond the Erne, you diſtinguiſh a rich ſcene of plantation. There the earl of Kinnoul has extended his wood on every ſide. You may yet diſtinguiſh Duplin caſtle riſing among them, but ſoon the woods will totally obſcure it. In its neighbourhood was fought the celebrated battle of Duplin, in which the family of Hay, like the Roman Fabii, were almoſt cut off to a man. From a paſſage in Claudian one would ſuppoſe the Erne to have been often before dyed with blood—*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

Beyond the vale of Erne, which is a much richer landſcape, than is commonly found in Scotland, the eye is ſtill carried into a diſtance more remote. It eaſily diſtinguiſhes where that river, at the end of the vale, enters the Tay, which is now a grand eſtuary, and is one of the principal features of the view. You trace it, if the day be clear, as far as Dundee; where making a ſudden turn it retreats behind the higher grounds: this whole vaſt diſtance, both of Strathern, and of the vale of Tay, is bounded by mountains, as the Scotch views in general are, which add both ornament and dignity to them.

We did not however ſee this landſcape with full advantage. The day was clear, and a noon-tide ſun, in all its dazzling brightneſs, had ſpread over it all that profuſion of light which is ſo unfavourable to landſcape. A perpendicular ray ſcarce allowed the exiſtence of ſhade; whereas, to give the landſcape its full advantage, the ſhadow, not the light, ſhould have prevailed: the mountains particularly ſhould have been in ſhade. In almoſt all caſes the darkened mountain makes the moſt reſpectful figure, except perhaps, when under a morning or evening ſun, you wiſh to tip its prominent knolls with light. Under the ſhadow of the mountains a gentle light, ſpreading into the vale, would have had a beautiful effect; and as it decayed, it might have marked two or three objects with ſplendour, to carry on the idea to the end of the ſcene.

We did not enter Strathern; but left it on the right, and made towards the mountains of Moncrief.

From theſe heights we had a retroſpect

troſpect of the ſame ſcenes, only more extended. The vale of Erne, which lay before to the north, was now removed to the ſouth, but under this different aſpect had ſtill a better effect; at leaſt, it was ſo much better enlightened, when we now ſaw it, that it appeared to much greater advantage. In another direction, the eye extended over the rich plains of Gowry, and the frith of Tay, even to its junction with the ocean."

A general Hiſtory of Muſic, *from the earlieſt ages to the preſent period. By* Charles Burney, *Muſ. D. F. R. S. in four volumes, 4to.*

THE firſt volume of this elaborate work was publiſhed by ſubſcription, in the year 1776; and when we conſider the extent of the undertaking, the variety of the materials to be conſulted, collected, and arranged, and the critical accuracy of the execution, we cannot be ſurprized at the length of time, which has been found neceſſary to bring it to its preſent ſtate of perfection.

The general plan of the work may be collected from the following paſſages, taken from the preface to the firſt volume:—"With reſpect to the preſent work, there may, perhaps, be many readers, who wiſh, and expect to find in it a deep and well-digeſted treatiſe on the theory and practice of muſic: while others, leſs eager after ſuch information, will be ſeeking for mere amuſement in the narrative. I wiſh it had been in my plan and power fully to ſatisfy either party; but a hiſtory is neither a body of laws nor a novel. I have blended together theory and practice, facts and explanations, incidents, cauſes, conſequences, conjectures, and confeſſions of ignorance, juſt as the ſubject produced them. Many new materials, concerning the art of muſic in the remote times of which this volume treats, can hardly be expected. The collecting into one point the moſt intereſting circumſtances relative to its practice and profeſſors; its connection with religion, with war, with the ſtage, with public feſtivals and private amuſements, have principally employed me: and as the hiſtorian of a great and powerful empire marks its limits and reſources, its acquiſitions and loſſes, its enemies and allies, I have endeavoured to point out the boundaries of muſic, and its influence on our paſſions; its early ſubſerviency to poetry; its ſetting up a ſeparate intereſt, and afterwards aiming at independance; the heroes who have fought its battles, and the victories they have obtained."

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"It was my intention, when I firſt entered upon this work, to trace the genealogy of muſic in a right line, without either meddling with the collateral branches of the family, or violating the reverence of antiquity. I wiſhed and determined to proportion my labour to my powers; and I was unawares ſeduced into a courſe of reading and conjecture, upon matters beyond the reach of human ken, by the chief ſubject of my enquiries being ſo extenſively diffuſed through all the regions of literature, and all the ages of the world. I found ancient muſic ſo intimately connected with poetry, mythology, government, manners, and ſciences in general, that wholly to ſeparate it from them, ſeemed to me like taking a ſingle figure out

of a groupe in an hiſtorical picture, or a ſingle character out of a drama, of which the propriety depends upon the dialogue and the incidents. If therefore a number of figures appear in the back-ground, I hope they will give *relief*, and ſomewhat keep off the dryneſs and fatigue, which a ſimple ſubject in a long work, or a ſingle figure if often repeated, though in different points of view, is apt to produce."

Prefixed to the hiſtory of Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman muſic, which occupies the whole of the firſt volume, we have a very learned and ingenious diſſertation "*on the muſic of the ancients*," in general. The ſtudy of ancient muſic he juſtly conſiders as the buſineſs of an antiquary more than of a muſician; and he thinks it perhaps a fortunate circumſtance for modern muſic, that the ancient is loſt. We cannot however entirely concur with him in this opinion. His argument, that it might not have ſuited the genius of our language, and might yet have tied us down to precedent, as well as the illuſtration drawn from modern latinity, is evidently inconcluſive. With regard to its merits, there is doubtleſs, from the obſcurity in which the ſubject is involved, much room for heſitation and diſtruſt. The difficulty of reconciling the accounts handed down to us by ancient authors, of the powers of their muſic, and of the extraordinary effects produced by it, with the ſimplicity and weakneſs of their inſtruments, as repreſented in ancient ſculpture, appears to be inſuperable. And, upon the whole, the reader will perhaps be diſpoſed to fall in with Dr. Burney in the opinion he endeavours to eſtabliſh in the 10th ſection, which treats expreſsly of the effects of the ancient muſic, and in which he has critically examined ſome of the moſt celebrated inſtances that are recorded, viz. that after rejecting what is evidently fabulous and extravagant, much of what remains is to be attributed to various concomitant cauſes, which the circumſtances of the ſtory itſelf will, in almoſt every caſe, evidently point out.

The diſſertation is divided into ten ſections. The firſt treats of the notation or tablature of ancient muſic, including its ſcales, intervals, ſyſtems, and diagram. The ſecond, of the three genera, diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. The third, of the modes. The fourth, of mutations. The fifth, of melopoeia. The ſixth, of rhythm. The ſeventh, of the practice of melopoeia, with examples. The eighth, whether the ancients had counterpoint, or muſic in parts. The ninth, of dramatic muſic. The tenth, of the effects attributed to the muſic of the ancients.

In the ſeventh ſection the reader is preſented with a copy of the original manuſcript of the three hymns, publiſhed at the end of the Oxford edition of Aratus, in 1672, with the Greek muſical characters or notes to which they were ſung; the ſame muſic, in equivalent modern notes, and an Engliſh tranſlation of each hymn; which the reader will find, together with other ſelections from this work, at the end of our poetical article.

In the chapter concerning Egyptian muſic, we have the following account, accompanied with an engraving, of a muſical inſtrument of two ſtrings, with a neck to it, taken from one of the obeliſks brought from

from Egypt by Auguſtus Cæſar, and ſuppoſed to have been erected at Heliopolis by Seſoſtris.

"This inſtrument," he obſerves, "deſerves a particular deſcription, not only from its great antiquity, but from its form; for, by having been furniſhed with a neck, though it had but two ſtrings, it was capable of producing from them a great number of notes; for inſtance, if theſe two ſtrings were tuned fourths to each other, they would furniſh that ſeries of ſounds which the ancients call a heptachord, conſiſting of two conjunct tetrachords, as B, c, d, e. E, f, g, a; and if the ſtrings of this inſtrument, like thoſe of the calaſcione, were tuned fifths, they would produce an octave, or two disjunct tetrachords; an advantage which none of the Grecian inſtruments ſeem to have poſſeſſed for many ages after this column was erected. Indeed I have never yet been able to diſcover, in any remains of Greek ſculpture, an inſtrument furniſhed with a neck; and father Montfaucon ſays, that in examining the repreſentation of near five hundred lyres, harps, and citharas, he never met with one in which there was any contrivance for ſhortening ſtrings during the time of performance, as by a neck and finger-board.

"This inſtrument, therefore, is not only a proof that muſic was cultivated by the Egyptians in the moſt remote antiquity; but that they had diſcovered the means of extending their ſcale, and multiplying the ſounds of a few ſtrings by the moſt ſimple and commodious expedients."

We have next a deſcription of the celebrated Theban harp of Mr. Bruce, in a letter from that gentleman to the author, in which he has added an account of ſeveral other inſtruments diſcovered by him in his journey to the fountains of the Nile.

The hiſtory of Hebrew muſic contains an account of the ſeveral muſical inſtruments mentioned in the Bible, and particularly in the book of Pſalms; together with an explanation of the titles prefixed to ſeveral of the Pſalms, and other muſical terms that occur in them. To theſe are added ſeveral chants to the Pſalms, as practiſed by the modern German and Spaniſh Jews.

The hiſtory of Greek muſic is divided into ſix chapters. The firſt treats of muſic in Greece during the reſidence of pagan divinities of the firſt order upon earth. The ſecond, during that of the terreſtrial or demi-gods. The third, is concerning the muſic of heroes and heroic times. The fourth, of the muſic of Greece from the time of Homer, including the muſical conteſts at the ſeveral public games. The fifth, of ancient muſical ſects, and theories of ſound. The ſixth, of the ſcolia, or ſongs of the ancient Greeks.

As the Romans borrowed their muſic almoſt entirely from Greece, and that too at a late period, the account of it is compriſed within a very ſmall compaſs. At the end of this volume are added a few reflexions upon the conſtruction and uſe of ſome particular muſical inſtruments of antiquity; together with three plates, in which their forms are delineated.

The ſecond volume commences with an account of the introduction of muſic into the church, and of its progreſs there previous to the time of Guido. Our author proves, from various authorities, the

uſe of muſic by the primitive Chriſtians, even before churches were built, or their religion eſtabliſhed by law.

"With reſpect to the muſic that was firſt uſed by the Chriſtians, or eſtabliſhed in the church by the firſt emperors that were firſt converted, as no ſpecimens remain, it is difficult to determine of what kind it was. That ſome part of the ſacred muſic of the Apoſtles, and their immediate ſucceſſors, in Paleſtine and the adjacent countries, may have been ſuch as was uſed by the Hebrews, particularly in chanting the pſalms, is probable; but it is no leſs probable that the muſic of the hymns which were firſt received in the church, wherever paganiſm had prevailed, reſembled that which had been many ages uſed in the temple worſhip of the Greeks and Romans. Of this, the verſification of thoſe hymns affords an indiſputable proof, as it by no means reſembles that of the Pſalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in the breviaries, miſſals, and antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every ſpecies of verſification which has been practiſed by the Greek and Latin poets, particularly the lyric; ſuch as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic, &c.

"Father Meneſtrier conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that the manner of reading and ſinging in the church, was taken from the public theatres, which were ſtill open when chanting was eſtabliſhed; and the paſſion of our Saviour being a kind of tragedy, it is very probable, that in ſinging it to the people, the prieſt imitated the melody of tragedy: whence the cuſtom was introduced of performing the maſs by different perſons and in different tones. It is certain, at leaſt, that the moderns have taken their ideas of tragedy from religious myſteries."

Our author then proceeds to give an account of the ſpecific difference between the Ambroſian and Gregorian chant; after which is given an ample account and explanation of the ſinging clefs and muſical characters of the middle ages. This is followed by a ſhort account of modern Greek muſic, and its notation, and of the eſtabliſhment of church muſic in England and France. The organ, the uſe of which is traced up as high as the Emperor Julian the Apoſtate, appears to have been commonly uſed in churches and convents ſome time before the end of the tenth century.

The ſecond chapter contains an account of the invention of counterpoint, and of the ſtate of muſic from the time of Guido to the formation of the time-table. In this part of his work, the author has endeavoured to aſcertain with greater preciſion than had been done before, the inventions of that celebrated monk, and the true limits of the improvements for which modern muſic is indebted to him. Theſe he conſiders under the following heads:—gammut; lines and clefs; the harmonic hand; hexachords and ſolemniſation; points, counterpoint, diſcant, and organizing; and the polyplectrum or ſpinet.

The firſt appears to have been undoubtedly the invention of Guido; and though parallel lines were of higher antiquity, yet he firſt eſtabliſhed the regular ſtaff of four lines, and ſuggeſted the uſe of lines and ſpaces *together*, and conſequently

ſequently of clefs. The harmonic hand, and hexachords or ſolemniſation, are evidently parts of the ſame ſyſtem; and though Dr. Burney is of opinion that this ſyſtem is not wholly developed in the writings of Guido, yet as the invention is aſcribed to him by cotemporary writers, he conſiders him as fully entitled to all the praiſe it deſerves. Our author has here added an account of the ſeveral attempts that have ſince been made to augment the number of ſyllables in ſolemniſation, in order to furniſh a diſtinct name for every accidental flat and ſharp.

With reſpect to counterpoint, he obſerves, that it does not appear, from the few ſpecimens given in the Micrologus of Guido, that practical harmony, ſuch as is now underſtood by harmony in different parts, had made any conſiderable advances towards perfection when that tract was written; and that ſuch attempts at ſimultaneous harmony as he has exhibited, are to be found in treatiſes that have been preſerved of much earlier writers.—Of theſe, of the introduction of the organ, and the progreſs of deſcant or organizing plain chant, an ample detail is given.

The third chapter treats "of the formation of the time-table, and of the ſtate of muſic from that diſcovery till the middle of the fourteenth century." Notwithſtanding the benefit conferred on muſic by the invention of a time-table, which extended the limits of ingenuity and contrivance to the utmoſt verge of imagination, nothing is known with certainty concerning its author. John de Muris, to whom the honour is uſually aſcribed, mentions "Franco as the inventor of the figures of the cantus menſurabilis;" and Franco himſelf, in his treatiſe on meaſured muſic, acknowledges "that he has not ſcrupled to inſert what others before him had ſaid well on the ſubject." He was however the firſt approved writer on meaſured muſic; and our author has given us an analyſis of his celebrated treatiſe.

The following chapter treats "of the origin of modern languages, to which written melody and harmony were firſt applied; and of the general ſtate of muſic till the invention of printing, about the year 1450."

Our author obſerves that, during near two centuries after Guido's arrangement of the ſcale, and the invention of the time-table, no remnants or records of ſecular muſic can be found, except thoſe of the Troubadours or Provençal poets. And though, in the ſimple tunes which have been preſerved of theſe bards, no time is marked, and but little variety of notation appears, yet it is not difficult to diſcover in them germs of the future melodies of France and Italy. Of theſe the moſt ancient that our author has been able to diſcover, are ſome ſtanzas written by Anſelm Faidit, a Troubadour, upon the death of our Richard the Firſt, which are preſerved in the Vatican, and, together with a fac ſimile of the muſical notes, and the ſame melody, with a baſe in modern notes, are here inſerted. As ſpecimens of the antient French ſongs and muſic, he has given two old chants for the feaſts of St. Stephen and St. John; the chanſon de Roland, an old military ſong; and three ſongs of the Châtelain de Coucy, written and ſet about the year 1190. We have alſo two ſongs, the compoſition of Thibaut king of Navarre, who

who was born at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which, our author obſerves, will remind us of many French airs of the preſent century, and ſhew that vocal melody has remained nearly ſtationary in France ever ſince the former period.

With reſpect to the muſic of the middle ages in Italy, he ſays, that the moſt ancient melodies he was able to find, which had originally been ſet to Italian words, were in a collection of *Laude Spirituale*, preſerved at Florence. A ſociety for the performance of theſe religious poems was inſtituted there ſo early as the year 1318, and ſtill ſubſiſts. Of theſe ſacred ſongs a ſpecimen is given, from which it appears that they are little more than chants, and without baſe. Sufficient proofs, our author is of opinion, are to be found in Petrarch's works of the practice of counterpoint in the fourteenth century; and this he further confirms by ſeveral paſſages in the tales of Boccace.

The hiſtory of Engliſh minſtrelſy comes next in order; but no remains of our ancient domeſtic ſecular melody, prior to the reign of Henry the Fifth, have reached the preſent age. A ſong, compoſed on occaſion of the battle of Agincourt, is given as the only relick of that period. "The number of tracts that were written on the ſubject of muſic before the middle of the fifteenth century, is however ſo conſiderable, as not only to make us believe that it was in great favour, but incline us to expect more perfection than is found in the ſpecimens of compoſition that have been preſerved."—Of the moſt valuable of theſe tracts, which are for the moſt part inedited, Dr. Burney has given a full account. A deſcriptive ſong upon the approach of ſummer, of about this period, beginning, *Sumer is i cumèn in*, is recommended to the reader's attention, as being the firſt example of counterpoint in ſix parts, as well as of canon, fugue or catch, that can be produced, and conſequently as forming an æra in vocal harmony.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth the minſtrels of the king were incorporated; and as our author conceives this to be the origin of thoſe muſical eſtabliſhments of the chapel royal and king's band, he has given us an account of their employments and allowances.

The fifth chapter contains an account of the ſtate of muſic from the invention of printing till the middle of the ſixteenth century, including its cultivation in the maſſes, motets, and ſecular ſongs of that period. Of the labour which the author has gone through in this part of his undertaking the reader may form ſome idea from the following quotation. "Though we are arrived at that period when the productions of the preſs will conſiderably diminiſh the labour of reſearch, yet the difficulty of finding materials will be only changed to that of ſelection; and the peruſal of old muſic after it is found, is attended with much more trouble than literary works of an equal antiquity; for being publiſhed and preſerved in *ſingle parts*, theſe parts muſt previouſly be put into ſuch a ſtate, that the eye may compare their ſeveral relations at one glance; or, to uſe the language of muſicians, they muſt be *ſcored*, before their beauties or defects can be diſcovered; and this, from the difficulty of obſolete notation, and the want of *bars*, is rendered a very ſlow proceſs. But being determined to ſpeak of

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no muſic with which I am unacquainted, or of which I am unable to furniſh ſpecimens, I have tranſcribed, in *partitura* or *ſcore*, many volumes, not only of the ſame age, but ſometimes of the ſame author, in order to ſelect the beſt productions I am able for my work, or at leaſt to qualify myſelf to judge of each compoſer's abilities and reſources. Of the productions of each period I have endeavoured to procure examples from the works of thoſe who were the chief favourites of their cotemporaries, in order to put it into the power of critics in compoſition to compare muſical excellence, and build their opinions of ſuperiority upon the works themſelves, and not upon ſyſtem, conjecture, or prejudice."

Of the early contrapuntiſts on the *continent*, of whoſe compoſitions ſpecimens are given in this chapter, there are eight, and the ſame number of Engliſh, beginning with William Newark, and ending with Robert Parſons; theſe ſpecimens are accompanied with a critical analyſis and judgment upon their reſpective merits.

The third volume begins with an account of the progreſs of muſic in England during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth. With regard to church muſic, though it appears to have undergone no other change in the time of Henry, than being applied to the Engliſh inſtead of the Latin language, yet it was in frequent danger, from the fanaticiſm of ſome furious reformers, of total abolition. Our author has inſerted ſome curious ſpecimens of the violent outcry made by the puritans of this and the following reigns, againſt this part of the church ſervice; in which it is deſcribed as *roaring, howling, whyſtelyng, piping with organs, and toſſing about the pſalms from one ſide of the choir to another, with the ſqueaking of chanting choiriſters diſguiſed in white ſurplices*, &c.

Our author traces the origin of metrical pſalmody, as diſtinct from chanting in cathedrals, to the firſt German reformers. By them it was brought to England in the reign of Edward VI. and ſoon became general, through means of the verſion of Sternhold and Hopkins. Dr. Burney is, as might be expected, no admirer of this dull, uniſonous pſalmody, and pleads ſtrongly for the admiſſion of a better ſpecies of muſic into the ſervice of the church. His argument is ſhort and ſimple.—"Such ſinging," ſays he, "as is cuſtomary in our parochial ſervice, gives neither ornament nor dignity to the pſalms or portions of ſcripture that are drawled out and bawled with an unmuſical and unmeaning vehemence. It cannot be for the ſake of the ſentiments or inſtructions which the words contain, theſe are better underſtood when read by the clergyman and clerk; and why, after being read, they ſhould be ſung, unleſs muſic is ſuppoſed to add to their energy or embelliſhment, is not eaſy to diſcover." He then proceeds to give an account of that ſuperior ſpecies of church muſic, which during the reign of Elizabeth was cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs by *Tallis, Bird*, and *Morley*: and concludes with a brief account of the *ſecular* vocal and inſtrumental muſic of the ſame period.

The five following chapters treat of the ſtate of muſic, during the ſixteenth century, in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Our limits will not permit us to accompany

company this indefatigable hiſtorian through the whole of his laborious courſe: we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with remarking, that the uſe of *double diſcords* by Montaverde; of what are now called *chromatic* paſſages by Orlando di Laſſo; and the bold and unexpected modulations of Cipriano di Rore, will attract the attention of the muſical reader, as forming memorable epochs in the hiſtory of the art.

In the ſeventh chapter, our author reſumes the hiſtory of the progreſs of muſic in England, and carries it on to the end of the ſeventeenth century. We have here a curious and amuſing account of *maſques*, which, by the introduction of recitative, were afterward converted into the Engliſh *opera*. Indeed the maſque written by Ben Jonſon, and performed for the entertainment of the French ambaſſador, in 1617, was in all its parts a complete and genuine *opera*. Under the article of *vocal chamber muſic*, ſeveral ſpecimens are given of the madrigals, cannons and catches of that period, from a work called "*Pammelia*, or Muſick's Miſcellanie," publiſhed in 1609, and which Dr. Burney calls the "primitive catch-book." *Inſtrumental* muſic follows; in the account of which there is a critical examination of the merits of the compoſitions of that age called *fantaſias*. After purſuing his courſe through the reign of Charles I. and the *interregnum*, our author gives the following account of the remarkable change which took place in the ſtyle of church muſic, immediately after the *reſtoration*. It is taken from a curious MS. written by the Honourable Roger North, entitled, "Memoirs of Muſick."—"The ſtandard of church muſic begun by Mr. Tallis, Mr. Bird, and others, was continued for ſome years after the reſtoration, and all compoſers conformed themſelves to the pattern which was ſet them.

"His majeſty (Charles II.) who was a briſk and airy prince, coming to the crown in the flower and vigour of his age, was ſoon, if I may ſo ſay, tired with the grave and ſolemn way which had been eſtabliſhed by Tallis, Bird, and others, and ordered the compoſers of his chaple to add ſymphonies, &c. with inſtruments, to their anthems; and thereupon eſtabliſhed a ſelect number of his private muſic to play the ſymphony and ritornellos which he had appointed. The old maſters of muſic, Dr. Child, Dr. Gibbons, Mr. Low, &c. organiſts to his majeſty, hardly knew how to comport themſelves with thoſe new-fangled ways, but proceeded in their compoſitions according to the old ſtyle, and therefore there are only ſome ſervices and full anthems of theirs to be found.

"In about four or five years time, ſome of the forwardeſt and brighteſt children of the chaple, as Nelham Humphrey, John Blow, &c. began to be maſters of the faculty in compoſing; this his majeſty greatly encouraged, by indulging their youthful fancies, ſo that every month, at leaſt, they produced ſomething new of this kind. In a few years more, ſeveral others educated in the chaple produced their compoſitions in this ſtyle; for otherwiſe it would have been all in vain to pleaſe his majeſty."

Dr. Burney now mentions the particular pleaſure he feels, in being arrived at that period of his labours, which allows him to ſpeak of *Henry Purcell*.—"The unlimited powers of this muſician's genius, embraced every

every ſpecies of compoſition that was then known with equal felicity. In writing for the church, whether he adhered to the elaborate and learned ſtyle of his great predeceſſors, Tallis, Bird, and Gibbons, in which no inſtrument is employed but the organ, and the ſeveral parts are conſtantly moving in fugue, imitation, or plain counterpoint; or, giving way to feeling and imagination, adopted the new and expreſſive ſtyle of which he was himſelf one of the principal inventors, accompanying the voice parts with inſtruments, to enrich the harmony, and enforce the melody and meaning of the words—he manifeſted equal abilities and reſources. In compoſitions for the theatre, though the colouring and effects of an orcheſtra were then but little known, yet as he employed them more than his predeceſſors, and gave to the voice a melody more intereſting and impaſſioned than, during the laſt century, had been heard in this country, or perhaps in Italy itſelf, he ſoon became the delight and darling of the nation. And in ſeveral ſpecies of chamber muſic which he attempted, whether ſonatas for inſtruments, or odes, cantatas, ſongs, ballads, and catches for the voice, he ſo far ſurpaſſed whatever our country had produced, or imported before, that all other muſical productions ſeem to have been inſtantly conſigned to contempt or oblivion."

To this panegyric he has added a minute critical examination of two of the moſt excellent productions of this favourite compoſer, the *Te Deum*, and *Jubilate*. The chapter concludes with an account of the progreſs of the *violin* in England, to the end of the laſt century.

The four ſubſequent chapters are again occupied in tracing the progreſs of muſic upon the continent during the ſeventeenth century; of theſe the ninth, which treats of the progreſs of the violin in Italy, and contains a critical account of the compoſitions of Corelli and Tartini, cannot fail to be highly acceptable to the muſical reader.

The laſt chapter continues the hiſtory of church muſic from the death of Purcell to our own times; and is enriched with criticiſms upon the works of *Croft*, *Weldon*, *Green*, *Boyce*, *Stanley* and *Nares*.

The fourth volume opens with an introductory "Eſſay on the Euphonia, or Sweetneſs of Languages, and their fitneſs for Muſic."—The object which the author profeſſes to have in view in this diſſertation, is "to recommend care to our lyric poets in the ſelection and arrangement of ſyllables, as well as unity of ſubject; and attentive obſervance to the compoſers who ſet them to muſic, not to dwell on harſh, mute, naſal, or guttural words, which either preclude or vitiate all muſical ſound.

The four firſt chapters of this volume treat, in order, of the invention of *recitative*, and the eſtabliſhment of the muſical drama or *opera* in Italy; of the ſacred muſical drama or *oratorio*; of the *opera buffa* or comic opera and *intermezzi*; and of *cantatas* or narrative chamber muſic. Each of theſe articles is interſperſed with judicious criticiſms upon the compoſers (together with ſpecimens of their works) and curious anecdotes relating to performers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe ſeveral branches of the muſical art. We have alſo, in the firſt chapter, a ſhort account of the origin of the inhuman practice of mutilating children in order to keep the voice in its adoleſcent ſtate.

In the fifth chapter we have an account of "attempts at dramatic muſic in England, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the Italian opera:" and in the ſixth, a full and ample detail of "the origin of the *Italian opera* in England, and of its progreſs there, during the preſent century." The firſt opera, wholly Italian, in poetry, muſic and performance, that was exhibited on the ſtage in England, was *Almaheide*, in the year 1710, and is well known from the fine humour and raillery in one of the papers of the *Guardian*, to which it gave occaſion.

Towards the latter end of the ſame year, Mr. Handel arrived in England, and ſoon after produced the opera of *Rinaldo*, the firſt of thirty-nine, which during a courſe of twenty-nine years, he compoſed for the ſtage. Of all theſe, in their order of time, Dr. Burney has given us a critical analyſis and examination, characteriſing the different ſtyles, and marking the various degrees of excellence and comparative merits of the ſeveral compoſitions. This part of his work is alſo interſperſed with many entertaining anecdotes, relative to the cotemporary muſical compoſers and performers.

In 1748, ſeven years after Handel had retired from the orcheſtra of the Italian opera, a company of comic ſingers was, for the firſt time, brought over from Italy. The ſubſequent fortunes of the opera-houſe, with hiſtories and characters of the favourite performers, are continued down to the year 1788; to which is added an account of the commemoration of Handel, in 1784, and the following years.

In the ſeventh chapter, our author again returns to the continent, and with his uſual hiſtorical minuteneſs, and critical judgment, both relates and eſtimates, in this and the four following chapters, all the muſical events of the preſent century. A view of "the general ſtate of muſic in England during the preſent century," forms the twelfth and concluding chapter of this elaborate work,—"a work (to finiſh with the anthor's own words) that has been thirty years in meditation, and more than twenty in writing and printing."

CONTENTS.

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of France from the year 1787. *Confidence of the parliament of Paris on their success in invalidating the royal edicts for the new taxes. Remonstrance on behalf of their exiled members. Answer. Resolutions, in violation of the King's injunctions. Consequences of the parliament's declaration of its own incompetence to levy, or to concur in levying taxes. Spirit of liberty general, and accompanied with a rage for innovation. Nothing but reforms heard. Admirable reform in the codes of civil and criminal justice. Edict in favour of the Protestants, happily passed. Flame already raised on the subject of Lettres de Cachet, much increased, by the seising and committal to prison of M. de Catalan, president of the parliament of Tholouse. Long remonstrance from the parliament of Paris to the King, discussing many points relative to the constitution. Some remarks on that piece, with an account of the origin of enregistering edicts, and of the cause and manner of holding beds of justice. Answer from the King to the remonstrance. Administration deeply, but secretly engaged in framing a new constitution. Some particulars of this system, and of the form, composition and nature of the new supreme court, which was to supercede parliaments in all matters relative to government. Silence, and apparent inactivity of the court, excite suspicions, which are increased to general apprehension and alarm, by circumstances observed at the royal press in Paris. M. d'Espremenil, by indirect means, becomes master of the whole secret, which he communicates to the parliament. Sudden meeting of that body; various resolutions passed; order copies of their proceedings to be transmitted to all parts of the kingdom. Meet again suddenly on an attempt*

made to arreſt M. d'Eſpremenil, and M. de Monſambert. Strong proteſt, ordered to be preſented by a deputation to the king. King refuſes to receive the deputation, and the parliament ſuddenly ſurrounded by a regiment of guards. Commanding officer enters the aſſembly, and commands in the king's name, the two obnoxious members to be delivered up. After a long ſilence, the preſident anſwered, that they were all Monſamberts and d'Eſpremenils; upon which the officer returning for freſh orders, the parliament continues locked up in its chamber for near twenty-four hours. On the officer's return, charging them, under the penalty of high treaſon, to deliver up the two members, they ſtill continue ſilent, but the two gentlemen give themſelves up. Bed of juſtice ordered to be held at Verſailles on the 8th of May. Proteſts entered, and addreſs prepared by parliament. King ſeverely reprehends the conduct of parliament in his introductory ſpeech: Announces the new conſtitution: Ordinances read and regiſtered: Farther particulars of them. Strong proteſt of Parliament, dated at ſeven o'clock the following morning. Proteſt ſeconded by a letter ſigned by a number of the peers, declaring their utter diſapprobation of the reforms in government, and their determination to take no part in the functions aſſigned them by the new ordinances. Clergy no leſs diſpoſed to adhere to the parliaments than the peerage. Another proteſt and memorial from parliament, who order their proceedings to be ſent to a notary, and effectual means uſed for their publication. Governor of Paris enters the chambers of parliament at the Palais Royal, ſeizes their papers and archives, then locks and ſeals up the doors. All the parliaments in the kingdom about the ſame time ſuſpended. Chatelet iſſue a ſtrong declaration againſt all theſe proceedings that were inimical to the parliaments. Memorial of an extraordinary nature, ſigned by forty-ſeven peers and biſhops, preſented perſonally to the King. Alarming aſpect of affairs. Seditious and treaſonable papers continually poſted upon the gates and in the ſtreets of Paris. Publication of an incendiary libel of the moſt obnoxious and dangerous kind. Great diſorders and tumults in the provinces. Bretagne. Count de Perigord, governor general of Languedoc, obliged to fly from Tholouſe, and the troops to withdraw from that place. At Grenoble the exceſſes carried to the higheſt pitch of violence; much blood ſaid to be ſhed; Duke de Tonnere ſaves his life by ſurrendering the keys of the palace; his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curioſities plundered and deſtroyed. Arſenal and magazines ſeized by the rioters. Parliament of Britany meet in defiance of the King's expreſs command. Paſs violent reſolutions. Are interrupted by the military. Great riots and confuſion. Nobles of the province meet, and ſend a deputation to Verſailles, who are ſent to the Baſtille. Great and viſible agitation of the King's mind. Peculiarly unfortunate in the great ſacrifices which he made for procuring felicity to his government, and to afford eaſe and content to his ſubjects. Recapitulation of ſome preceding events. Dreadful hurricane deſtroys the harveſt and vintage, in ſeveral of the fineſt parts of the kingdom. Great benevolences to the diſtreſſed people; and various meaſures purſued for their further relief. Arret relative to the meeting of the ſtates general, cauſes great joy, and occaſions the ſtocks to riſe. King obliged to relinquiſh the new conſtitution. Arret relative to payments at the treaſury, cauſes the greateſt

greateſt confuſion in Paris, along with a violent run upon the bank. Miniſtry changed. Archbiſhop of Sens retires to Italy, and Mr. Neckar is placed again at the head of the finances. Great public joy; ſtocks ſuddenly riſe; and general good humour prevails. Meaſures purſued by the new miniſter to ſupport the public opinion. Parliament of Paris meet. New altercation with the crown, relative to the proſecution of the late miniſters. Great riot in Paris, and ſeveral of the populace ſlain. Parliament publicly burn the King's arrets. Convention of the notables, in order to ſettle the preliminaries neceſſary to the meeting of the ſtates general. Diſtreſſes of the people greatly encreaſed by the extreme ſeverity of the winter. [1

CHAP. II.

Retroſpect continued. Emperor's conduct in the Low Countries, renews thoſe diſcontents and apprehenſions, which ſeemed happily removed by the late accommodation. Count Trautmanſdorff and General Dalton appointed to the conduct of civil and military affairs. Diſpute about the new ſeminary at Louvain unexpectedly renewed. Count Trautmanſdorff ſends a peremptory order to the heads of the univerſity, to carry the emperor's propoſed reform into immediate execution. They, pleading the laws and the conſtitution, refuſe to comply. Council of Brabant, refuſing to give their ſanction to the violent meaſures intended againſt the univerſity of Louvain, are threatened with compulſion. Military drawn up, and artillery brought forward to intimidate the council. Populace fired on by the troops, and ſeveral killed or wounded. Refractory heads of the univerſity of Louvain expelled by force of arms. Kind declaration of the emperor reſpecting his ſubjects in the Netherlands ſucceeded by a cruel ſlaughter of the people by the troops at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp. General horror ſpread throughout the provinces. People of condition emigrate to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring countries.—Germany.—Country of Lippe Schaumbourg ſeized, on the death of the prince, by the landgrave of Heſſe. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the family. Interpoſition of the king of Pruſſia, procures the reſtoration of their poſſeſſions to the infant prince and his mother. Diſpute between the elector of Cologn and the pope's nuncio. Spirited conduct of the elector. Liberal grant of the magiſtracy of Cologn to the proteſtant inhabitants, allowing them to build a place of worſhip, a ſchool, and a houſe for their miniſter. Wiſe political conduct of the king of Pruſſia. Leagues with England and Holland, to counteract the combination of the Eaſtern powers. Plays a high game in Poland. Diet comes thoroughly into his views. Augmentation of the army to 60,000 men decreed. New commiſſion for the diſpoſition and government of the military force of the republic. King of Pruſſia propoſes a cloſe alliance, and to guarantee all her dominions. Great debates in the diet. Philippic againſt the emperor. Ruſſian party totally defeated. Growing importance of the republic already apparent. Turkey and Sweden ſeek alliances with her. Declaration by the Grand Signior. Miniſters appointed by the republic to different European powers. Influence of Pruſſia ſeems thoroughly eſtabliſhed in that country. [37

CONTENTS.

CHAP. III.

*Declining state of the king's health in the month of October, 1788, which terminates soon after in a continued delirium; grief of the people, and measures taken by public characters in consequence thereof. Parliament meets pursuant to the last prorogation. Notification to both houses of the state of his majesty's health; immediate adjournment for a fortnight, and summons for the attendance of members ordered; examination of the king's physicians before the privy council; minutes of the council board laid before both houses at their second meeting; doubts started in the house of commons, whether it would not be necessary to examine the physicians at the bar; taken into further consideration on the 8th of December, and a committee appointed in each house to examine the physicians; their report brought up on the 10th, and a committee appointed to search for precedents; Mr. Fox asserts the right of the prince of Wales to the regency; his opinion controverted by Mr. Pitt; Mr. Pitt's conduct sarcastically remarked upon by Mr. Burke; Mr. Fox's opinion condemned by the president of the council, and other lords in the upper house; defended by the lords Loughborough, Stormont, and Portchester. The report from the committee of precedents brought up on the 12th; Mr. Fox explains, and reasserts his opinion relative to the prince's right, and is warmly opposed by Mr. Pitt; farther explanation of Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the regency; discussion of the question of right deprecated in the house of lords; speeches of the duke of York and of the duke of Gloucester; three resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, December 16; the second resolution, declaratory of the right of the two houses of parliament to appoint a regent, strongly opposed by lord North and Mr. Fox, and supported by the master of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. Hardinge; reflections of Mr. Rushworth on the minister's conduct; the resolution carried by a majority of 268 to 204; opposed on the report of the committee by Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. Wyndham; amendment moved by Mr. Dempster, and withdrawn; amendment to the third resolution moved by Mr. Dempster; debate thereon adjourned to the 22d of December. — — — — [68

CHAP. IV.

The minister's explanation of the measures he intended to propose relative to the regency. Resumed debate on Mr. Dempster's motion. The plan of the minister warmly opposed by lord North, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, as tending to an unnecessary and unconstitutional assumption of power. Substance of Mr. Fox's speech on that occasion. The plan and resolutions defended by Mr. Pitt; substance of his speech. Opinion of the solicitor general. Mr. Fox in explanation. Pointed observations from Mr. Sheridan. The resolutions carried by a majority of 251 to 178, and delivered at a conference to the

lords; referred to a committee on the ſtate of the nation. Amendment propoſed in the committee by lord Rawdon; ſupported by lords Stormont, Portcheſter, and Loughborough. Original reſolutions defended by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the chancellor; ſubſtance of their ſpeeches. The marquis of Lanſdowne's approbation of the meaſures of the miniſters, and his argument in oppoſition to the claims of the prince of Wales. Amendment negatived by 99 to 66. The reſolutions finally agreed to, and the commons acquainted therewith. Proteſt by forty-eight lords. Addreſſes and petitions ſent up from ſeveral counties and corporations. — [89

CHAP. V.

Death of the ſpeaker, Mr. Cornwall. Election of his ſucceſſor. Mr. William Wyndham Grenville propoſed by lord Euſton and Mr. Pulteney; ſir Gilbert Elliot, by Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Frederick Montagu—the former choſen by a majority of 71. Mr. Pitt communicates to the prince of Wales the plan of the regency. Motion propoſed by Mr. Loveden for the re-examination of the king's phyſicians, previous to the conſideration of the reſtrictions upon the regency. Perſonal invectives thrown out on that occaſion. Committee appointed to re-examine the phyſicians. Their report taken into conſideration Jan. 16th. Mr. Pitt's ſpeech on that occaſion; propoſes three objects for their deliberations. 1ſt. Nature of the king's illneſs; Anecdote relative to the queen. 2d. Principles on which they were to proceed. 3d. The limitations which thoſe principles pointed out; viz. in the power of creating peers, of granting places or penſions for life, of alienating the perſonal property of the king, reſpecting the care of the king's perſon, and the diſpoſal of the offices of the houſehold. Mr. Pitt moves five reſolutions founded on theſe principles. They are ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Powys, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and colonel Fullarton. Celebrated ſpeech of Mr. Grenville in ſupport of the reſolutions; amendment moved by Mr. Powys, and negatived by 227 to 154. Second reſolution, relative to the creation of peers, voted by a majority of 216 to 159. Third and fourth reſolutions carried without a diviſion. Debate on the fifth reſolution, relative to the officers of the houſhold, oppoſed by lord Maitland, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox; amendment moved by Mr. Bouverie, and rejected by a majority of 54. Debate on the Reſolutions in the houſe of lords. Able ſpeech of the biſhop of Llandaff. Convicts deprived of the benefit of applying to the royal mercy. Lord Camden's opinion relative to the creation of peers by act of parliament. Reſolutions carried by a majority of 26. Proteſts ſigned by 57 lords. Reſolutions ordered to be preſented to the prince and the queen. Their anſwers. Debate on the motion for putting the great ſeal to a commiſſion for opening parliament. Seſſions opened. Motion by Mr. Pitt for leave to bring in the regency bill. Bill read a firſt and ſecond time. Debates in the committee. Debate on the third reading. Regency bill ſent to the lords. Notification of the king's recovery. Account of tranſactions relative to the regency in the Iriſh parliament. [105

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

New commission issued in consequence of the king's recovery. Speech of the commissioners to the two houses. Addresses of thanks and congratulation. Mr. Fox's observations upon the address of the house of commons. Addresses to the queen. Debate on the ordnance extraordinaries. Question of fortifying the West India Islands discussed; plan opposed by general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan; supported by Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps. Mr. Beaufoy's bill for commemorating the revolution, passes the house of commons, rejected by the lords. Mr. Fox moves for the repeal of the scoop tax; agreed to by Mr. Pitt. Preamble to the bill of repeal objected. Restrictions on hawkers and pedlars taken off. Message from the king relative to the public thanksgiving day, and the resolutions of the house of commons thereon. Mr. Beaufoy's motion for repealing the corporation and test acts, supported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Fox, and opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt; lost by a majority of only 20. The earl Stanhope's bill for repealing certain penal statutes rejected on the second reading. The consideration of the slave trade postponed to the next sessions. Mr. Grenville made secretary of state, and Mr. Henry Addington speaker of the house of commons. Budget opened. Animadversions thereon. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for a new committee of finance. The report of the committee of 1786 defended by Mr. Grenville. Plan opened by Mr. Pitt for transferring the tobacco duties to the excise. Strong opposition made to it by the manufacturers, and in both houses of parliament. Extraordinary conduct of the chancellor. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas; animadverted on by Mr. Francis. Bill passed to enable the company to add one million to their capital. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings. His petition to the house of commons, complaining of Mr. Burke; proceedings of the house, and resolution moved thereon. Libel on the house of commons, ordered to be prosecuted. Application from the French government for the exportation of flour, voted inadmissible. Sessions prorogued. — — [143

CHAP. VII.

State of the contending armies on the borders of the Danube and the Black Sea. Imperialists. Marshal Haddick, to supply the Emperor's absence, appointed to the command of the grand army. Ottomans in a much worse situation than they had been in the preceding campaign. Fatal consequences of the loss of Oczakow, and the slaughter of their bravest men. Grand Vizir tried at Constantinople, on the double charge, of not providing for the preservation of Oczakow, and of causelessly evacuating the Bannat. Honourably acquitted of both, he returns to the command of the army. Death of Abdul Hamet, the Grand Signior, the greatest misfortune, at that critical period, which could have fallen upon the Turkish empire. Character of

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that excellent sovereign. Selim, his nephew, soon shews how unworthy he is of being his successor. The wealth of the Grand Vizir, Jussuf Pacha, dooms him to be the first victim to his avarice and cruelty. His destruction followed by that of many others on the same base motives. New Sultan changes all the plans for conducting the war which had been formed by his predecessor and by the late Grand Vizir. Precipitancy, weakness, and rashness, along with rapacity and cruelty, the characteristics of the present reign. Turkish commanders and troops lose all their wonted spirit, hope, and vigour, a misfortune which soon produces the most fatal consequences. Small but severe war carried on between the Russians and Turks through the winter in Moldavia, as well as in the Budziack. Young Tartar prince, son to the Khan, killed in an action near Bender. Humane and honourable conduct of general Kamenskoi, with respect to the body of the prince, and in restoring it to his father. Grateful acknowledgments of the Khan to the Russian general for his generosity and compassion, and the pious consolations with which he endeavours to sooth his own grief. War renewed with great animosity along the frontiers by the Turks and Austrians upon the expiration of the armistice. Empress of Russia exceeds even her usual magnificence in the rewards and honours which she bestows upon the conquerors of Oczakow. Has not yet given up her designs on Egypt, where the Baron de Thorus, late Russian consul at Alexandria, being sent in disguise, and furnished with powers to make great proposals to the Beys to induce them to enter into a treaty, and excite new commotions in the country, the Baron is seized by Ismael Bey, and sent bound, with his credentials and papers, to the Turkish Basha, who commits him close prisoner to the castle of Grand Cairo. Desperate and ferocious valour displayed by the Bosniacs, fighting entirely on their own account, in defence of their estates, families, and country, against the Austrians. Turkish spirit sinks totally before the Russians. General Dorfelden's victory on the banks of the Sereth; pursues his success, attacks the Turkish strong camp at Galats; forces the camp; seizes the whole as a spoil; and routs, disperses, or destroys the enemy's army. War rages in Transylvania and the Bannat. Marshal Laudohn, with the Austrian army on the side of Croatia, makes preparations for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, where he had been foiled the preceding year. That place, the grand outwork to Belgrade, and hitherto famous for its repeated successful resistance, strangely abandoned upon receiving a bombardment. The Marshal immediately commences his preparations for the siege of Belgrade. Prince of Saxe Cobourg has the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, by obtaining the first victory of any moment which they gained in the course of the war. Totally defeats and ruins an army of 30,000 Turks, under the command of a Serajquier, in the strong fortified camp of Fockzan, in Wallachia. Prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, with a part of Kamenskoi's army, defeats a body of Turks who were going to the relief of Bender, and takes the whole convoy. New Grand Vizir, with a vast army, totally defeated at Martinesti, by the prince of Saxe Cobourg and general Suwarow, with very inferior forces. Grand Turkish army totally dispersed and ruined. Belgrade besieged and taken by Marshal Laudohn, who grants favourable conditions to the garrison

riſon and inhabitants. Grand admiral, Haſſan Pacha, quits the fleet in the Black Sea, and takes the command of the army in Beſſarabia, in the hope of ſaving Bender; but, forſaken now by his uſual good fortune, is totally defeated, after an obſtinate battle, by the Princes Potemkin and Repnin, at Tobak. Bender taken after a long ſiege. Bialagrod and Kylia Nova, likewiſe taken by the Ruſſians. Auſtrians no leſs ſucceſsful, take Bucharest and other places, until the noble defence made by the garriſon of Orſova put a ſtop to their farther progreſs. — — [165

CHAP. VIII.

Difficult and embarraſſed ſtate of the king of Sweden's affairs at the cloſe of the year 1788, *notwithſtanding the armiſtice with the Danes, and the retreat of their army out of the kingdom. Situations in which the moſt daring and hazardous meaſures become prudent and neceſſary acts. Guſtavus heroically determines to overcome his difficulties, and thereby retrieve his affairs, or to periſh in the encounter. Fortunately, notwithſtanding ſome intervening jealouſies, the three lower claſſes of the people ſtill continued much attached to him. Incurable animoſity of the equeſtrian order. Diet ſummoned to meet at Stockholm. King calls a meeting of the magiſtrates, accompanied by fifty of the moſt ancient and reſpectable citizens of that capital, to whom, as to a grand council of ſtate, he communicates, in a moſt eloquent ſpeech, the whole ſtate of his affairs; ſhews how his inveterate foreign enemy had, by inſidiouſly practiſing upon his own diſaffected ſubjects, rendered them the inſtruments of fruſtrating all the well-laid deſigns, and blaſting all the fair hopes of the preceding campaign. Aſſembly encourage the king to the proſecution of the war, and engage to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies. Diet meets. Equeſtrian order ſoon ſhew their indiſpoſition to ſtand upon good terms with the king. They firſt cavilled about the body of free Dalecarlians, which had joined the king with ſo much zeal in the preceding ſeaſon of danger, being garriſoned in Stockholm. This the nobles reſented with much ill-humour, on the double account of its being an infraction of the freedom of the diet, and of its being a direct affront to their order, from its implying a ſuſpicion of their loyalty and honour. But being totally unſupported by the other orders, their ill-humour on this ground comes to nothing. The king having appointed count Lowenhaupt to be marſhal of the diet, the nobility, on that account, inſult him ſo groſsly, that he abſents himſelf from diſcharging the duties of his ſtation under ſuch public diſhonour. The king, finding himſelf ſecure in the attachment of the three other orders, goes to the diet to demand reparation for the inſult offered to himſelf through the marſhal. High words and very harſh language between the king and the nobles, until he throws out a charge of diſaffection and treaſon, without naming particular perſons, when they all quit the aſſembly in a body. King makes a ſpeech to the remaining ſtates, which is received with ſatisfaction. Three days after, their houſes being ſuddenly ſurrounded by detachments of the guards and of the armed burghers of Stockholm,*

25 of

25 of the principal nobility of the kingdom are seized, and sent prisoners to the castle of Fredericshoff. Mutinous commanders and officers in Finland already arrested, and on their way, as prisoners, to Stockholm, to be tried for their lives. Ordered to prepare for their trials. Names of several of these unfortunate gentlemen. King's conduct meets such general approbation, that the smallest commotion is not produced by these violent measures. Numberless resignations take place; spirit and strength of the equestrian order entirely broken. Dangerous precedent established against the nobility, of carrying on the public business in the diet without them. New privileges granted to the peasants. Senate entirely abolished, and a new court appointed to supply its place. King's speech to the diet. Act of confederation. King, triumphant at home, prepares for the prosecution of the war, by sea and land, with the utmost vigour. Severe sentences passed on the Finland officers, considerably mitigated through the king's lenity. Successful efforts of Mr. Elliot, in behalf of the allied courts, to induce the court of Copenhagen to agree to a strict neutrality, relieves the Swedish sovereign from all apprehension on that side. War in Finland. Rough face, and savage nature of the country, little calculated for rapid success or brilliant action. A number of small but severe and bloody actions take place. Encounter between the Russian fleet, and the Swedish commanded by the duke of Sudermania, terminates without decision or effect. Baron Stedink defeats the Russian general de Schultz. This success counterbalanced by the hasty and dangerous retreat which the king was obliged to make out of Russian Finland. King exposes his person like a common volunteer. Takes Hogfors, where he is joined by his fleet of gallies, and other light vessels, which are speedily attacked by the prince of Nassau, with a similar armament. Unusually hard-fought, desperate, and bloody action, between the hostile fleets. Swedes worsted, and obliged to retire under the cannon of Sweaburg. Great superiority of the Russians in point of number, could not be compensated by any exertions of valour. This action decisive with respect to the fortune of the campaign. King again retires, with much difficulty and danger, from the Russian territories, and his garrison at Hogfors narrowly escapes being cut off. Russians, while the weather permits, become masters of the sea, and spread terror every where. Winter puts an end to the campaign, and the king returns to his capital. — — — [182

CHAP. IX.

New convention of Notables. Great questions relative to the organization of the States General, which agitate the whole kingdom of France. King resigns himself entirely to the advice of M. Neckar. That minister takes a decided part in favour of the double representation of the commons; but gives no opinion on other questions of great importance, which are left, in the event, to chance. Notables, as well as the parliament of Paris, strongly recommend, that the constitution of 1614 *should be the model for the new convention of the states; with which the scheme of a double representation*

preſentation directly militates. Parliament of Paris endeavour to recover their popularity by iſſuing an arret, which, if adopted, might be conſidered as the Magna Charta *of French liberty. Treated with the utmoſt contempt by the popular parties, as falling ſhort of their views. Violent jealouſies and diſſentions between the three orders which were to compoſe the ſtates. Nobles, odious in the extreme. Dukes and peers offer to contribute a due proportion to the public expences; and a ſimilar diſpoſition ſeems general among the nobles; but this diſpoſition appears too late to afford ſatisfaction. Nobility, goaded by numberleſs attacks, publiſh a declaration of their rights, which renders them ſtill more odious. Diviſions and jealouſies among themſelves at this critical period. Diſſentions in the parliaments. Clergy as little united as the nobles. Curates, or pariſh prieſts, diſpoſed to ſide with the commons, or third eſtate. Commons wiſh that the three orders ſhould ſit in one chamber, deliberate in common, and vote by heads, inſtead of voting by orders, according to former practice. Strongly oppoſed by the nobles. In the provincial aſſembly of the ſtates of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy coaleſce with the commons, and thereby eſtabliſh a precedent contrary to the general ſenſe of their orders. Differences between the nobles and commons of Britany riſe ſo high as to carry the appearance of a civil war. Count d'Artois with the princes of Conde, and Conti, (who are called the Triumvirate) preſent a memorial to the king, which increaſes the popular odium againſt them to the higheſt pitch. Meaſures purſued by the duke of Orleans to acquire popularity in Paris. M. Neckar blamed for not having uſed any means to reconcile the jarring factions, or to allay the national ferment, previous to the elections. He preſents a memorial to the king, ſtrongly urging the meaſures of double repreſentation, and making himſelf reſponſible for its conſequences. King accordingly iſſues a decree for that purpoſe; but leaves, undecided and open, the very important and critical queſtions, relative to the manner of voting, and to the ſitting of the ſtates in one, or in three chambers. Unfortunate and ruinous conſequences of this omiſſion of the miniſter's. Some well-intended ſchemes for amending the conſtitution, which were ſubſequently propoſed, but rejected. Ancient practice and nature of the* Cahiers, *or inſtructions given by the electors to their deputies in the ſtates. Nobles bound by oath not to ſit or vote in one common aſſembly. Aphoriſtic ſtatement of the views of the different parties. Some farther particulars relative to them. Moſt of the deputies to the ſtates arrive at Verſailles, but the delays cauſed by the elections in Paris prevent their opening the aſſembly. Some explanation of the terms Primary Aſſemblies, and Primary Elections, with the manner of their application. Violent riot in Paris, and much blood ſhed.* *[200

CHAP. X.

Solemn and auguſt opening of the Aſſembly of the ſtates general at Verſailles. Short ſpeech by the king. Keeper of the ſeals ſpeech. Long harangue by M. Neckar diſappoints all parties. Inexplicable conduct of the miniſters, in

in leaving the queſtion of conſolidation, and thoſe relative to the manner of deliberating and voting, ſtill undecided. All the legal authority in the kingdom then poſſeſſed by the king. Fatal conſequences of that omiſſion of the miniſters. Scheme thence formed by the third eſtate, to render the other orders entirely dependent upon them. Explanation of the phraſe, Verification of Powers. Commons invite the clergy and nobles to come to their hall, in order to proceed in common with them, in the verification of their reſpective writs of return. Invitation refuſed, as being contrary to eſtabliſhed form, and ſubverſive of the rights of the other ordens. Commons paſs a reſolution, that no writs could be valid that were not verified in their chamber and preſence, and that, without going through that form, the two other chambers would be illegal aſſemblies. Nobles blamed for their obſtinacy in refuſing to comply with the demand of the commons. Clergy wavering. Privileged orders weakened by their internal diſſentions. Meetings of the commons tumultuous and diſorderly. Admiſſion of the populace cauſes ſhameful diſorders, and produces in time great evils. Nobles proceed with their ſeparate verifications, and declare themſelves duly conſtituted. This proceeding treated with the utmoſt contempt by the commons. Commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the differences between the nobles and commons, and the clergy act as mediators; but the diſputants can agree in nothing. Miniſters alarmed, now perſuade the king to interfere, when it is too late. Nobles paſs an arret, declaring the deliberation by orders to be eſſential to the monarchical conſtitution; and that they would ever perſevere in this principle, as being equally neceſſary both to monarchy and freedom. Conferences between the orders renewed in compliance with the king's requeſt. M. Neckar brings forward his conciliatory plan. Supported by a meſſage from the king to all the orders; accepted, in fact, only by the clergy. While the other orders ſeem to deliberate on it, they clog it with conditions which they know will be inadmiſſible. Commons alarm the nobles by declaring, that they will conſtitute themſelves into an active aſſembly, and proceed to buſineſs. Nobles continue obſtinate, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the temperate few among them. Commons indirectly endeavour to render them more inflexible. Nobles and commons ſeverally addreſs the king. Party of the Commons continually gaining ground among the clergy. Three curates of Poictou bring their writs of return for verification to the commons, and are received with acclamations of the higheſt joy and triumph. Third eſtate aſſume the title of national aſſembly. Signalize their new title by a ſtrong and popular act of ſovereignty. Spectators interrupt the debates, hoot and menace the members, and publiſh liſts of the voters, ſtigmatiſing thoſe as enemies to their country who vote contrary to their liking. King and miniſters, greatly alarmed, determine upon holding a royal ſeſſion. Preparations for carrying that meaſure into execution conducted with ſuch imprudence and raſhneſs as to excite the greateſt public alarm. National Aſſembly ſhut out from their hall by guards and workmen, without any previous notice or knowledge of the intention. Commons, apprehenſive of immediate diſſolution, hurry through a violent ſtorm of rain to an old tennis court, where they bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath, never to part until the conſtitution was completed.

pleted. Extreme odium, as well as other evil consequences, which the bad conduct of the ministers in this transaction drew upon the king. Majority of the clergy join the commons. Great joy and triumph upon this occasion. Commons, upon this junction, are confident in their strength. Royal session. Plan of a new constitution or system of government laid down by the king. Various causes which operate to its rejection. Commons refuse to adjourn or interrupt their session. Issue a decree, declaring the persons of their members inviolable. Outrages at Versailles and in Paris. Poissardes, and another order of women, become highly notorious. Extraordinary scenes in the gardens of the Palais Royal. Parisians so prone to revolt, that M. Neckar is obliged to send a letter to allay the ferment. Commons treat the king's system with silent contempt. Archbishop of Paris, terrified by the dangers to which he had been exposed by the rabble, comes, with the minority of the clergy, to the hall of the commons, where they withdrew their protest. Count de Clermont Tonnere, and M. de Lally, use the most strenuous endeavours to bring the nobles to an union with the commons, but the majority continue inflexible. Minor party of that order desert the same evening, and join the third estate. Majority, at length, after a message from the king, and violent debates, unite with the commons. Great hopes formed of the happy consequences which would ensue from this union of the states. New and alarming councils and measures adopted by the court. Troops drawn from different parts of the kingdom towards the capital. Causes or motives of this extraordinary change of measures not yet clearly developed. Contending parties charge each other with evil designs, which are mutually denied. National assembly had not, since the late union of the states, afforded any visible cause for jealousy or violence. Successful means used in Paris to seduce the French guards from their duty. Parisians force the prison, and rescue the mutinous soldiers of that body who were confined for disobedience of orders, and other acts of contumacy. National assembly present a spirited remonstrance to the king on the near approach of the troops. King answers, that the disorders in Paris afford the only motive for this measure, and proposes to transfer their sitting to Noyon or Soissons, in which case he would remove the court and follow them. Democratic leaders reject the proposal. Horrid designs attributed to the court by the opposite party in this change of system. Opinions of more moderate men on the subject, so far as they can be collected. M. Neckar ordered to resign his place, and to quit the kingdom. Other ministers resign. M. de Breteuil placed at the head of the new ministry, and Marshal Broglio appointed to command the army. Disorders in Paris commence on Sunday morning, on the arrival of this intelligence. Prince de Lambesc, in an ill-judged attempt, with his regiment of cavalry, to disperse the riotous populace in the gardens of the Thuilleries, shamefully repulsed. All government being at an end in Paris, a day of fury and rage is succeeded by a night of the most dreadful panic. On Monday morning above 100,000 people assemble, and seem animated by one common soul. Temporary bodies of electors appointed to the government of their respective districts. Army of 30,000 men suddenly formed. Joined by the French guards. New cockade. Appearance not only of defence but of active war. Plunderers, detected in the fact by the populace, instantly hanged by

*by the lantern ropes. Thus commenced the dreadful precedent of the populace becoming in the same instant both the judges and the executioners of the law. On Tuesday morning the new army complete their preparations by seizing the arms in the public depositories. Attack the Bastile. Contradictory accounts of several circumstances relative to the attacking and taking of that fortress. M. de Launay, the governor, dragged to the Place de Greve, and miserably murdered. M. de Losme, his major, a man of great humanity, and who had treated the prisoners with unusual tenderness, meets the same fate. This day introduced the savage custom of mutilating the bodies of the victims, and of exhibiting their bleeding heads in the streets on pikes. The lives of a handful of invalids, who garrisoned the Bastille, saved by the French guards. The mayor of Paris, being detected in a correspondence with the court, is turned out of office, and ordered to prison for trial, by the committee of electors; but is forced from the guard by the rabble, who murder him on the spot, and exhibit his head in the streets like the others. Only seven prisoners found in the Bastille. On the Sunday and Monday the king's ministers and generals seemed asleep or in a trance; but on Tuesday, the former found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by a deluge of misfortunes from every quarter; and could find no other resource than that of concealing from the sovereign the dismal and dangerous situation in which he was involved. National assembly, with the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved, with the firmness of a Roman senate, not to relinquish a single point. Pass a celebrated resolution. Solicit the king to withdraw his troops. King's answer. Assembly resolve on Tuesday not to separate, but to sit up all night in their hall. System of concealment still pursued. Duke de Liancourt forces his way to the king's bedside at midnight, and acquaints him with the true state of his affairs. King resigns himself next morning into the hands of the assembly. His speech received with loud acclamations, and the whole assembly accompany him back to the palace. Paris now to be considered as a great republic. M. la Fayette appointed to the command of the army. M. Bailly chosen mayor. National assembly send a deputation of 84 members to Paris. King persuaded to the humiliating and dangerous measure of visiting the capital. Met at Seve by 25,000 national guards, who escort him to the town house. Returns safe to Versailles. Inhuman and barbarous songs popular in Paris. Cruel murders of Foulon and Berthier. Speedy dispersion of the late ministers, courtiers, generals, and favourites, who, with the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and the princes of Conde and Conti, escape to foreign countries. Attempts made by the moderate party in the assembly for adopting effectual means to restrain that sanguinary spirit which was now becoming so dreadfully general. Excessive joy at M. Neckar's return. Triumphal entry into Paris. His hopes unexpectedly blasted by the refusal of the Parisians to order the release of M. Bezenval, or to grant a general amnesty. Dreadful state of disorder and cruelty which prevails through the country in general. — — — — *[217

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE. [193—[248

Births for the year 1789 — — — — [232
Marriages — — — — — [234
Promotions — — — — — [237
Deaths — — — — — [241
Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in council for 1789 — [247

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Thanksgiving Prayer on his Majesty's Recovery from his late indisposition — — — — — — [249
Account of the procession to St. Paul's church on the day of thanksgiving for his Majesty's recovery — — — — [ibid.
Account of the Galas and Entertainments given upon the recovery of the King. — — — — [251
By the Princess Royal, on the 1st of May — — [252
By the French Ambassador — — — [253
Grand Gala at Ranelagh, by the Club at Bootle's, May 7 [254
Spanish Ambassador's, June 9 — — — [ibid.
Account of the Coronation of the King of Spain — — [ibid.
Account of the new Settlement at Botany Bay — — [256
Boxing-matches between Perrins and Johnson, Jacombs and Big Ben, George the Brewer and Pickard — — — — [258
Account of their Majesties' Journey to Weymouth and Plymouth — [260
Mr. Wilberforce's twelve Propositions, submitted to the Committee on the Slave Trade — — — — — [268
Description of Sir George Savile's statue erected in York Cathedral, with the inscription — — — — — [271
Account of the opening of the Academy at Windsor, in Nova Scotia [ibid.
Mr. Burke's letter on the subject of the censure moved in the House of Commons, respecting words spoken by him in Westminster Hall — [273
Speech of Mr. Hastings, addressed to the High Court of Parliament [276
A general bill of all the christenings and burials in the cities of London and Westminster, &c. for the year 1789 — — — [278
An account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the bounties and drawbacks paid, and the duties received thereon, for one year, ending the 5th of January 1790. [279
Prices of Stocks for the year 1789 — — — [281
Public Acts passed in the sixth session of the sixteenth parliament of Great Britain — — — — — [282
Supplies granted by parliament for the year 1789 — — [283

STATE

CONTENTS.

STATE PAPERS.

Report of the committee appointed to examine the physicians who have attended his Majesty, during his illness, touching the state of his Majesty's health [287

Resolutions of the house of commons, delivered to the lords at a conference on the 23d of December 1788 — — — [296

Protest of the lords, on the regency — — [297

Letter from the Right Hon. William Pitt to the Prince of Wales, Dec. 30 [298

Answer to the foregoing letter, delivered by his royal highness to the lord chancellor, Jan. 1, 1789 — — — [299

Resolutions agreed to by the lords and commons, and presented to the prince of Wales, on Jan. 30 — — — [302

Protest of the lords, who voted against agreeing to the aforesaid resolutions, — — — — — [303

Answer of the prince of Wales to the lords and gentlemen appointed to deliver to him the foregoing resolutions — — [305

Resolutions agreed to by the lords and commons, presented to her Majesty on Jan. 30, 1789 — — — — [*ibid.*

Her Majesty's answer to the lords and gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing resolutions — — — — [306

Speech of earl Bathurst, in the name of the lords commissioners, appointed by her Majesty's commission under the great seal, to declare certain causes of the meeting of parliament, Feb. 3 — — — [*ibid.*

Speech of the lord chancellor to both houses of parliament, March 10 [*ibid.*

The humble address of the house of commons to the King — [308

Speech of the lord chancellor to both houses of parliament, August 11 [309

Speech of the marquis of Buckingham, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, on Feb. 5 — — — [*ibid.*

Address presented to the prince of Wales, Feb. 27, *from the delegates from both houses of parliament in Ireland* — — [310

Protest of the peers of Ireland, who voted against the address to the prince of Wales, requesting his royal highness to take upon him the office of prince regent — — — — — [*ibid.*

Answer of the lord lieutenant to the address of both houses, requesting him to transmit their address to the prince of Wales — [312

Protest of the minority in the Irish house of lords, against the resolutions voted, asserting the right of both houses to declare a prince regent [313

Protest of the lords against the vote of censure on the lord lieutenant [*ibid.*

Answer of the prince of Wales to the address presented by the delegates of the two houses of parliament of Ireland — — [314

Second answer of the prince of Wales to the deputation from both houses of the parliament of Ireland, March 12 — — [315

Address

CONTENTS.

Addreſs of the houſe of commons of Ireland to the prince of Wales, on occaſion of the final anſwer of his royal highneſs — — [316
Proteſt againſt the addreſs of thanks to the prince of Wales, voted in the Iriſh houſe of lords, March 23 — — — [317
Speech of the lord lieutenant to both houſes of parliament, March 14 [318
Addreſs of the houſe of lords of Ireland to his Majeſty — [319
D° of the houſe of commons — — — [320
Speech of the lord lieutenant to both houſes, on May 25 — [321
Addreſs of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London to his majeſty, on the happy occaſion of his recovery, March 19 [*ibid.*
——— *to her majeſty, on the ſame happy occaſion* — [322
Addreſs of the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council aſſembled, to his majeſty, on the ſame occaſion [323
——— *of the Proteſtant and Roman Catholic inhabitants of Waterford, to the king, on the ſame occaſion* — — — [*ibid.*
The petition of the Engliſh Catholic Diſſenters to the houſe of commons, preſented May 7 — — — — [324
The king of France's circular letter for the convocation of the ſtates general at Verſailles — — — — [327
The king of France's ſpeech on the opening of the ſtates general, May 9, 1789 [328
Letter from the king of France to the preſident of the national aſſembly, May 28, 1789 — — — — — [329
Addreſs of the deputies of the tiers etat of France, to his Majeſty, June 6, 1789 [*ibid.*
Speech of the king of France to the ſtates general, June 23 [331
The declaration of rights, which has been agreed to by the national aſſembly of France, and ſanctioned by the king, and which forms the baſis of the new conſtitution of France — — — [332
Extract from the declaration of the emperor to the ſtates at Bruxelles, March 8, 1789 — — — — [333
Speech of the king of Sweden to the aſſembly of the ſtates, in March 1789 [334
Declaration made by Mr. Elliot to the Count Bernſtorf, April 23, 1789 [336
Articles of the quadruple alliance between Ruſſia, Auſtria, France, and Spain [338
Treaty of defenſive alliance between his Majeſty the king of Great Britain and his Majeſty the king of Pruſſia — — — [339
Note delivered by the Pruſſian ambaſſador to the diet at Warſaw, and read at their 20*th meeting* — — — [341
A bill, intituled, An Act to provide for the care of his Majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs. — — [343

CHARACTERS.

CONTENTS.

CHARACTERS.

Some account of Dr. Rundle, lord bishop of Derry, in Ireland, in two of his Lordship's Letters to his particular friends.—From Letters of the late T. Rundle, LL. D. to Mrs. Barbara Sandys — — — 1
Description and character of the Turks and Greeks, inhabiting the island of Candia, (anciently Crete.) From M. Savary's Letters on Greece 3
Character of the late Cardinal Polignac.—From the Essays of the Marquis D'Argenson, translated from the French — — 6
Character of Fontenelle, Montesquieu, and Henault.—From the same — 10
Character of Sidi Mahomet, the reigning Emperor of Morocco.—Translated from the French of M. Chenier — — — 15
Some account of the dress and manners of the women of the cities of Morocco.—From the same — — — — 17
A general view of the character of the Chinese.—From the translation of Abbé Grosier's Description of China — — — 19
Observations on the character and national taste of the French.—From Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. By an English Officer 21
Wit, manners, character, and taste of the Spaniards.—From the same 23
Character of the Portuguese. From the same — — 25
Specimens of original anecdotes of the Czar Peter the Great; with a letter of the Czar's written immediately after the battle of Pultowa.—From M. Stæhlin's original anecdotes of Peter the Great, collected from the conversation of several persons of distinction at Petersburgh and Moscow — 27
Character of Joseph Baretti, Esq.—Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789 — — — — 34

NATURAL HISTORY.

Supplementary letter of John Hunter, Esq. in proof of the fact, that the Wolf, Jackal, and Dog are all of the same species.—From vol. lxxix. of the Philosophical Transactions — — — — 41
An account of the moving of a bog, and the formation of a lake, in the county of Galway, Ireland. By Ralph Ousley, Esq. M. R. I. A.—From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy — — 42
An account of an aurora borealis seen in full sunshine. By the Rev. Henry Usher, D. D. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A.—From the same 43
A table containing an authentic statement of the population of China, divided into provinces; made in the 27th year of the reign of Kien-Long; i. e. in 1761.—From the Translation of Abbé Grosier's Description of China — — — — — 44

The manner of making porcelain.—From the Abbé Groſier — 48
Curious account of a young Leveret nurtured by a Cat.—Extracted from the Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Selborne, in the county of Southampton, by the Rev. Mr. White — — — 50
Some account of the poiſonous ſerpents and plants in the country of the Hottentots.—Extracted from a Narrative of Four Journies into the country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in the years 1787,-8,-9, *by Lieutenant Paterſon* — — — — 51
Some account of the Natural Hiſtory of New South Wales.—From a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay, by Capt. W. Tench, of the Marines — — — — — 55

USEFUL PROJECTS.

An account of the method of making the otter of roſes, as it is prepared in the Eaſt Indies. Communicated in a letter from Donald Monro, M. D. of London, to Mr. John Robinſon, Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the univerſity of Edinburgh.—From vol. ii. *of the Tranſactions of the Royal Society at Edinburgh* — — — — 60
Letter from Mr. Boote, addreſſed to the Secretary of the Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, on the comparative merits of the Drill and Broad-caſt Huſbandry; which received the gold medal (the premium offered by the Society on that ſubject.)—From vol. vii. *of the Tranſactions of that Society* — — — 60
Mr. Eccleſton's account of the improvement of Martin Meer, in the county of Lancaſter, incloſed in a letter to the above Society; (which alſo obtained the gold medal.)—From the ſame — — — 66
An effectual remedy for curing the Scab in Sheep, communicated by Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. to the above Society.—From the ſame — 70
Receipt for the Scurvy, ſuppoſed to be communicated by a Mr. Huckings, of Cambridge, on account of the great benefit he himſelf received from it.—Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789 — 71
An enquiry concerning a ſure and certain method of improving ſmall arable Farms.—By Mr. Wimpey, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society inſtituted at Bath, for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, within the counties of Somerſet, Wilts, Gloceſter, and Dorſet, and the city and county of Briſtol — — — 72
Of Furze or Whins [Ulex Europæus, Linn.] as a food for Horſes and Cattle.—Deſcription of a machine for bruiſing them—and hints for rearing that plant œconomically as a crop. By Dr. J. Anderſon.—Addreſſed to the ſame Society — — — — 77

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

A literal tranſlation of the Will of King Alfred, from the Saxon Original, preſerved in the Regiſter of the abbey of Newminſter, at Wincheſter, founded by that King a ſhort time before his death — — 83
Deſcription of the famous labyrinth of Gortyna, in Crete.—From Letters on Greece by M. Savary; tranſlated from the French — 90
Letter from M. Savary, ſhewing that the above-mentioned labyrinth was the reſidence of the fabulous Minotaur, and diſtinguiſhed from the labyrinth of Cnoſſus, in Crete, built by Dædalus — — — 93
Memoir of the Language, Manners, and Cuſtoms of an Anglo-Saxon colony ſettled in the baronies of Forth and Bargie, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, in 1167, 1168, and 1169. By Charles Vallancy, LL. D. Member of the Royal Societies of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, &c. &c.—From Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy — — 98
Vocabulary of the Language of that Barony — — 102
An old Song in that dialect — — — — 108
An hiſtorical eſſay on the Iriſh Stage. By Joſeph C. Walker, Eſq. Member of the Royal Iriſh Academy, &c. &c.—From the ſame — 110

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the art of pleaſing.—From the Eſſays of the Marquis D'Argenſon 119
The effects of love on different characters.—From the ſame — 122
The Death of Mahommed, a Tranſlation from the Déh Mujlis.—From the Aſiatic Miſcellany — — — — 126
The Death of Fatima.—From the ſame — — 129
Eſſay on Ridicule, Wit, and Humour. By William Preſton, Eſq; M. R. I. A. In two parts.—From Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy 132
Account of a viſit paid by Monſ. Savary to Iſmael Aga, a Turk of conſequence in the iſland of Candia, antiently Crete.—From M. Savary's Letters on Greece — — — — 143

POETRY.

Ode on his Majeſty's Birth-day, June 4th, 1789. By T. Warton, Eſq. Poet Laureat — — — — 148
Prologue, by the Author, to Falſe Appearances, a Comedy, altered from the French. Spoken by Mr. Wroughton. — — 150

CONTENTS.

Epilogue, by Lieutenant General Burgoyne. Spoken by Miss Farren 151
Song, by Dr. Glynn, of King's College, Cambridge — 153
Song, by Richard Lovelace.—From Specimens of the early English Poets *ibid.*
Song, Anonymous.—From the same — — — *ibid.*
The Ivy, a beautiful imitation of the old Poets — — 154
Song, translated from the Greek, by John Baynes, Esq. — 155
Song, translated from Phœnix of Colophon, by the same — *ibid.*
Prologue, spoken by Mr. W. Fector, at his private theatre at Dover, Dec. 18, 1787 — — — — 156
Epilogue to Matilda; written by Mr. Cobb, author of the First Floor, &c. &c. Spoken by Mr. Fector — — — 157
Lines written by Mary Queen of Scots, on the Loss of her husband, Francis II. *of France; with an English translation.—From Anecdotes by M. P. Andrews, Esq.* — — — — 158
On the late American War — — — — 160
Epigram — — — — 161
Another — — — — *ibid.*
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Translation of three Hymns, supposed to have been written by the Greek Poet Dionysius, and set to ancient Greek music.—From Dr. Burney's History of Music — — — — *ibid.*
Translation of Greek Scolia or festive songs.—From the same Author 163
Verses by the late Sir John Henry Moore, Bart. written to a lady a few months before his death — — — 165
Imitations selected from "Poems, by the late Thomas Russell, Fellow of New College" — — — — *ibid.*
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